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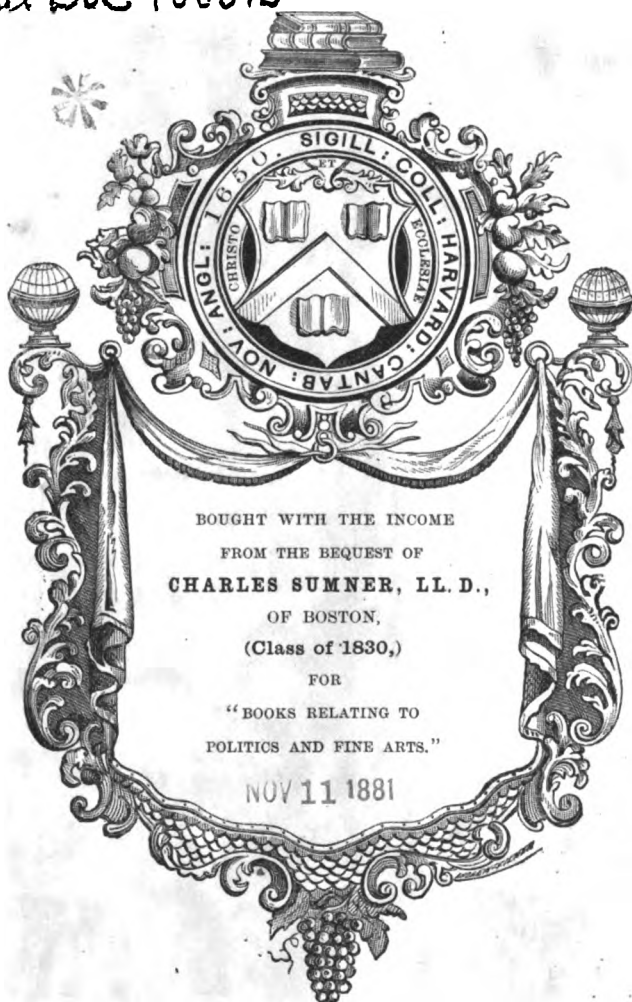
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TABLES.

PRICE OF BULLION per *Ounce*, in the London Market, during the Six Months ending 30th June, 1813, being the *average price of each Month*.—N.B. Where there is no price mentioned, there has been none of that sort of Bullion in the Market.

Sorts of Bullion.	Jan.	Feb.	March.	April.	May.	June.
	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
Portugal Gold Coin	4 19 11	5 0 6	5 2 0	5 2 0	5 3 0	5 3 0
Standard Gold in Bars	4 18 0	0 0 0	5 0 0	0 0 0	5 0 0	5 2 6
New Doubleloons	5 2 0	5 3 6	5 5 0	5 5 6	5 6 0	5 6 6
New Dollars	0 6 6	0 6 6	0 6 7	0 6 7½	0 6 8	0 6 8½
Standard Silver in Bars	0 6 8	0 6 8½	0 6 9	0 6 10	0 6 10½	0 6 9½

N. B. The MINT PRICE, per *Ounce*, of the *Standard Gold* and *Silver Bullion* is as follows: Standard Gold in Bars, £.3 17s. 10½d. Standard Silver in Bars; 5s. 2d. The other sorts of Bullion, except the Portugal Gold Coin, are below Standard Value. The Prices in the above table is the *Market Price* in Bank of England Notes.

Number of **BANKRUPTCIES** as announced in the London Gazette; from 17th November, 1812, to 18th May, 1813.

To 16 Dec. 1812	221
— 16 Jan. 1813	164
— 16 Feb.	110
— 16 March	140
— 17 April	143
— 18 May	140

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Table of the Prices of MEAT, SUGAR, SALT, and COALS, in LONDON, from January to June, 1813, inclusive.

	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	April.	May.	June.	
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	
Beef	6 4	6 8	7 4	7 4	7 8	6 8	per Stone of 8 lb. to sink the scale.
Mutton	6 2	7 4	7 4	7 8	8 0	6 8	
Pork	6 8	7 8	7 0	8 4	8 0	8 0	
Sugar	56 0½	57 4½	58 9½	57 7½	58 10½	54 0	Cwt.
Salt	30 0	30 0	30 0	30 0	30 0	30 0	Bushel
Coals	55 0	55 9	51 0	51 6	54 0	52 9	Chald.

Price of the **QUARTERN LOAF**, according to the Assize of Bread in LONDON, for the Six Months ending with Jan. 1813, taking the average of the four Assizes in each Month.—N.B. The Weight of the Loaf, according to Law, is 4lb. 5oz. 8dr.

	s. d.
January	1 6½
February	1 6½
March	1 6½
April	1 6½
May	1 6½
June	1 6½

Average Price during the Six Months 1 6½

Prices of the ENGLISH FUNDS, or STOCKS, as shown from the Prices here given of the *Thres per Cent. Consolidated Annuitics*, for the Six Months, ending with June, 1813.—N.B. The Prices here given are the *average Prices* for each Month.

January	59½
February	58½
March	59½
April	59½
May	59½
June	58½

Number of CHRISTENINGS and BURIALS within the Bills of Mortality, from 22d Dec. 1812, to 22d June 1813.

Months.	Christenings.		Burials.	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
To Jan. 26 . . .	1157	989	927	871
— Feb. 23 . . .	832	769	845	827
— March 26 . . .	833	837	807	741
— April 27 . . .	910	869	777	701
— May 25 . . .	758	724	650	571
— June 22 . . .	828	774	569	498
	5,318	4,962	4,555	4,109

Total Christenings 10,280. || 8,664
Children under two years of age . . . 2,461

Total Burials 11,125

Average Prices of CORN, through all England and Wales, and of HAY, STRAW, and best FARNHAM HOPS, in London, from January to June, 1813, both Months inclusive.

Corn per Quarter of 8 Winchester Bushels.					Hay per Load.	Straw per Load.	Hops per Cwt.
Wheat.	Rye.	Barley.	Oats.	Beans.			
s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
120 2	79 4	66 4	42 6	83 6	5 0 6	2 1 0	25 4 0

LIST OF HIS MAJESTY'S MINISTERS, 1813.

CABINET MINISTERS.

Lord Harrowby	Lord President of the Council.
Lord Eldon	Lord High Chancellor.
Lord Westmoreland	Lord Privy Seal.
Lord Bathurst	President of the Board of Trade.
Lord Liverpool	First Lord of the Treasury (Prime Minister)
Right Hon. N. Vansittart	{ Chancellor and Under-Treasurer of the Exchequer.
Right Hon. Charles Bathurst	Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.
Lord Viscount Melville	First Lord of the Admiralty.
Lord Mulgrave	Master General of the Ordnance.
Lord Sidmouth	Secretary of State for the Home Department.
Lord Castlereagh	Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.
Lord Bathurst	{ Secretary of State for the Department of War and Colonies.
Lord Buckinghamshire	{ President of the Board of Control for the Affairs in India.

NOT OF THE CABINET.

Right Hon. George Rose	{ Vice President of the Board of Trade, and Treasurer of the Navy.
Lord Palmerston	Secretary at War.
Lord C. Somerset	
Right Hon. C. Lang	{ Joint Paymaster-General of the Forces.
Earl of Chichester	
Earl of Sandwich	{ Joint Postmaster-General.
Richard Wharton	
Robert Peel	{ Secretaries of the Treasury.
Sir William Grant	Master of the Rolls.
Sir Thomas Plomer	Attorney-General.
Sir W. Garrow	Solicitor-General.

PERSONS OF THE MINISTRY OF IRELAND.

Duke of Richmond	Lord Lieutenant.
Lord Manners	Lord High Chancellor.
Charles Arbuthnot, esq.	{ Chief Secretary, and Chancellor of the Exchequer.

TO THE
PRINCE REGENT,
ON THE DISPUTE WITH AMERICA.

Letter X.

Sir,

During the two years that I was imprisoned in Newgate, for writing and publishing an article upon the flogging of certain English Militia-men, at Ely, in England, under the superintendence of German troops, and for which writing and publishing I, besides, paid your Royal Highness a fine of a thousand pounds, in behalf of your Royal Sire; during that time I endeavoured, in various ways, to expiate my offence, but in no way more strenuously than in trying to dissuade you from yielding to advice, which, as I thought, would, if followed, produce a war with the American States. That consequence, which I so much dreaded, and which I laboured with so much earnestness to prevent, has unhappily taken place; and, though it may be of no service; though my efforts may still be unavailing; nay, though I may receive abuse instead of thanks for my pains, I cannot refrain; the love I bear my own country, and the regard I shall ever bear a great part of the people of America, will not suffer me to refrain from making one more trial to convince your Royal Highness, that the path of peace is still fairly open with that country, and that pacific measures are the only measures which ought even now to be pursued.

In one of my Letters to your Royal Highness, I endeavoured to convince you, that it was to the base, the prostituted press, of England, that we were likely to owe this war; I pointed out to your Royal Highness the means resorted to by that press in order to deceive the people of England; and, I expressed my apprehensions, that those means would succeed. That press, that vile and infamous press, which is the great enemy of the liberties of Europe and America as well as of England, was incessant in its efforts to cause it to be believed, that, in no case, would the American Government dare to go to war. It

asserted, that America would be totally ruined by six months of war; that the people would not pay the taxes necessary to carry it on; that the President, for only barely talking of war, would be put out of his chair; that the "*American Navy*," as it was called by way of ridicule, would be "*swept from the ocean in a month*;" and, that, in short, a war with America was a thing for Englishmen to laugh at; a subject of jest and mockery.

This was the style and tone of the hiring press in London, and, with very few exceptions, the country prints followed the stupid and insolent example. Events have already shown how false all these assertions were; and now, as is its usual practice, this same corrupt press is pouring forth *new falsehoods*, with a view of urging on the war, and of reconciling the people to its calamities.

It was my endeavour to show your Royal Highness the real state of the case. I said, that the people of America, though wisely averse from war, as the great source of taxation and loss of liberty, would, nevertheless, submit to its inconveniences rather than submit to the terms which it was recommended, in our hiring prints, to impose upon them. I begged your Royal Highness to disbelieve those, who said that the American Government dared not go to war, and that Mr. Madison would not be re-elected. I besought you to reflect upon the consequences of rushing into a war with that country, amongst which consequences I included the forming of a *great Naval force* on the other side of the Atlantic, and the not less fearful measure of *manning a French Fleet with American Sailors*. Our hired press affects to turn into jest a proposition said to have been made by the President for the building of *twenty frigates*. If he has made that proposition, however, and, if the war continue *only a year*, your Royal Highness will find that the twenty frigates are launched upon the ocean. The ignorant and saucy writers in London, who live up to their lips in luxury, and whose gains are not at all dependant upon the prosperity of the country; these men are

not how the people suffer. Their object is to prolong the war, which suits the views of all those with whom they are connected. They assert whatever presents itself as likely to promote this object, and, therefore, they take no pains to ascertain whether the building of twenty frigates is, or is not, a matter of easy execution in America. If they did, they would find, that the Americans have the Timber, the Iron, the Pitch, the Hemp, *all of the produce of their own country*; all in abundance; all, of course, cheap; and, as to dock-yards, and other places to build ships, inquiry would teach these ignorant and insolent men, that, in many cases, the Timber grows upon the very spot where the ship is to be built, and that to cut it down and convert it into a ship is to do a great benefit to the owner of the land.

And, then, as to the *pecuniary means*: to hear the language of our hirelings, one would imagine, that the people of America were all *beggars*; that the country contained scarcely a man of property; that there were no such things as money, house goods, cattle, or manufactures. They must, indeed, confess that the country grows *corn*; but, somehow or other, they would have us believe, that there are, in America, no *means*; no *resources*. They cannot disguise from us the fact, that there are fine cities and towns; that there is a commercial marine not far behind our own in point of magnitude; that the exports from the country amount annually to more than half as much as our exports, and that they consist of articles of first necessity; that the country contains all the articles of useful manufactory, and that manufactures are making great progress; nay, that they have arrived at great perfection; that the country is stocked with sheep, that great source of a nation's wealth, and that to so high a degree have these animals succeeded, that many single proprietors have already flocks of more than a thousand head. These facts the hired press cannot disguise from us; or, at least, from those amongst us, who are not wilfully blind. Upon what ground, then, Sir, would they have us believe, that America is *destitute of resources*? The things which I have here spoken of, are things of which national riches consist: they form the means of making national exertions; of sending forth fleets and armies. And, we ought to bear in mind, that America, that this new enemy of ours, has a population of more than *eight millions of souls*; none of whom are *paupers*;

none of whom are clad in rags; none of whom are without *meat* upon their table daily; not one soul of whom would condescend to pull off his hat to any human being. And this is the nation, a nation, too; descended from ourselves, that the hirelings of the London press represent as *destitute of resources*!

Perhaps, Sir, the resources of America are estimated according to the *salaries which their public functionaries receive*; and, measured by this standard, our new enemy must, indeed, appear wholly unable to contend against us for a single day; for the President, the Vice President, the Secretaries of State, the Treasury, War, Navy, and all their clerks; that is to say, the whole of the Officers of the Executive Government, do not receive *more than about half the amount of Lord Arden's sinecure*, as stated in the report to the House of Commons in 1808. Nay, the *Apothecary to our Army* does, according to the same report, receive, in clear profits, annually, as much as twice the amount of the Salary of the President of the United States. Our Chief Justice, in salary and emoluments, as stated in the Reports laid before Parliament, receives annually a great deal more than Mr. Madison, Mr. Monroe, Mr. Gallatin, and the Secretaries of War and the Navy in America, all put together. I shall, perhaps, be told, that our public functionaries *ought* to receive more than those in America. That is a point which I shall leave for others to dispute. I content myself with stating the facts; but, if I am told, that we ought not to measure the salaries of our functionaries by the American standard, I must beg leave, in my turn, to protest against measuring the expenses of war in America by the standard of war expenses in England. I must insist, too, that the resources of a country are not to be measured by the standard of the salaries of its public functionaries. I should take quite a different standard for the measuring of the resources of America. We know, that, upon a population of *ten millions*, in Great Britain, a revenue of about *eighty millions of pounds* is now annually raised; and that, in these ten millions of people we include, at least, *two millions of paupers*. Now, then, if they raise but a *tenth part* as much upon the *eight millions* of Americans, who have no paupers amongst them, their eight millions will be four times as much as was ever yet raised in the country in any one year; and, it is, I think, not too much to suppose, that an American will bear a

tenth part as much taxes as an Englishman, in the prosecution of a war declared by the vote of *representatives freely chosen by the people, at large*. Eight millions of pounds sterling, raised for three or four successive years, would build a navy that I should, and that I do, contemplate with great uneasiness; for, as I once before had the honour to state to your Royal Highness, the Americans are as good sailors as any that the world ever saw. It is notorious that the American merchant ships sail with fewer hands, in proportion to their size, than the merchant ships of any other nation; the Americans are active in their persons; they are enterprising; they are brave; and, which is of vast consequence, they are, from education and almost from constitution, SOBER, a virtue not at all less valuable in an army or a fleet than it is in domestic life.

This, Sir, is a view of the means and resources of America very different, perhaps, from the views which some persons might be disposed to present to your Royal Highness; and, if this my view of the matter be correct, it surely becomes us to be very cautious how we force these resources into action, and set them in array against us, backed, as they will be, with the implacable hatred of the American people. If, indeed, the honour of England required the setting of these resources at defiance; if England must either confess her disgrace, must basely abandon her known rights; must knuckle down to America, or brave the consequences of what I have been speaking of; I should then say, in the words of the old Norman proverb (adopted by the French in answer to the Duke of Brunswick's proclamation), "*let honour be maintained, happen what will.*"

But, Sir, the question is: does the honour of England require the making of this perilous experiment? In my opinion it does not; and I now, with the most anxious hope, that, at last, they may be attended with some effect, proceed respectfully to submit to your Royal Highness the reasons upon which this opinion is founded.

The dispute with regard to the *Orders in Council* I look upon as being at an end; for, though all is not quite clear in that respect, an arrangement seems to be matter of little difficulty. But, as I am sure your Royal Highness will do me the honour to recollect, I took the liberty to warn the public, the very week that the *Orders in Council* were done away, that that measure alone would do nothing towards preventing

war with America. I then said, and in the most distinct terms and without any hesitation, that America would never be content without a complete abandonment, on our part, of the practice of *seizing persons on board her ships upon the high seas*. I formed this opinion upon the general tone of the American prints; upon the declaration of the Congress; and especially upon information contained in letters received from friends in America, in whose hearts, strange as it may appear to some, my imprisonment in Newgate seems to have revived former feelings towards me. These letters, written by persons (be it observed) strongly attached to England, for no others did I ever number amongst my friends; these letters assured me, that *the people of America*; not the government; not "*a faction*," as our hirelings have called them; that the people of America, from one end of the country to the other, cried for war in preference to longer submission to the stopping of their vessels on the high seas, and taking persons out of them, at the discretion of our officers. Upon this information, coming, in some cases, three hundred miles from the Atlantic coasts, I could safely rely; and, therefore, I did not hesitate to pronounce, that the repeal of the *Orders in Council* alone would not preserve peace; nor, was I a little surprised to hear Mr. Brougham declare, that if that measure did not satisfy America, he, for one, would support a war against her.

The question, then, is now reduced to this: Does the honour of England demand, that she insist upon continuing the practice of which America complains, and against which she is now making war? To answer this question, we must ascertain, whether the practice of which America complains be sanctioned by the usages of nations; whether the giving of it up would be to yield any known right of England; because, in the case of the affirmative, to yield would be to make a sacrifice of our honour, rather than which I agree that we ought to continue the war to the last extremity, it being much less disgraceful to submit to actual force, than to submit to menaces.

My opinion is, however, decidedly in the negative; and I will not disguise from your Royal Highness, that I never felt surprise more complete (to give my feelings no stronger appellation) than that which I experienced at reading the following passage in the letter of Lord Castlereagh to Mr. Russell of the 29th of August last; — "I cannot, however, refrain on one

"single point from expressing my surprise; namely, that, as a condition, preliminary even to a suspension of hostilities, the Government of the United States should have thought fit to demand, that the British Government should desist from its *ancient and accustomed practice of impressing British seamen from the merchant ships of a Foreign State*, simply on the assurance that a law shall hereafter be passed, to prohibit the employment of British seamen in the public or commercial service of that State.—The British Government now, as heretofore, is ready to receive from the Government of the United States, and amicably to discuss, any proposition which professes to have in view either *to check abuse in exercise of the practice of impressment*, or to accomplish, by means less liable to vexation, the object for which impressment has hitherto been found necessary, but they cannot consent to suspend the exercise of a right upon which the naval strength of the empire mainly depends, until they are fully convinced that means can be devised, and will be adopted, by which the object to be obtained by the exercise of that right can be effectually secured."

Being no Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, I shall, I trust, be excused if I am found to understand less of the "ancient and accustomed practice" of Great Britain as to this matter; but, Sir, I have never before heard, except from the London news-papers, that Great Britain did ever, until now, attempt to take persons of any description out of neutral vessels sailing upon the high seas; and very certain I am, that such a practice is not warranted, nay, that it never was thought of, by any of those authors who have written upon public law. I do not recollect a single instance in which we have exercised what is here called a right; and, if in the abandonment of the practice, we give up no known right of England, such abandonment can be no dishonour; unless, which would be a monstrous proposition, it be regarded as dishonourable to cease to do any thing, because the doing of it has been the subject of complaint and the object of resistance.

The men who conduct the London news-papers, and whose lubrications are a sore affliction to their native country, have long been charging the Americans with a wish to make England give up her "right of search." Whether this falsehood has arisen from sheer ignorance, or from that

impunity in deception, or, rather, encouragement to deceive, which such writers have so long experienced in England, I will not take upon me to determine; but, I know well, that it is a most audacious falsehood; I know that America has never expressed even a wish to make us give up "the right of search;" and, if her government were to attempt to accomplish such an end by war, I am quite sure that it would soon lose the support of the people. But, "the right of search" is not, and never has been, for a moment, by any writer on public law, considered as a right to search for persons, except, indeed, military persons, and those, too, openly employed in the enemy's service. "The right of search" is a right, possessed by a belligerent power, to search for and to seize as good prize, any articles contraband of war, such as guns, powder, and the like, which may be on board of a neutral ship going to an enemy's port; because, by carrying the said articles, the neutral does, in fact, aid the enemy in carrying on the war. This right has been further extended to any goods, belonging to an enemy, found on board a neutral vessel; because, by becoming the carrier of his goods, the neutral does, in fact, screen his goods, as far as possible, from capture, and does thereby also aid the enemy. This is what is called "the right of search;" a right, however, which, as far as relates to goods, has been often denied by neutral powers, and which we actually gave up to the threats of Russia, Sweden, and Denmark; towards the end of the last American war.

But, of this right, of no part of this right, do the Americans now complain. They yield to the exercise of this right in all its rigour. But, they deny that we have any right at all; they deny that we have a pretence to any right to stop their vessels upon the high seas, and to take out of them any persons whatever, unless, indeed, military persons in the service of our enemy; and, I repeat it, Sir, that I know of no usage of nations; that I know of no ancient usage of our own even; that I know of no law, maxim, principle, or practice, to sanction that of which the Americans complain, and in resistance of which they are now armed and at war; and, therefore, I am of opinion, that to abandon this practice would be no dishonour to England.

Lord Castlereagh talks of our right to "impress British seamen from the merchant ships of a foreign state." Im-

pressment may take place in our ports and harbours; and, there, if confined to our own seamen, America does not object to it. It is upon the *high seas* that she objects to impressment; because there the matter must be left to the discretion of the British officer. It is there a matter of power. There is no one to appeal to; there is no umpire; there is no judge to look into proofs, and to decide. The searching officer may, under his discretion, take out as many men as he pleases; he may leave the ship despoiled of the hands necessary to conduct her a league; and, he may take out American citizens as well as English subjects. That this may be done is quite certain, because it has been done in countless instances. Thousands of native Americans, thus impressed, have been released by our Admiralty on the official application of the American agents; and, who can doubt that many thousands remain unreleased? General Lyman, late American Consul in London, once stated, in a report to his government, that there were about *fourteen thousand* native Americans then on board our fleet, who had been impressed from on board American ships on the high seas. He might possibly exaggerate; but it is not to be doubted that the number was, and has constantly been, very considerable. And, I beg your Royal Highness to take a serious view of the great hardships experienced by Americans thus impressed. Taken from their lawful and peaceable pursuits; dragged into a service and forced under a discipline so little congenial with their habits and their prejudices; waded away to sickly climates, exposed to all the dangers of battle, taken, perhaps for ever, from the sight and the knowledge of their homes and friends; and, if, by chance (for it can be nothing more), restored at last, restored (as has often been the case) with the loss of health or of limbs, and, at the very least, with the loss of time, and that, too, in the prime of their lives; and carrying about them, for the remainder of their days, feelings towards England which I need not attempt to describe.

Your Royal Highness's heart will tell you, I hope, much better than I can, not what is, but what *must* be, the effect of such a practice, carried on against a people, who are not only the children of Englishmen, but of those Englishmen who preferred freedom in a wilderness across the ocean to slavery in their native land. This it is, Sir, that has, at last, kindled the flame of war in a country where the

very name of war was too hateful to be endured.

But, in answer to all this, it is said, by Lord Castlereagh, that "the naval strength of the empire mainly depends" upon the continuation of this practice of impressment. That is to say, if we take the whole of the facts into view, our naval strength mainly depends upon a practice which exposes so many of the American citizens to misery and ruin. The plain meaning of our perseverance in the practice is this: that, if we do not continue it, our seamen will desert to the American ships in such numbers as to leave us without the possibility of obtaining a sufficiency of men to man and fight our fleet. Supposing this to be the fact, it really forms no justification of the practice; for, we can have no right to put America to any inconvenience whatever merely for our own benefit, or to save ourselves from loss or danger. The President, however, in order to show, that he does not wish us to receive any injury in this way, and in order, if possible, to put an end to the war, has made a voluntary offer of a law to be passed in America to prevent our seamen from being admitted into American ships, upon condition, that we will first abandon our practice of impressment, and give up, that is, restore to their liberty, those native Americans whom we have already impressed. Mr. Russell, in his letter to Lord Castlereagh, says:—"While, however, it regards this course as the only one which remained for it to pursue with a hope of preserving any portion of that kind of character, which constitutes the vital strength of every nation, yet it is still willing to give another proof of the spirit which has uniformly distinguished its proceedings, by seeking to arrest, on terms consistent with justice and honour, the calamities of war. It has therefore authorized me to stipulate, with His Britannic Majesty's Government, an armistice to commence at or before the expiration of sixty days after the signature of the instrument providing for it, on condition that the Orders in Council be repealed, and no illegal blockades to be substituted to them, and that orders be immediately given to discontinue the impressment of persons from American vessels, and to restore the citizens of the United States already impressed; it being moreover well understood that the British Government will assent to enter into definitive arrangements as soon as

"may be, on these and every other deference, by a Treaty to be concluded either at London or Washington, as on an impartial consideration of existing circumstances shall be deemed most expedient. As an inducement to Great Britain to discontinue the practice of impressment from American vessels, I am authorized to give assurance that a law shall be passed (to be reciprocal) to prohibit the employment of British seamen in the public or commercial service of the United States."

Really, Sir, it is not possible, it appears to me, to suggest any thing more reasonable than this. I can form an idea of nothing more strongly expressive of a desire to put an end to the war. What! shall it be said that England wages a war, when she might terminate it by such means? I trust not, and that we shall not have to weep over a much longer continuation of this unfortunate contest.

I know, that there are persons who treat the idea of a law, passed by the Congress, with contempt. But, if this is to be the course pursued, the war will not soon have an end. We must treat America with respect. We must do it; and the sooner we begin the better. Some of the impudent hireling writers in London, affect to say, that no credit is to be given to any act of the American government; that our officers ought not to believe the passports and certificates produced by the American seamen. If this is to be the tone, and if we are to act accordingly, there is no possibility of making peace with America. Peace implies *treaty* and *confidence*; but, what confidence are we to have in a nation such as our hirelings describe America to be? This arrogant, this insolent tone must be dropped, or peace is impossible.

The fact of our impressing of native Americans is affected to be denied, and Lord Castlereagh does not notice the proposition to *restore* those whom we have already impressed. But, Sir, if the fact were not perfectly notorious, that thousands have been released by us, the letter of CAPTAIN DACRES, of the *Guerriere*, removes all doubt upon the subject; for, in that letter, intended to account for his defeat by the *Constitution*, he says, that **PART OF HIS CREW WERE NATIVE AMERICANS**, and, they not choosing to fight against their country, he suffered them to be inactive spectators. Now, here we have the fact clearly ac-

knowledgeed, that we had Americans unwillingly serving on board. And, what a lamentable contrast do we find in the same letter, with regard to some *English seamen* said to have been on board the *Constitution*; to which I beg leave to add, for your most serious moment, the fact (if a fact it be) that part of the crews of the victorious American ships, the *Wasp* and the *United States*, were *English*. Nay, it is stated in the *Courier* news-paper, upon what is asserted to be good authority, that *two thirds* of the crews of the American ships of war are *English seamen*. If this be true, it is another, and a most cogent reason, for acceding to the terms of America, and putting an end to the war; for, the longer the war continues the longer will continue a connexion from which such fearful consequences may ensue.

At any rate, it appears to me, that our own safety, if the war is to be continued, will dictate the discharging of all the impressed Americans whom we may have on board of our ships. Fight against their country they will not, unless they be forced, and who is to foresee and provide against the contagion of such an example? Against this evil, however, and against numerous others, which I forbear to mention, the measure proposed by the President would completely guard us; and, the respect, which it is my duty to entertain towards your Royal Highness, bids me hope that that proposition will finally be accepted.

I am, &c. &c.

WM. COBBETT.

Bolton, 29th Dec. 1812.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

NORTHERN WAR.—And, he is not dead! He is not dead! And all the Lloyd's men are baffled!—Napoleon, after having conducted his army out of danger, has himself returned to Paris, where, it appears he has been received with as much joy as if he had met, in his absence, with no reverse at all.—The 29th Bulletin does him more honour than any one he has ever published. It is a candid exposition of his own disappointment and of the sufferings of his army. It contains internal evidence of its truth, and leaves, in my mind, no doubt at all, not only of his *design*, but of his *skill*, to recommence his attack on Russia in the spring.—I will, on some future occa-

sign, review the accounts of "his defeat," which have been published in London; for, such a string of falsehoods, such impudent, and at the same time such stupid attempts at deception, were never, surely, heard of before. These accounts would make a most curious and not a small volume. It is a volume of which he will not lose sight, I dare say.—What mischiefs have not this vile press done in the world! Now where is the *Bourbon project*? Now where are all the hopes of "marching to peace over his corpse?"—The dream is already over, and we awaken to the reality of endless war.—The "three armies in his front and two armies in his rear" could not, it seems, arrest his progress. In short, either almost the whole of what we heard of his perils was false, or he has now gained a thousand times more glory than he ever before was entitled to.—For my part, I am quite struck dumb at the credulity of those who believe him to be a *fallen man*. It fills one with despair to see any portion of the public so besotted. Far be it from me to blame any Englishman for wishing to see Napoleon down; but, to believe that he is so, when they see him return to his capital amidst the acclamations of the French people, is, one would suppose, too much for any people in their senses.—In a few weeks, however, we shall see reflection return. Kutosow's adventures have been a sort of honey-moon to us. When that is quite passed, we shall become as mopish as gib-cats. We shall look back with shame to our ecstasies and deliriums; and, about that time too will come the landlord with his reckoning; that is to say, the minister with his Budget, and the war with its extended demands.

WM. COBBETT.

Bethel, 30th Dec. 1812.

OFFICIAL PAPERS.

AMERICAN PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.

(Continued from page 830, vol. 22.)

maintenance of our own; that it was preceded by a patience without example, under wrongs accumulating without end; and that it was finally not declared, until every hope of averting it was extinguished by the transfer of the British Sceptres into new hands, clinging to former Councils, and until declarations were reiterated in the last

hour through the British Envoy here, that the hostile edicts against our commercial rights and our maritime independence would not be revoked; nay, that they could not be revoked, without violating the obligations of Great Britain to other Powers as well as to her own interests. To have shrunk under such circumstances, from manly resistance, would have been a degradation blasting our best and proudest hopes. It would have struck us from the high rank where the virtuous struggles of our fathers had placed us, and have betrayed the magnificent legacy which we hold in trust for future generations. It would have acknowledged, that on the element which forms three-fourths of the globe we inhabit, and where all independent nations have equal and common rights, the American people were not an independent people, but colonists and vassals.—It was at this moment, and with such an alternative, that war was chosen. The nation felt the necessity of it, and called for it. The appeal was accordingly made in a just cause, to the just and powerful Being who holds in his hands the chain of events and the destiny of nations. It remains only, that faithful to ourselves, entangled with no connexions with the views of other Powers, and ever ready to accept peace from the hand of justice, we prosecute that war with united council, and with the ample faculties of the nation, until peace be so obtained, and as the only means under the divine blessing of speedily obtaining it.

JAMES MADISON,

Nov. 4, 1812.

ARMIES OF SPAIN.

OFFICE OF THE MINISTER AT WAR.

Paris, Dec. 11.

Copy of a Letter written to the Minister at War by Marshal Jourdan, Chief of his Catholic Majesty's Staff.

Salamanca, Nov. 21.

I have the honour to address to your Excellency the account of the prisoners of war, and deserters which have entered Salamanca from the 16th up to this evening.—I am ignorant whether the Duke of Dalmatia, whose head-quarters ought to be at Salvatierra, has any still with him. When I shall be informed on that head, I shall have the honour to render you an account thereof.

Account of the Prisoners of War and Deserters, which have entered Salamanca, from the 16th Nov. to this day, the 21st of the same month.

	Officers.	Sub-Officers and Soldiers.
English . . .	7	1,414
Portuguese . . .	9	904
Spanish . . .	9	849
Deserters . . .	0	330
	25	3,497

Among the officers is Lieutenant-General Paget.

JOURDAN, Marshal of the Empire.

Extract of a Letter from Baron Thouvenot, General of Brigade, Governor of the 4th Government of Spain, to the Minister at War.

Vittoria, Dec. 4.

General Bigarre, Aid-de-camp to his Catholic Majesty, has just arrived at Vittoria, bearing dispatches for the Emperor. He announces that 2,600 prisoners, among whom is General Paget, will arrive on the 6th at Vittoria, under the escort of 3,000 of the army of Portugal.—The English have retreated into Portugal, and it appears that our affairs in that quarter are going on as well as possible.—The General in Chief, Count Reille, set out to-day to proceed on his route to Burgos.

(Signed) Baron THOUVENOT.

Extracts from Dispatches addressed to the Minister at War, the Duke of Feltre, by Marshal Jourdan, Chief of his Catholic Majesty's Staff.

Madrid, Nov. 3.

The King departed from Cuenza on the 26th, and fixed his head-quarters at Horcajada; the head of the Army of the Centre arrived on the same day at Tarancon.—On the 27th his Majesty arrived at Tarancon; reconnoissances were pushed on Fuente-Duena, which was still occupied by the English troops; the bridge of boats had been withdrawn upon the right bank of the Tagus.—The Duke of Dalmatia arrived on the 25th at Santa Cruz de la Sarza; on the same day, the reserve of cavalry of the army of the South, commanded by General Tilly, was at Villa Tobas. The Duke of Dalmatia ordered him to push a very strong reconnoissance on Ocana; Gen. Bonnemain had the command of it. He found at Ocana 17 English and Portuguese squadrons, commanded by General Long, who would not fight, and who fell back upon Aranjuez.

—Gen. Bonnemain pursued him for a league on the other side of Ocana; he overtook his rear-guard, sabred 30 men, and made 20 prisoners; he also carried away about thirty horses. The Duke of Dalmatia fixed his head-quarters on the 26th at Ocana, whence he sent a reconnoissance upon Aranjuez. The enemy had evacuated this town, blown up the bridge of la Reyna, and burnt the one near the palace; several corps of infantry and cavalry were seen in the park on the right bank. The Duke of Dalmatia began his operations for rebuilding the bridges. The tide of the Tagus was very high; the fords were impracticable. On the 28th, his Majesty marched with his reserve to Santa Cruz de la Parza. On the same day the troops of the Army of the Centre, who marched upon the Tagus to reconnoitre the force and position of the enemy, discovered that he had evacuated Fuente Duena. The boats of the bridge were on the right bank, however, without having received any damage; the posts and cables had been cut, and the beams carried away. An officer of sappers swam across the river; his example was followed by several soldiers; the boats were replaced, and the rebuilding of the bridge was immediately set about. On the 29th, the King moved his head-quarters to Ocana. On the same day the enemy's troops, who had remained in the park of Aranjuez, on the right bank of the Tagus, retired behind the Jarama. The Duke of Dalmatia advanced to Aranjuez.—On the 30th, the bridges were entirely re-established at Aranjuez and Fuente Duena. It was reported that the enemy intended to concentrate his forces upon the right bank of the Jarama, and that he appeared inclined to defend that position, which is extremely strong. Marshal the Duke of Dalmatia made a reconnoissance this day; he found the enemy intrenched upon the bridge of the Jarama, called Puente Largo; after several volleys of cannon, the enemy withdrew his artillery, and exploded two mines, which blew up one arch of the bridge. The Duke of Dalmatia then ordered the firing of the musketry to cease, as it was now without object. Our loss in this battle was about 25 wounded, among whom was an officer of Voltigeurs: the enemy's loss was much more considerable: he had several men killed on the bridge.—The Duke of Dalmatia still supposed the enemy intended to give battle in the position which overlooks the Jarama, and as this position is truly inaccessible in front, it was necessary

to manoeuvre to force the enemy to abandon it.—On the 31st, the Duke of Dalmatia learnt, and announced to his Majesty, that the enemy had abandoned Puente Largo. This bridge was re-established, and on the same day the advanced guard of the Army of the South advanced to Valdemoro, and took about 300 prisoners. The divisions of this army began to march on the night of the 31st, from the different points which they occupied, and passed the Tagus at Aranjuez; they defiled during the whole of the day and night of the 1st of November. The army had not entirely passed the Tagus on the 2d of November, at six o'clock in the morning.—The King proceeded on the 31st to Aranjuez, and ordered the Count D'Erlon to march upon this point, in order to follow the movement of the army of the South.—On the 1st of November, the advanced posts of the army of the South arrived near Madrid; that city was evacuated, and the enemy made his retreat by the Puerto de Guadarama.—On the 2d, the army of the South was concentrated in the environs of Madrid; the advanced guard proceeded to the Escorial, and continued to make prisoners. On the same day the division of Gen. Villatte arrived in Madrid, and his Majesty also arrived with his guards; the army of the Centre defiled upon the bridge of Aranjuez.—This day, the 5th, the troops of the army of the South marched in the direction of the Escorial and Guadarama; the advanced guard must now be on the other side of the mountains.—The army of the Centre is arrived in the neighbourhood of Madrid; General D'Armagnac's division has succeeded, in Madrid, that of Gen. Villatte, which has followed the movement of the army of the South.—The infantry of the royal guard has just departed, to sleep at Las-Rosas; it will arrive to-morrow at Guadarama, and the King will rejoin it with his cavalry. His Majesty's intention is to pursue the enemy with the army of the South, and to place himself in communication with the army of Portugal. The army of the Centre will continue united in Madrid and its neighbourhood, and will be in readiness to join the King, if Lord Wellington should concentrate his forces to give battle.

(Signed) JOURDAN.

Salamanca, Nov. 10, 1812.

A. I had the honour of informing you in my letter of the 5th, that the King left Madrid on the 4th with his guard. The same day his Majesty established his head-quarters at

Guadarama. The cavalry of the army of the South occupied St. Antonio de las-Naras and Villa Castin. One part of the infantry was at L'Espinar, the other part remained at Guadarama and Guadalupe.—In the night between the 4th and 5th, the Duke of Dalmatia reported to the King that General Hill was continuing his retreat, and that he appeared to direct his march upon Arrevalo, where, it was said, he was to form his junction with Lord Wellington. The King had no certain intelligence of the army of Portugal, but all that could be learned indicated that army to have answered on the right of the Douro, all the bridges of which the enemy had destroyed, and that Lord Wellington announced the intention of leaving on the left bank a portion of his army to observe that of Portugal, and to join the rest of General Hill's at Arrevalo, in order to combat the army of the South separately. His Majesty, that nothing might be compromised, thought it right to call to his aid the army of the Centre, which remained at Madrid. He, therefore, on the 5th, ordered the Count of Erlon to leave Madrid immediately, and to advance as rapidly as possible on Villa Castin, whence he would have to follow the direction taken by the army.—On the 5th, the King moved his head-quarters to Villa Castin. The same day, our cavalry having arrived on the Boltaya, perceived that of the enemy on the right bank of the river, covering the march of their infantry. The Duke of Dalmatia hastened the march of his infantry, and united some divisions at Labajos; the cavalry followed the movements of the enemy, who took the direction of Penaranda, and met that of Arrevalo. Our cavalry took a position at Villa Nueva de Gomez, Blasco-Sancho, and Sanchidrian.—On the 6th, the King advanced his head-quarters to Arrevalo, and all the army moved in that direction.—On the 7th, the King remained at Arrevalo. Reconnoitring parties were sent out, which communicated with the army of Portugal, which had arrived at Medina del Campo. The divisions of the army of the South which were still in the rear, of their march upon Arrevalo, of Portugal, commanding, that Lord Wellington, directing his march on Salazar, repaid with four divisions of his army, and a Spanish army commanded by Castanos.—On the 8th, the King still continued at Arrevalo. The troops of the army of the South, which were yet behind, proce-

cuted their march, and the army of the Centre arrived at Villa Castin. The same day the Duke of Dalmatia moved his cavalry on Penaranda, and some divisions of infantry were at Flores de Avilla.—On the 9th, the King's head-quarters were at Flores de Avilla; the army of the Centre advanced upon Puenteveros; that of Portugal on Vittoria, Babilá Fuente, and Huerta. The cavalry of the army of the South proceeded towards Alba de Tormes, and the infantry advanced to Flores de Avilla and Penaranda.—This day, the 10th, the King arrived at Penaranda, where his Majesty established his head-quarters. Count D'Erlon continued his movement to establish himself at Macotera and its environs; the army of Portugal is completing its movement upon Babilá Fuente. The Duke of Dalmatia has directed his march towards Alba de Tormes, with his cavalry and part of his infantry. Alba de Tormes appears to be strongly occupied. The Duke of Dalmatia has fired 1,500 cannon on this post, without being able to dislodge the enemy.—Count Souham reports, that Lord Wellington occupies the position of San Christoval, in advance of Salamanca.—During this march some hundreds of prisoners have been collected, together with some equipages.

I pray, &c. (Signed) JOURDAN.

Extract of a Letter from General Lamarque, Commander in Upper Catalonia, to the Minister at War.

Gerona, Nov. 29.

Sir,—Areynes-del-Mare was the *entrepôt* of the enemy's smuggling, and one of his magazines. This criminal commerce was carried on under the protection of the English ships lying in the roads.—A moveable battery was placed at the entrance of the town; the first firing put the English to flight, all their vessels stood out to sea, and we have taken possession of Areynes-del-Mare and of its magazines, the enemy making no endeavour to thwart our operation. The Catalonians perceived, from the conduct of the English in this instance, how weak they can rely on the promises of such worthless auxiliaries.—The English merchandises seized at Areynes-del-Mare were instantly either burnt or thrown into the sea; but the grain, flour, rice, and other provisions, were conducted to the magazines of Barcelona. The articles brought from the Spanish colonies, such as the sugar and coffee of Havana, the cottons of Vera Cruz and Motril, and the leather of Buenos

Ayres, were forwarded to Gerona, to be there sold for the profit of the army; the quinquina, the manna, the gum, and the wax were reserved for the military hospitals.

(Signed) M. LAMARQUE.

DOCUMENTS

WHICH ACCOMPANIED THE AMERICAN PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE TO CONGRESS.

Mr. Russell to Lord Castlereagh.

My Lord,—It is only necessary, I trust, to call the attention of your Lordship to a review of the conduct of the Government of the United States, to prove incontrovertibly its unceasing anxiety to maintain the relations of peace and friendship with Great Britain. Its patience in suffering the many wrongs which it has received, and its perseverance in endeavouring, by amicable means, to obtain redress, are known to the world. Despairing, at length, of receiving this redress from the justice of the British Government, to which it had so often applied in vain, and feeling that a further forbearance would be a virtual surrender of the interests and rights essential to the prosperity and independence of the nation confided to its protection, it has been compelled to discharge its high duty by an appeal to arms. While, however, it regards this course as the only one which remained for it to pursue with a hope of preserving any portion of that kind of character, which constitutes the vital strength of every nation, yet it is still willing to give another proof of the spirit which has uniformly distinguished its proceedings, by seeking to arrest, on terms consistent with justice and honour, the calamities of war. It has, therefore, authorized me to stipulate with His Britannic Majesty's Government, an armistice, to commence at or before the expiration of 60 days after the signature of the instrument providing for it, on condition that the Orders in Council be repealed, and no illegal blockades be substituted for them, and that orders be immediately given to discontinue the impressment of persons from American vessels, and to restore the citizens of the United States already impressed; it being moreover well understood that the British Government will assent to enter into ~~no~~ arrangements, as soon as may be, on these and every other difference, by a Treaty, to be concluded, either at London or Washington, as an impar-

tial consideration of existing circumstances shall be deemed most expedient.—As an inducement to Great Britain to discontinue the practice of impressment from American vessels, I am authorized to give assurance that a law shall be passed (to be reciprocal) to prohibit the employment of British seamen in the public or commercial service of the United States.—It is sincerely believed, that such an arrangement would prove more efficacious, in securing to Great Britain her seamen, than the practice of impressment, so derogatory to the sovereign attributes of the United States, and so incompatible with the personal rights of their citizens.—Your Lordship will not be surprised that I have presented the revocation of the Orders in Council as a preliminary to the suspension of hostilities, when it is considered that the act of the British Government of the 23d of June last, ordaining that revocation, is predicated on conditions, the performance of which is rendered impracticable by the change which is since known to have occurred in the relations between the two countries. It cannot now be expected that the Government of the United States will immediately, on due notice of that Act, revoke, or cause to be revoked, its Acts, excluding from the waters and harbours of the United States all British armed vessels, and interdicting commercial intercourse with Great Britain. Such a procedure would necessarily involve consequences too unreasonable and extravagant to be for a moment presumed. The Order in Council of the 23d of June last will, therefore, according to its own terms, be null, and of no effect, and a new act of the British Government, adapted to existing circumstances, is obviously required for the effectual repeal of the Orders in Council of which the United States complain.—The Government of the United States considers indemnity for injuries received under the Orders in Council and other edicts, violating the rights of the American nation, to be incident to their repeal, and it believes that satisfactory provision will be made in the definitive treaty to be hereafter negotiated for this purpose.—The conditions now offered to the British Government for the termination of the war by an armistice, as above stated, are so moderate and just in themselves, and so entirely consistent with its interest and honour, that a confident hope is indulged that it will not hesitate to accept them. In so doing it will abandon no right; it will sacrifice no interest; it will abstain only from

violating the rights of the United States, and in return it will restore peace with the Power, from whom in a friendly commercial intercourse so many advantages are to be derived.—Your Lordship is undoubtedly aware of the serious difficulties with which the prosecution of the war, even for a short period, must necessarily embarrass all future attempts at accommodation. Passions exasperated by injuries—alliances or conquests on terms which forbid their abandonment—will inevitably hereafter embitter and protract a contest which might now be so easily and happily terminated.—Deeply impressed with these truths, I cannot but persuade myself that His Royal Highness the Prince Regent will take into his early consideration the propositions herein made on behalf of the United States, and decide on them in a spirit of conciliation and justice.—I have the honour to be, with high consideration, my Lord, your Lordship's most obedient servant,

(Signed) JONA RUSSELL.

To the Right Hon. Lord Viscount Castlereagh, &c.

Lord Castlereagh to Mr. Russell.

Foreign Office, Aug. 20.

Sir,—Although the diplomatic relations between the two Governments have been terminated, by a declaration of war on the part of the United States, I have not hesitated, under the peculiar circumstances of the case, and the authority under which you act; to submit to the Prince Regent the proposition contained in your letter of the 24th inst. for a suspension of hostilities.—From the period at which your instructions must have been issued, it is obvious that this overture was determined upon by the Government of the United States in ignorance of the Order in Council of the 23d of June last, and as you inform me that you are not at liberty to depart from the conditions set forth in your letter, it only remains for me to acquaint you, that the Prince Regent feels himself under the necessity of declining to accede to the propositions therein contained, as being on various grounds absolutely inadmissible.—As soon as there was reason to apprehend that Mr. Foster's functions might have ceased in America, and that he might have been obliged to withdraw himself, in consequence of war being declared, from the United States, before the above-mentioned Order of the 23d of June, and the instructions consequent thereupon, could have

reached him, measures were taken for authorizing the British Admiral on the American station to propose to the United States an immediate and reciprocal revocation of all hostile orders, with the tender of giving full effect, in the event of hostilities being discontinued, to the provisions of the said order, upon conditions therein specified.—From this statement you will perceive, that the view you have taken of this part of the subject is incorrect, and that, in the present state of the relations between the two countries, the operation of the Order of the 23d of June can only be defeated by a refusal on the part of your Government to desist from hostilities, or to comply with the conditions expressed in the said Order.—Under the circumstances of your having no powers to negotiate, I must decline entering into a detailed discussion of the propositions which you have been directed to bring forward.—I cannot, however, refrain on one single point from expressing my surprise; namely, that, as a condition, preliminary even to a suspension of hostilities, the Government of the United States should have thought fit to demand, that the British Government should desist from its ancient and accustomed practice of impressing British seamen from the merchant ships of a foreign State, simply on the assurance that a law shall hereafter be passed, to prohibit the employment of British seamen in the public or commercial service of that State.—The British Government now, as heretofore, is ready to receive from the Government of the United States, and amicably to discuss, any proposition which professes to have in view either to check abuse in exercise of the practice of impressment, or to accomplish, by means less liable to vexation, the object for which impressment has hitherto been found necessary; but they cannot consent to suspend the exercise of a right upon which the naval strength of the empire mainly depends, until they are fully convinced that means can be devised, and will be adopted, by which the object to be obtained by the exercise of that right can be effectually secured. I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

(Signed) CASTLEREAGH.

J. Russell, Esq. &c.

Mr. Russell to Lord Castlereagh.

18, Bentinck-street, 1st Sept. 1812.

My Lord,—I have learnt with much regret, by your Lordship's note, dated the

29th ult. which I did not receive until this morning, that the Prince Regent has thought proper to decline to accede to the proposition for a suspension of hostilities, contained in my note of the 21st of August.

—It has been matter of surprise to me that my view with regard to the revocation of the Orders in Council on the 23d of June last should have been considered to have been incorrect, when it appears by your Lordship's note that the British Government itself had deemed it necessary to give powers to the British Admiral to stipulate for its full effect, and thereby admitted that a new act was required for that purpose.

—It now only remains for me to announce to your Lordship that it is my intention to embark immediately at Plymouth, on board the ship *Lark*, for the United States, and to request that permission may be granted, as soon as may be, for the embarkation of my servants, baggage, and the effects of this legation, and that the necessary passports may be furnished for my own and their safe conduct to that destination.—I avail myself of this occasion to apprise your Lordship, that I am authorized by the Government of the United States to leave Reuben Gaunt Beasley, Esq. as its agent for prisoners of war in this country, and to desire that every necessary facility may be offered him in the exercise of that trust by the British Government.—I have the honour to be, my Lord, your Lordship's most obedient humble servant,

(Signed) JONA RUSSELL.

The Right Hon. Lord Viscount Castlereagh.

Lord Castlereagh to Mr. Russell.

Foreign Office, Sept. 2, 1812.

Sir,—I have laid before His Royal Highness the Prince Regent your letter of the 1st inst. in which you announce your intention to embark immediately at Plymouth, on board the ship *Lark*, for the United States.

—I have already the honour of forwarding to you an Admiralty Order, for the protection of that ship as a cartel on her voyage to America, and I herewith enclose to you a passport for the free embarkation of yourself and family, in conformity to your request. The Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury will issue directions to the Commissioners of the Customs to give every facility to the embarkation of your effects.—If, previous to your departure from England, you can point out

to me any particular manner in which I can facilitate your arrangements, I beg that you will command my services.—His Royal Highness has commanded me to signify to you, for the information of your Government, that there will be no difficulty in allowing Mr. R. C. Beasley, as stated in your letter, to reside in this country, as the United States' agent for prisoners of war.—I have the honour to subscribe myself, with great truth and consideration, Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

(Signed) CASTLEREACH.

J. Russell, Esq.

Correspondence between Sir J. B. Warren, and the Secretary of State, Mr. Monroe.

Halifax, Nova Scotia, Sept. 30.

Sir,—The departure of Mr. Foster from America has devolved upon me the charge of making known to you, for the information of the Government of the United States, the sentiments entertained by His Royal Highness the Prince Regent, upon the existing relations of the two countries.—You will observe from the enclosed copy of an Order in Council, bearing date the 28d of June, 1812, that the Orders in Council of the 7th of Jan. 1807, and the 26th of April, 1809, ceased to exist nearly at the same time that the Government of the United States declared war against His Majesty.—Immediately on the receipt of this declaration in London, the Order in Council, of which a copy is herewith enclosed to you, was issued, on the 31st day of July, for the embargo and detention of all American ships.—Under these circumstances, I am commanded to propose to your Government the immediate cessation of hostilities between the two countries; and I shall be most happy to be the instrument of bringing about a reconciliation, so interesting and beneficial to America and Great Britain.—I therefore propose to you, that the Government of the United States of America shall instantly recall their letters of marque and reprisal against British ships, together with all orders and instructions for any acts of hostility whatever against the territory of His Majesty, or the persons or property of his subjects: with the understanding, that immediately on my receiving from you an official assurance to that effect, I shall instruct all the officers under my command to desist from corresponding measures of war against the ships and property of the

United States, and that I shall transmit, without delay, corresponding intelligence to the several parts of the world where hostilities may have commenced; the British Commanders in which will be required to discontinue hostilities, from the receipt of such notice.—Should the American Government accede to the above proposal for terminating hostilities, I am authorized to arrange with you as to the revocation of the laws which interdict the commerce and ships of war of Great Britain from the harbours and waters of the United States; in default of which revocation within such reasonable period as may be agreed upon, you will observe, by the Order of the 28d of June, the Orders in Council of January, 1807, and April, 1809, are to be revived.—The officer who conveys this letter to the American coast has received my orders to put to sea immediately upon the delivering of this dispatch to the competent Authority; and I earnestly recommend, that no time may be lost in communicating to me the decision of your Government, persuaded as I feel, that it cannot but be of a nature to lead to a speedy termination of the present differences.—The flag of truce which you may charge with your reply, will find one of my cruisers at Sandy Hook, ten days after the landing of this dispatch, which I have directed to call there with a flag of truce for that purpose. I have the honour to be, with the highest consideration,

JOHN BORLASE WARREN,

Admiral of the Blue, and Commander in Chief, &c.

Mr. Monroe to Sir J. B. Warren.

Department of State, Oct. 27, 1812.

Sir,—I have had the honour to receive your letter of the 30th ult. and to submit it to the consideration of the President.—It appears that you are authorized to propose a cessation of hostilities between the United States and Great Britain, on the ground of the repeal of the Orders in Council; and, in case the proposition is acceded to, to take measures, in concert with this Government, to carry it into complete effect on both sides.—You state, also, that you have it in charge in the event, to enter into an arrangement with the Government of the United States for the repeal of the laws which interdict the ships of war and the commerce of Great Britain from the harbours and waters of the United States; and you intimate, that

if the proposition is not acceded to, the Orders in Council (repealed conditionally by that of the 23d of June last) will be revived against the commerce of the United States.—I am instructed to inform you, that it will be very satisfactory to the President to meet the British Government in such arrangements as may terminate without delay, the hostilities which now exist between the United States and Great Britain, on conditions honourable to both nations.—At the moment of the declaration of war, the President gave a signal proof of the attachment of the United States to peace. Instructions were given, at an early period, to the late *Chargé d'Affaires* of the United States at London, to propose to the British Government an armistice, on conditions which, it was presumed, would have been satisfactory. It has been seen with regret, that the proposition made by Mr. Monroe, particularly in regard to the important interest of impressment, was rejected, and that none was offered through that channel, as a basis on which hostilities might cease.—As your Government has authorized you to propose a cessation of hostilities, and is doubtless aware of the important and salutary effect which a satisfactory adjustment of this difference cannot fail to have on the future relations between the two countries, I indulge the hope that it has, ere this, given you full powers for the purpose. Experience has sufficiently evinced that no peace can be durable, unless this object is provided for: it is presumed, therefore, that it is equally the interest of both countries to adjust it at this time.—Without further discussing questions of right, the President is desirous to provide a remedy for the evils complained of on both sides. The claim of the British Government is to take from the merchant vessels of other countries British subjects. In the practice, the Commanders of British ships of war often take from the merchant vessels of the United States American citizens. If the United States prohibit the employment of British subjects in their service, and enforce the prohibition by suitable regulations and penalties, the motive for the practice is taken away. It is in this mode that the President is willing to accommodate this important controversy with the British Government, and it cannot be conceived on what ground the arrangement can be refused.—A suspension of the practice of impressment, pending the armistice, seems to be a necessary conse-

quence. It cannot be presumed, while the parties are engaged in a negotiation to adjust amicably this important difference, that the United States would admit the right or acquiesce in the practice of the opposite party; or that Great Britain would be unwilling to restrain her cruisers from a practice which would have the strongest tendency to defeat the negotiation. It is presumable that both parties would enter into a negotiation with a sincere desire to give it effect. For this purpose, it is necessary that a clear and distinct understanding be first obtained between them, of the accommodation which each is prepared to make. If the British Government is willing to suspend the practice of impressment from American vessels, on consideration that the United States will exclude British seamen from their service, the regulation by which this compromise should be carried into effect would be solely the object of this negotiation. The armistice would be of short duration. If the parties agree, peace would be the result. If the negotiation failed, each would be restored to its former state, and to all its pretensions, by recurring to war.—Lord Castlereagh, in his note to Mr. Russell, seems to have supposed, that, had the British Government accepted the propositions made to it, Great Britain would have suspended immediately the exercise of a right on the mere assurance of this Government, that a law would be afterwards passed to prohibit the employment of British seamen in the service of the United States, and that Great Britain would have no agency in the regulation to give effect to that proposition. Such an idea was not in the contemplation of this Government, nor is to be reasonably inferred from Mr. Russell's note: least, however, by possibility such an inference might be drawn from the instructions to Mr. Russell, and anxious that there should be no misunderstanding in the case, subsequent instructions were given to Mr. Russell, with a view to obviate every objection of the kind alluded to. As they bear date on the 27th of July, and were forwarded by the British packet *Alpha*, it is more than probable that they may have been received and acted on.—I am happy to explain to you thus fully the views of my Government on this important subject. The President desires that the war which exists between our countries should be terminated on such conditions as may secure a solid and durable peace. To accomplish this great object, it is necessary

that the interest of impressment be satisfactorily arranged. He is willing that Great Britain should be secured against the evils of which she complains. He seeks, on the other hand, that the citizens of the United States should be protected against a practice, which, while it degrades the nation, deprives them of their right as freemen, takes them by force from their families and their country, into a foreign service, to fight the battles of a foreign Power, perhaps against their own kindred and country.—I abstain from entering, in this communication, into other grounds of differences. The Orders in Council having been repealed (with a reservation not impairing a corresponding right on the part of the United States), and no illegal blockades revived or instituted in their stead, and an understanding being obtained on the subject of impressment, in the mode herein proposed, the President is willing to agree to a cessation of hostilities, with a view to arrange, by treaty, in a more distinct and ample manner, and to the satisfaction of both parties, every other subject of controversy.—I will only add, that if there be no objection to an accommodation of the difference relating to impressment, in the mode proposed, other than the suspension of the British claims to impressment during the armistice, there can be none to proceeding, without the armistice, to an immediate discussion and arrangement of an article on that subject. This great question being satisfactorily adjusted, the way will be open either for an armistice or any other course leading most conveniently and expeditiously to a general pacification.

I have the honour to be, &c.

JAMES MONRO.

PROCLAMATION,

Issued by the Emperor Alexander, dated St. Petersburg, Nov. 15.

We, Alexander the First, by the Grace of God, Emperor and Autocrat of all the Russias, &c.—It is well known to the whole world in what manner the enemy has entered the boundaries of our empire. No step or means that have so frequently been resorted to by the punctual fulfilment of the peaceable stipulations, nor our steady endeavours by all possible means to avert the effects of a bloody and destructive war, have been able to check his obstinate design, in which he has shewn himself entirely immovable. With peaceable pro-

mises on his tongue, he never ceased to think on war. At length having collected a large army, and strengthened it with Austrian, Prussian, Bavarian, Wurtemberg, Westphalian, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, and Polish regiments, who were constrained through disgrace and fear, he put himself in motion with this immense force, supplied with vast quantities of artillery, and penetrated into the interior of our country. Murder, fire, and destruction, were his attendants on the march. The plundered property, the towns and villages set on fire, the smoking ruins of Moscow, the Kremlin blown up into the air, the temples and altars of the Lord destroyed; in one word, all kinds of cruelty and barbarity, hitherto unheard of, at length prove by his own actions, that they have long been lying concealed in the depth of his mind. The mighty and happy Russian Empire, which possesses every thing in abundance, awakened in the heart of the enemy envy and dread. The possession of the whole world could not satisfy him, so long as the fertile fields of Russia still were happy. Full of this envy and internal hatred, he revolved, turned, and arranged in his mind, all manner of evil means by which he might give a dreadful blow to her power, a total confusion to her riches, and bring general destruction on her prosperity. He likewise thought, by cunning and flattery, to shake the fidelity of our subjects; by the defilement of the sanctuaries, and of God's temples, to make religion unsteady, and to strike the national sight with follies and extravagances. On these hopes he built his destructive plans, and with them he forced himself, like a pestilential and murderous tempest, into the heart of Russia.—The whole world has fixed its attention on our suffering country, and inwardly moved, thought they saw in the reflection of the flames of Moscow the last day of the existence of our freedom and independence. But great and mighty is the God of Justice! The triumph of the enemy was of short duration; pressed on all sides by our valiant armies and levies, he soon discovered that by his temerity he had ventured too far, and that he could not, either by his vaunted army, his seducements, or his cruelties, inspire fear into the loyal and valiant Russians, nor save himself from destruction. After many fruitless endeavours, and now that he sees his numerous troops every where beaten and destroyed,

(To be continued.)

In order that my countrymen and that the world may not be deceived, duped, and cheated upon this subject, I, WILLIAM COBBETT, of Botley, in Hampshire, put upon record the following facts; to wit: That, on the 24th June, 1809, the following article was published in a London news-paper, called the *COURIER*:—"The Mutiny amongst the L.O. "CAL MILITIA, which broke out at Ely, was "fortunately suppressed on Wednesday by the "arrival of four squadrons of the GERMAN "LEGION CAVALRY from Bury, under the "command of General Anckland. Five of the "ringleaders were tried by a Court-Martial, and "sentenced to receive 500 lashes each, part of which "punishment they received on Wednesday, and "a part was remitted. A stoppage for their knap- "sacks was the ground of the complaint that ex- "cited this mutinous spirit, which occasioned "the men to surround their officers, and demand "what they deemed their arrears. The first "division of the German Legion halted yesterday "at Newmarket on their return to Bury."—That, on the 1st July, 1809, I published, in the Political Register, an article censuring, in the strongest terms, these proceedings; that, for so doing, the Attorney General prosecuted, as sedi- tious libellers, and by Ex-Officio Information, me, and also my printer, my publisher, and one of the principal retailers of the Political Register; that I was brought to trial on the 15th June, 1810, and was, by a Special Jury, that is to say, by 12 men out of 48 appointed by the Master of the Crown Office, found guilty; that, on the 20th of the same month, I was compelled to give bail for my appearance to receive judgment; and that, as I came up from Botley (to which place I had returned to my family and my farm on the evening of the 15th), a Tipstaff went down from London in order to seize me, personally; that, on the 9th of July, 1810, I, toge- ther with my printer, publisher, and the news- man, were brought into the Court of King's Bench to receive judgment; that the three former were sentenced to be imprisoned for some months in the King's Bench prison; that I was sentenced to be imprisoned for two years in Newgate, the great receptacle for malefactors, and the front of which is the scene of numerous hangings in the course of every year; that the part of the prison in which I was sentenced to be confined is sometimes inhabited by felons, that felons were actually in it at the time I entered it; that one man was taken out of it to be trans- ported in about 48 hours after I was put into the same yard with him; and that it is the place of confinement for men guilty of unnatural crimes, of whom there are four in it at this time; that, besides this imprisonment, I was sentenced to pay a thousand pounds TO THE KING, and to give security for my good behaviour for seven years, myself in the sum of 3,000 pounds, and

two sureties in the sum of 1,000 pounds each; that the whole of this sentence has been executed upon me, that I have been imprisoned the two years, have paid the thousand pounds TO THE KING, and have given the bail, Timothy Brown and Peter Walker, Esqrs. being my sureties; that the Attorney General was Sir Vicary Gibbs the Judge who sat at the trial Lord Ellenborough the four Judges who sat at passing sentence Ellenborough, Grose, Le Blanc, and Bailey; and that the jurors were, Thomas Rhodes of Hampstead Road, John Davis of Southampton Place, James Ellis of Tottenham Court Road, John Richards of Bayswater, Thomas Marsham of Baker Street, Robert Heathcote of High Street Marylebone, John Maud of York Place Marylebone, George Bagster of Church Terrace Portico, Thomas Taylor of Red Lion Square, David Deane of St. John Street, William Palmer of Upper Street Islington, Henry Favre of Pall Mall; that the Prime Ministers during the time were Spencer Perceval, until he was shot by John Bellingham, and after that Robert B. Jenkinson, Earl of Liverpool; that the prosecution and sentence took place in the reign of King George the Third, and that, he having become insane during my impris- onment, the 1,000 pounds was paid to his son, the Prince Regent, in his behalf; that, during my imprisonment, I wrote and published 364 Essays and Letters upon political subjects; that, during the same time, I was visited by persons from 197 cities and towns, many of them as a sort of deputies from Societies or Clubs; that, at the expira- tion of my imprisonment, on the 9th of July, 1812, a great dinner was given in London for the pur- pose of receiving me, at which dinner upwards of 600 persons were present, and at which Sir Francis Burdett presided; that dinners and other parties were held on the same occasion in many other places in England; that, on my way home, I was received at Alton, the first town in Hamp- shire, with the ringing of the Church bells; that a respectable company met me and gave me a dinner at Winchester; that I was drawn from more than the distance of a mile into Botley by the people; that, upon my arrival in the village, I found all the people assembled to receive me; that I concluded the day by explaining to them the cause of my imprisonment, and by giving them clear notions respecting the flogging of the Local Militia-men at Ely, and respecting the em- ployment of German Troops; and, finally, which is more than a compensation for my losses and all my sufferings, I am in perfect health and strength, and, though I must, for the sake of six children, feel the diminution that has been made in my property (thinking it right in me to decline the offer of a subscription), I have the consolation to see growing up three sons, upon whose hearts, I trust, all these facts will be engraven.

WM. COBBETT.

Botley, July 25, 1812.

GOBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

AMERICAN WAR.—This war, which was spoken of by the hireling of the *Tufts* news-paper and others, with such ineffable contempt, has now assumed a very formidable mien; and those who were so eager for the war, begin to revile each other with regard to the conducting of it.—There are, at this time, three political factions in the country; the one that is in possession of the distribution of the public money; the Whig faction; and the faction of the Wellesleys and Cannings. The two latter would join if they could; but, each aims at the possession of the power of giving places and pensions, and, in short, at being the ministry.—These two, therefore, cannot agree wholly; but, they both attack, though upon different occasions and different grounds, those who are in possession of the *parliament of Whitehall*.—Amongst other objects of attack is that of *negligence as to the American war*. The *Chronicle* and the *Times* are equally bitter against the ministers upon this subject; they revile them for having plunged the country into a war with America without providing a sufficient maritime force to cope with that new enemy. *A sufficient force!* Why, the *Times* news-paper spoke of the navy of the United States as a thing not worthy of the name; it laughed at “Mr. Madison and his navy;” it predicted that a few months would add that navy to our own; it, in short, spoke of it in a tone of contempt which I should in vain attempt to describe.—And yet, it now blames the ministers for not having provided a sufficient force to cope with that contemptible navy; that navy which was an object of the most cruel ridicule.—The defeat and capture of the *Guerrière*, the *Prolic*, and the *Macedonian* must, of course, be matter of astonishment to those, who listened to the language of these presumptuous and foolish men; but, in what respect are the ministers to blame for it any more than they were for the evacuation of Madrid, and for all the consequences of the unexpected retreat of our army in the Peninsula? The ministers had a great abundance of

ships, of all sizes, on the American station; and what were they to do more? I recollect, and so must the reader, that, at the time of the rencounter between *Commodore Rodgers* and *Captain Bingham*, the words in the mouths of all these writers were: “Let one of our FRIGATES meet with “Rodgers, and we ask no more.” This wish; this challenge, was repeated a thousand times over; the public cannot have forgotten the fact; nay, the sentiment was universal. Upon what ground, then, are the ministers now to be blamed? Are they to be blamed, because, upon trial, it has been found, that our Frigates are not a match for those of America? Are they to be blamed, because they did not entertain a meaner opinion of our frigates, compared with those of America, than any other man in England entertained, or, at least, dared to say that he entertained?—We are told, by the writers in the interest of the two OUT factions, that the Republican Frigates are bigger, longer, have heavier guns, and the like, than our Frigates have.—“The varlet’s a tall man,” said Bobadil when he had been cudgelled.—But, are these new discoveries? Were the facts not all well known before to all these writers, when they so boldly challenged out the American Frigates to combat with ours? When Rodgers attacked Bingham, the size of his ship was well known and particularly described; and, yet, no one then called for heavier ships to be sent out to the American coast.—Why, then, are the ministers to be blamed for not sending out heavier ships?—Besides, they have heavier ships upon the station, and it cannot be their fault if those ships do not fall in with the American Frigates. What are they to do with our frigates? If ours are unable to face the American frigates, what are, I ask, the ministers to do with them? Are they not to suffer them to go on a cruise, lest they should fall in with a tall Yankee? In short, it is another of the tricks of faction to blame the ministers for these misadventures of the navy; and, the attempts made by the ministerial prints to account for our defeat upon the ground of

our *inferiority of force* is another of the means made use of to deceive the people, and to encourage them in the continuation of the war.—When, until now, did we think of disparity of force? When, until now, did we dream of an English ship surrendering to a ship, the superiority of the force of which it required a *minute calculation* to show? When, until now, did an English Captain hesitate to attack a ship of a few guns more than his own?—Instead of all the *calculations* that we have seen in the news-papers; instead of those swelled out accounts of the vast force of the American frigates, we should be plainly told, that we have *now* an enemy to cope with equal to ourselves as far as his numbers will go.—Amongst all the *calculations* and computations, however, that we have heard, I have not perceived it any where taken into account, that we have *experience*, which the Americans have not. Where did Isaac Hull gain his naval experience; and where Mr. Decatur? There are two Decaturs, the father and son. They were my neighbours, in the country, in Pennsylvania. They were farmers more than seamen, though the elder went occasionally to sea as commander of a merchant ship. If it be the father who has taken the Macedonian, he must be upwards of three score years of age; and, if it be the son, I am sure it is the first battle he ever was in; for, twelve years ago, he was but a mere lad. The father was a man of great probity and of excellent sense; and, I have no doubt that the son is the same; but, I'll engage, that both have had more experience in raising Indian corn than in naval tactics.—Something, therefore, in our estimates, should be allowed for our superiority in point of *experience*. We have no officer of the navy, who has not passed a great part of his life on actual service; we have scarcely one who has not been in numerous battles; and, in the unfortunate cases above spoken of, one of the Captains appears to have been of long standing even in that rank.—When we are speaking of the naval preparations of Napoleon, we always dwell upon the difficulty of his forming naval officers; but, here we see, in the case of America, that that is attended with no difficulty at all; we here see gallant and consummate commanders start up in a trice; and, in a moment, is dissolved the charm which bound us in ignorance as to this important species of information.—The truth is, I believe, that, amongst the first qualities of a naval commander, are so-

briety, vigilance, and consideration for his crew; and these qualities are within the reach of every man. The American government, too, has a *wide range for choice*; with it no intrigues, commonly called "*interest*," is likely to prevail; because the possession of the powers of the state depend solely upon the *will of the people*, and, the government, having *such support*, is not reduced to the necessity of seeking support from any individuals; and, of course, is not exposed to the danger of being compelled to employ as commanders, or as officers of any rank, persons not recommended by their own good qualities.—This is a very great advantage possessed by the American government; an advantage to which, perhaps, it owes those successes, which we so sorely lament, and which seem to be very likely to form an era in the naval history of the world.—But, let what will be the final result of these transactions, I really can see no good ground for accusation against the ministers on account of the misfortunes that have befallen our frigates. Blamed they may be *for the war*. There, indeed, there is matter for blame; because, if my reasoning upon the subject be correct, they might have avoided the war without any dishonour to England; but, for this they cannot be blamed by those who are seeking for their places; because some of those very persons were amongst the men who adopted and adhered to the measures which produced the war; and, the rest of them have pledged themselves to prosecute it upon its present ground.—Mr. Canning and Lord Wellesley were, in succession, Secretaries of State for Foreign Affairs while the dispute was maintained against the abolition of impressment of persons on board of American ships. Indeed, the former has expressed his *disapprobation* of the "*concessions*," as he calls them, made to America, in the repeal of our Orders in Council. Of course he cannot complain of the ministers for going to war; and Mr. Ponsonby, as the organ of the Whigs, distinctly declared, that, if America was not satisfied with that repeal, he would support the war against her.—Not, therefore, being able to find fault with the ministers for the war itself, they fall on upon them as to their manner of conducting it; and, as I think, I have shown, they do this without a shadow of justice.—We, "Jacobins," blame all the three factions; some of them for causing the war, and others for pledging themselves to support it; nor have I the least hesitation to

predict, that, day after day, will tend to convince all persons of impartiality, that we are right.—This war we owe entirely to the presumption inspired by our foolish and venal writers. The language of the late *PERCIVAL*, who talked of not wishing for the "destruction" of America, and who spoke of her as of a power depending on his will for her very existence; this language, which will long be remembered, was the general language of the press. We could not believe it possible, that a government, the whole of the officers of which, President and all, did not receive from the public so much money annually as one of our sinecure place-men; we could not conceive, that a government who did not get mere money for itself would be able to get money enough to carry on a war more than sufficient to last our sloop for a few months. We have now found our mistake; and, indeed, the premises which we had in our eye should have led to a directly different conclusion; for, would not common sense have told us, that the less of the public money was taken by the officers of Government for their own use; the less of it that was devoured by placemen, and by others for no services rendered the public, the more there must be for the Government to employ in the public service? This would have been the rational conclusion; but, to reason thus, suited not those who had, and who have, the control over ninety-nine hundredth parts of the press of this country. They, therefore, represented America as a nation destitute of warlike means; when they should have made an estimate of her resources upon the grounds stated in my last number.—The persons in high offices in America are *badly paid*; but (and the fact is worth great attention) those in *low rank*, or, no rank at all, are *well paid*. The former have very small salaries; their gains are much less than those of any considerable merchant or manufacturer, lawyer, or physician; but, the common soldier and sailor are paid at a very high rate; at such a rate as not to make him regret his change from civil life.—I should not say, perhaps, that the former are *badly paid*; because, there is something in the honour of high office, which the common man does not enjoy; and, besides, there is something due from every man to his country; and, the greater that is his stake in the country, the less is his right to draw from her purse. Mr. Madison does, I dare say, expend, as President, every

shilling of the £6,000 that, as President, he receives. And, why should he not? What claim would he have to the title of *patriot*, if he grudged to use his talents for his country; or, which is the same thing, if he refused to use them without being paid for their use? If such were his disposition, what claim would he have to the confidence of his fellow-citizens? But, with the common soldier or sailor, or other inferior person employed by the government, the case is wholly different. He has nothing but his *labour* for his inheritance; he possesses no part of the country; his time is his all; and, of course, he is paid for that time at as good rate as if he laboured for an individual.—Those who speculate upon the resources of America should not overlook these important circumstances; but, hitherto, I am sorry to say, that we have almost wholly overlooked them.—I never shall forget the obstinacy of many persons with whom I am acquainted, as to the intention of the American government to go to war. They persisted to the very last, that it was *impossible*. They called the declaration of the Congress "*bullying*;" they said it was "*all smoke*;" and so, indeed, said the hired press, that vehicle of lies, that instrument of ill to England.—They have found some fire as well as smoke; they have found that the Republicans have something at their command besides words; and, when it is too late, I fear that they will find, that this is the most fatal war in which we have yet been engaged. One effect of it appears to me to be inevitable; and that is, the creation of a Navy in America.—Pray, good hired men, do not laugh at me; for I am quite serious when I say, that my fear is, that this war will lead to the creating of a formidable navy in America. The means are all in her hands, and her successful beginning will not fail to give activity to those means.—A Navy, a military marine, in America, is, to me, a most formidable object. Twenty frigates only would cause an expense to us of millions a-year, unless we resolved to yield the West India Islands at once.—I would not advise our government to look upon the rearing of an American Navy as something necessarily distant. America has swelled her population from about two to about eight millions in the space of less than 30 years. Another ten years may see her population amount to twenty millions. From not being permitted "to make a hob-nail," she has risen to be an exporter of numerous

useful manufactures. I state it as an undeniable fact, that she is now able to supply herself with all the articles necessary to man, even in polished life. And, if this be so, why should she not be able to rear a *Navy*, having already nearly as great a mercantile marine as our own.—Whether it will be for her *happiness* that she should do this is another question; but, that she *will* do it I think is most likely; because, in the mass composing every society of men, there is generally a sufficient number on the side of power and glory to decide the nation in favour of the love of these captivating objects.—This war, therefore, if not speedily put an end to, will, in my opinion, not fail to make America a manufacturing nation, as far as her own wants call for, and to make her also a naval nation; and will thus, at one stroke, deprive us of our best customer for goods, and give us upon the seas a rival who will be daily growing in strength as well as in experience.—In my preface to the republication of Mr. Chancellor Livingstone's *Treatise on Merino Sheep*, I showed how necessarily it would follow from the introduction of *sheep-keeping* in America, that she would become independent of us to *woollens*. Nevertheless, and in spite of all the facts which have, from time to time, been published relative to the manufacturing of cloths in that country, there are still men to treat with *ridicule*, yea, even with *ridicule*, the idea of America being able to make her own coats and blankets. I remember, that, while I was in Newgate for two years, for writing about the flogging of the Local Militia, at the Town of Ely, in England, under the superintendence of German Troops, there came a gentleman, who was, I believe, a dealer in wool, to ask my opinion relative to the future commerce with America. After having spent about a quarter of an hour in a detail of facts, which, in my mind, contained *proof unquestionable*, that the woollen trade with America was for ever *at an end*, he began a sentence upon the surprising increase of the manufactures in America, which he concluded in words to this effect: "I dare say, that, in less than *half a century*, we shall not ship a bale of cloth to that country." This put me in mind of the effect that the Botley Parson's sermons used to have upon me; and I lost no time in changing the subject of conversation.—I am not one of those who shall regret this independence of America, which I do not think will prove any injury to England in

the end; but, I could have wished the change to have been *less abrupt*, and effected without war, and without the animosities and the sufferings inseparable from war. To me it appears as absurd as it is unnatural, that the American farmer should not have his coat untaxed at the custom-house in England. I can see no sense and no reason in it. Nor do I see why the people of England, or any portion of them, should make coats or knives, or any thing else for the use of other countries, except merely in such quantities as may be necessary to exchange for wine and oil, and some few other things which really are useful to man. The use of commerce is to effect an exchange of the products of one estimate for those of another; but governments have turned it into the means of *taxation*, and, in many cases, that appears to be its only object. An exchange of *English coals* for *French wine*, the former at 30s. a chaldron at Paris, and the latter at 6d. a bottle in London: that would, indeed, be a commerce to be contemplated with pleasure. But a commerce, carried on under a code of prohibitions and penalties, such as those now every where in existence, is not to be desired. It is an instrument of taxation, and an endless source of war, and it is nothing more.—Those, however, who are of a different opinion, may look upon the war with America as one of the surest means of destroying, or, at least, diminishing for ever, the best branch of what they admire; but, while I blame the ministers for the war, I must say, that the merchants and manufacturers (I mean the powerful ones) have no right to blame them. The ministers, in their measures towards America, have done no more than pursue *that same system*, of which those merchants and manufacturers have a thousand times, and in the strongest terms, expressed their approbation. At the out-set of this long and destructive war, who stood forward so readily in support of it as this class of persons? The war-whoop has invariably originated with them. They indulged the selfish hope of seeing themselves in possession of all the trade and all the riches of the world. The English news-papers contain a record of their love of war, of war against any body, so long as it promised *gain to them*. They have, over and over again, called the war which began in an invasion of France by the Duke of Brunswick, "a just and necessary war;" but, of late, they appear to have been taught by their *poor-books* and the list of *Bankrupts*,

that the war is not quite so "necessary," however "just," they may still think it. They have, I repeat it, no right to complain against the ministers, who have not deviated from the system of Pitt and Grenville, and who, with regard to America, are only acting upon the very same principles, and pursuing the very same objects, that have been acted upon and pursued from the year 1798 to the present day; and the manufacturers are tasting, as is most meet, of the fruit of the tree of their own planting and protecting.

PEACE.—The following *Petition for Peace*, of the Town of NOTTINGHAM, is worthy of particular attention on account of the facts it states.—"To His Royal Highness the Prince Regent.—Sir, We, the Undersigned, Burgesses, or Inhabitants of the Town, and County of the Town of Nottingham, and its Precincts, beg leave to claim the attention of your Royal Highness, as being the Representative of a Sovereign, whose highest glory we presume it is, that he should be considered as the Father of his People; while we dutifully present, before the Throne, a statement of the Evils from War, experienced by Ourselves, and by Millions beside of His Majesty's vast family: and while we earnestly supplicate, from a paternal regard, so becoming an English Monarch, that relief from dire distress, which the speedy restoration of Peace alone can be expected to afford.—On that Royal Power, which was designed to be a blessing and protection to Millions, we call for an exertion of God-like Benevolence, which shall speedily terminate a Contest, unhappily commenced with precipitancy, and direfully prolonged by the exasperated passions and the infatuated understandings of Men. Many are the Motives to Peace, and most powerful, which might be expected to influence the mind of your Royal Highness. A respect for the divine principles of Christianity and Humanity, it may be hoped, will prevent your Royal Highness from being swayed by the representations of Men, whose prejudices, passions, or selfish interests, render them Advocates for the PERPETUITY OF A WAR which, if much longer persisted in, will evidently be accompanied by civil commotion, by famine, and by pestilence.—An awful admission of our having nearly exhausted the Resources of the Country is painfully obtruded on our

notions by the rapidly increasing Beggary and Wretchedness of Myriads of its industrious and frugal Inhabitants, who, at no very distant period, enjoyed affluence or competence; and also by the obviously increasing INABILITY of our ablest Financiers, even while imposing a most oppressive Taxation, to devise means for raising Supplies in any wise correspondent to the Public Annual Expenditure.—In the largest Parish of this once flourishing, but now miserable Town, nearly a third part of its Population, in consequence of the interruption of Trade, is reduced to the state of PAUPERS; and in the other Parishes of the Town, not less oppressive to those Inhabitants on whom a levy can be made, is the burden of POOR'S RATES. And we are credibly informed, that a like reduction to Beggary and Want of Multitudes of our Countrymen in the different Manufacturing Towns of this Kingdom, is the consequence of the annihilation of our Trade, and of the increase of the Taxation produced by War.—Additional to these Evils, might be recalled to your Royal Highness's recollection those also, which are inevitable concomitants of the most successful Wars, even when waged by Nations whose resources may be the most ample, and whose condition the most flourishing.—It assuredly cannot be a matter of little estimation with your Royal Highness, that Thousands of brave Men should be extended lifeless on the Field of Battle: that Thousands should perish by the hardships of Warfare: that that these should be Thousands of mourning Widows and Orphan Children: that Thousands of Parents should be hurried to the Grave by the loss of beloved Sons, who were the support of their declining Years: that Thousands should die lingering deaths in Captivity: and that the Majority of the Survivors of a long and bloody Contest, having, in a course of Warfare, experienced interruption to those Moral habits, which promote the harmony, comfort, and welfare of Civil Society and of Domestic Life, should, on the return of a state of Peace, be rendered less valuable Members of Society, and less welcome to the Roofs of their Relations and Friends.—As a speedy restoration of Peace alone can mitigate the heavy Evils we endure, and save the Inhabitants of this Land from impending ruin, and the irrecoverable loss of their once prosperous and enviable Condition; as

“now the ill success and disappointed views of the Enemy may lead him to listen more readily to reasonable Conditions of Peace; we join our afflicted Countrymen in earnestly petitioning your Royal Highness to manifest by some unequivocal Expression or Public Act of the British Government, your truly Royal desire to seize the earliest opportunity of sheathing the Sword of Slaughter, and healing the wounds of a long-protracted War: that thus the Enemy may be precluded from plausibly throwing the odium of delight in War and its concomitant miseries on your Royal Highness's pacificatory Government.—We will indulge the hope that your Royal Highness will grant the Prayer of our Petition; and that your Highness's endeavours will be effectual in soon restoring to the afflicted People, intrusted to your Royal protection, that lasting Peace after which they so ardently aspire.—Thus may the blessings of the Peace-maker descend on your Royal Highness; and thus may your Royal Father, when called from his present state of sufferings to a better World, be enabled to resign to your Royal Highness, in a state of Peace, that Throne, which he ascended amid the din of arms, and on which he has continued to sit during so many years of war.”

—The statement relative to the paupers is very alarming. The consequences of such a state of things no man can foresee. The news-papers tell us, that a detachment of the Queen's Bays have been marched into the town; for the purpose, I suppose, of giving relief to the hungry bellies of the people! The writers are assuredly the most callous men that ever breathed. They never, upon any occasion, let slip out, even by accident, a sentiment of compassion for the sufferings of the people. They are always for measures of vigour towards them. Vigour, indeed! What vigour is wanted towards a set of poor creatures whom the wind would almost blow away? For my part, however singular my taste may be, I would much rather give a pound to these poor souls at Nottingham than the millionth part of a farthing to the people of Russia, who, as we are NOW told by the Times newspaper, set fire to their own houses, their own goods, their own food, their own sick and wounded soldiers; and, in short, to the whole of the Russian Empire.—The statement of the paupers lies about the town, and the poor

of Nottingham now claim our attention, and, we are told, that in one of the principal parishes, nearly every third person is a pauper. The misery must, in such a case, be dreadful; and it will, I trust, meet due attention from the parliament.—Perceval used to say, in answer to all applications for relief to such persons, that it would do harm if granted; but, why, then, make grants of relief to the Russians? Why should such a grant do more harm in England than in Russia? Mr. Wilberforce (formerly member for Yorkshire and now for the borough of Bamber) said, that he had attempted to make a calculation of the sum per head which the Russian £200,000 would amount to, if divided amongst the paupers in England; but that he had found it to be too small to admit of a name. Indeed! Why, there are 4 millions of shillings in £200,000. And, if the worthy representative of the borough of Bamber did not estimate our sons and daughters of misery at more than 4 millions, the £200,000 given to the Russians would have given each of our poor creatures a shilling; and would have fed them better than they are now fed for half a week. If he considered the number of paupers at 3,000,000, and that is nearly one-third part of the population, the £200,000 would have afforded all our paupers 2s. 6d. each; and, I can assure the member for Bamber, that eighteen pence a-piece would have made their eyes sparkle.—Nay, would not £200,000 have maintained all the paupers in England and Wales for a whole week? £200,000, multiplied by 52, gives the sum of £10,400,000; and, I believe, that, at the last return laid before parliament, the total amount of the poor-rates, in England and Wales, for one year, was less than £6,000,000. Indeed, I know that it was so; and, therefore, unless the poor-rates have nearly doubled in amount during the last ten years, the member for Bamber will find, that this grant to the poor of Russia would have maintained all the poor in England for one whole week; and, would it have been nothing to give them a double allowance for a week? Would it be nothing to give all the poor of our own country a week's food in this pinching season?—As to the people at Lloyd's; as to the SUBSCRIBING people, let them have their taste; they subscribed towards the war, and so did the old, famous old gentleman, who subscribed £10,000 towards the voluntary contributions, and



who has since honestly avowed, that he did it *out of the public money*, and for the sake of *setting an example to the public!* This was in due course; but, such examples have no effect, I believe, except on those, who, some how or other, get by the war.—Let these persons give their money to the Russians for setting fire to their own houses, as the *Times* tells us, they have their taste; but, one would imagine, that, in the sums voted by parliament, that is to say, in the sums given away out of the taxes raised upon the people of England, some of our own poor creatures, such as those at Nottingham, might be permitted to share with the Russians.—The Russians, we are told, suffer in the war against our enemy; and do not our own paupers suffer from the same cause? Do not they suffer from the imposing of taxes and from the loss of their business? And what do these arise from but from the war?—I should, I must confess, be very glad to hear the reasons, why our poor suffering wretches are not to have a parliamentary grant as well as the sufferers in Russia. But, this is what I shall not hear from any of the hireling writers. This is a topic that they will not touch upon; for, if they were to give their reasons; their *TRUE* reasons, they would speak a little too plain even to the people of England.—As to the prayer of the petition, I know not what the Regent may think of it; but, the hireling press, so far from thinking of *peace*, is, more than ever bent on war. It will now hear of no peace, the path to which is not “*over the corpse of the monster*,” meaning the Emperor of France, and which “monster’s” corpse seems, as yet, to be, however, in pretty good health and preservation.—What wiseacres! They are as wise as they are honest, however; and, the suffering of them, the tolerating of their trash, meets with its just reward. They, like many thousands of others, would lose by peace; and, therefore, they are for war.—They will not now treat with Napoleon because he is, as they say, at a *low ebb*; and formerly they would not treat with him, because he swam with the *tide of suclery*: so that, according to them, there never can come a time to treat for peace with the ruler of France.—But, I had forgotten, he is *very ill*. Very ill. He does, indeed, preside at Councils, review his troops, and hunt in the woods; but, still the *Times* and the *Courier* will insist, that he is very ill. They, like

Muly Molock, “*know all*,”—He is not ill, nor does he appear to be at all discouraged at what has taken place in the North. He will organize his plans, in all probability, for another campaign in Russia; and we shall, perhaps, hereafter repent, that we have missed the last opportunity of making a safe and honourable peace.—The people of Nottingham do not seem, however, to view the matter in a right light. They seem to think, that it is the *present ministry* who prevent peace. But, have they heard either of the other factions say a word in its favour? Have they not, on the contrary, heard the other factions blame the ministers for not carrying on the war upon a *more extended scale*? These factions, if they be sincere, want *more war* than we now have, and, of course, *more taxes*. They cry out, that Lord Wellington *wants money*. Aye, I dare say; he does; but, must not we pay it before he gets it? And do we want to pay more money? The fact is, that the *OUT* factions blame the ministers for being *too sparing of our purses*!—We shall have peace at last; but not, in my opinion, while the guinea is so cheap as it now is. It will now sell for only about 20s. 6d. It must be a great deal dearer before we shall, in my opinion, have peace.

WM. COBBETT.

Bolton, 7th January, 1813.

OFFICIAL PAPERS.

PROCLAMATION,

Issued by the Emperor Alexander, dated St. Petersburg, Nov. 15.

(Continued from page 30.)

he now, with the small remains of them, seeks his personal safety in the rapidity of his flight; he flies from Moscow with as much fear and depression as he advanced against it with pride and insolence; he flies, leaving his cannon behind him, throwing away his baggage, and sacrificing every thing that can retard the swiftness of his flight. Thousands of the fugitives daily fall to the earth and expire. In such manner does the just vengeance of God punish those who insult his temples. Whilst we, with paternal tenderness and joyful heart, observe the great and praiseworthy actions of our faithful subjects, we carry our most warm and lively gratitude

to the first cause of all good,—the Almighty God; and in the next place we have to express our thanks in the name of our common country, to all our loyal subjects, as the true sons of Russia. By their general energy and zeal, the force of the enemy is brought down to the lowest degree of decline, for the greater part has either been annihilated or made prisoners. All have unanimously joined in the work. Our valiant armies have every where defeated the enemy. The higher nobility have spared nothing by which it could contribute to the increase of the strength of the State. The merchants have distinguished themselves by sacrifices of all kinds. The loyal people, burghers, and peasantry, have given such proofs of fidelity and love for their country, as can only be expected of the Russian nation. They have zealously and voluntarily entered into the hastily raised levies, and have shewn a courage and resolution equal to veteran warriors. They have with the same force and intrepidity penetrated the enemy's regiments, with the same implements with which they only a few weeks before turned up their fields. In this manner the troops of levies sent from St. Petersburg and Novogorod, for the strengthening of the forces under Count Wittgensteijn, have behaved themselves, especially at Polotzk, and other places. We have besides, and with heartfelt satisfaction, perceived by the reports of the Commander in Chief of the armies, and from other Generals, that in several Governments, and particularly in those of Moscow and Kalouga, the country people have armed themselves, chosen their own leaders, and not only resisted all attempts at seducing them, but also sustained all the calamities that have befallen them with the perseverance of martyrs. Often have they united themselves with our detachments, and assisted them in making their enterprises and attacks against the enemy. Many villages have secreted their families and tender infants in the woods; and the inhabitants, with armed hand and inconceivable courage, under engagements on the Holy Gospel not to leave each other in danger, defended themselves, and whenever the enemy shewed himself, have fallen upon him, so that many thousands of them have been cut to pieces, and dispersed by the peasants, and even by their women, and numbers taken prisoners, who were indebted for their lives to the humanity of those very people whom they came to plunder and destroy.—So

high a purpose, and such invincible perseverance in the whole nation, does it immortal honour, worthy of being preserved in the minds of posterity. With the courage of such a nation, we entertain the most well-founded hopes. Whilst we jointly with the true church, and the holy synod and clergy, supplicate God's assistance, that if our inveterate enemy, and the mocker of God's temple and holiness, should not be entirely and totally destroyed in Russia, yet that his deep wounds, and the blood it has cost him, will bring him to acknowledge her might and strength.——Meanwhile, we hold it to be our bounden duty, by this general publication before the whole world, to express our gratitude to the valiant, loyal, and religious Russian nation, and thereby render it due justice.——Given at St. Petersburg, the 15th day of November, in the year 1812, after the birth of Christ, and in the twelfth year of our reign.

(Signed) ALEXANDER.

UNITED STATES.

Farther Documents accompanying the President's Message.

Mr. Graham to Mr. Russell.

Department of State, Aug. 9, 1819.

Sir,—The Secretary left this city about ten days ago, on a short visit to Virginia. Since that period Mr. Baker has, in consequence of some dispatches from his Government addressed to Mr. Foster, made to me a communication respecting the intentions of his Government, as regards the Orders in Council. It was of a character, however, so entirely informal and confidential, that Mr. Baker did not feel himself at liberty to make it in the form of a note verbal or *pro memoria*, or even to permit me to take a memorandum of it at the time he made it. As it authorizes an expectation that something more precise and definite, in an official form, may soon be received by this Government, it is the less necessary that I should go into an explanation of the views of the President in relation to it, more particularly as the Secretary of State is daily expected, and will be able to do it in a manner more satisfactory.—I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) JOHN GRAHAM.

Mr. Graham to Mr. Russell.

Department of State, Aug. 10, 1813.

Sir,—Thinking that it may possibly be useful to you, I do myself the honour to enclose a memorandum of the conversation between Mr. Baker and myself, alluded to in my letter of yesterday's date.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) JOHN GRAHAM,

Memorandum referred to in the above Letter.

Mr. Baker verbally communicated to me, for the information of the President, that he had received dispatches from his Government, addressed to Mr. Foster, dated, I believe, about the 17th of June, from which he was authorized to say, that an official declaration would be sent to this country, that the Orders in Council, so far as they affected the United States, would be repealed on the 1st of August, to be revived on the 1st of May, 1813, unless the conduct of the French Government, and the result of the communications with the American Government, should be such as, in the opinion of His Majesty, to render their revival unnecessary. Mr. Baker moreover stated, that the Orders would be revived, provided the American Government did not, within fourteen days after they received the official declaration of their repeal, admit British armed vessels into their ports, and put an end to the restrictive measures which had grown out of the Orders in Council.—The dispatches authorizing this communication to the American Government expressly directed, that it should be made verbally, and Mr. Baker did not consider himself at liberty to reduce it to writing, even in the form of a note-verbal, or *pro memoria*, or to suffer me to take a memorandum of his communication at the time he made it. I understood from him, that the dispatches had been opened by Mr. Foster, at Halifax, who, in consequence of a conversation he had had with Vice-Admiral Sawyer and Sir John Sherbrooke, had authorized Mr. Baker to say, that these gentlemen would agree, as a measure leading to a suspension of hostilities, that all captures made after a day to be fixed, should not be proceeded against immediately, but be detained to await the future decision of the two Governments. Mr. Foster had not seen Sir C. Prevost, but had written to him by express, and did not doubt but that he would agree to an arrangement for the temporary suspension of hostilities.

Mr. Baker also stated, that he had received an authority from Mr. Foster to act as Charge d'Affaires, provided the American Government would receive him in that character, for the purpose of enabling him officially to communicate the declaration which was to be expected from the British Government; his instructions to be understood, of course, as ceasing on the renewal of hostilities. I replied, that although to so general and informal a communication, no answer might be necessary, and certainly no particular answer expected, yet I was authorized to say, that the communication is received with sincere satisfaction, as it is hoped the spirit in which it is authorized by his Government may lead to such farther communications as will open the way not only for an early and satisfactory termination, of existing hostilities, but to that entire adjustment of all the differences which produced them, and that permanent peace and solid friendship which ought to be mutually desired by both countries, and which is sincerely desired by this. With this desire, an authority was given to Mr. Russell on the subject of an armistice, as introductory to a final pacification, as has been made known to Mr. Foster; and the same desire will be felt on the receipt of the further and more particular communications, which are shortly to be expected, with respect to the joint intimation from Mr. Foster and the British authorities at Halifax, on the subject of suspending judicial proceedings in the case of maritime captures, to be accompanied by a suspension of military operations. The authority given to Mr. Russell just alluded to, and of which Mr. Foster was the bearer, is full proof of the solicitude of the Government of the United States to bring about a general suspension of hostilities on admissible terms, with as little delay as possible. It was not to be doubted, therefore, that any other practical expedient for obtaining a similar result would readily be concurred in. Upon the most favourable consideration, however, which could be given to the expedient suggested through him, it did not appear to be reducible to any practicable shape to which the Executive would be authorized to give it the necessary sanction; nor indeed is it probable, that if it was less liable to insuperable difficulties, it could have any material effect previous to the result of the pacific advance made by this Government, and which must, if favourably received, become operative as

soon as any other arrangement that could now be made. It was stated to Mr. Baker, that the President did not, under existing circumstances, consider Mr. Foster as vested with the power of appointing a *Charge d'Affaires*; but that no difficulty in point of form would be made, as any authentic communication through him, or any other channel, would be received with attention and respect.

The Secretary of State to Mr. Russell.

[Extract.]

Department of State, Aug. 21, 1812.

My last letter to you was of the 27th of July, and was forwarded by the British packet, the *Allhea*, under the special protection of Mr. Baker. The object of that letter, and of the next preceding one of the 20th of June, was, to invest you with power to suspend by an armistice, on such fair conditions as it was presumed could not be rejected, the operation of the war, which had been brought on the United States by the injustice and violence of the British Government. At the moment of the declaration of war, the President, regretting the necessity which produced it, looked to its termination and provided for it; and happy will it be for both countries, if the disposition felt, and the advance thus made on his part, are entertained and met by the British Government in a similar spirit:—You will have seen by the note forwarded to you by Mr. Graham, of Mr. Baker's communication to him, that Mr. Foster had authorized him to state, that the Commanders of the British forces at Halifax would agree to a suspension, after a day to be fixed, of the condemnation of prizes; to wait the decision of both Governments, without, however, preventing captures on either side.—Sir George Prevost has since proposed to General Dearborn, at the suggestion of Mr. Foster, a suspension of offensive operations by land, in a letter which was transmitted by the General to the Secretary at War. A provisional agreement was entered into between General Dearborn and Colonel Baynes, the British Adjutant-General, bearer of General Prevost's letter, that neither party should act offensively before the decision of our Government should be taken on the subject.—Since my return to Washington, the document alluded to in Mr. Foster's dispatch, as finally decided on by the British Government, has been handed to me by Mr. Baker, with a re-

mark, that its authenticity might be relied on. Mr. Baker added, that it was not improbable, that the Admiral at Halifax might agree likewise to a suspension of captures, though he did not profess or appear to be acquainted with his sentiments on that point.—On full consideration of all the circumstances which merit attention, the President regrets that it is not in his power to accede to the proposed arrangement. The following are among the principal reasons which have produced this decision:—1st. The President has no power to suspend judicial proceedings on prizes. A capture, if lawful, vests a right, over which he has no control. Nor could he prevent captures otherwise than by an indiscriminate recall of the commissions granted to our privateers, which he could not justify under existing circumstances.—2d. The proposition is not made by the British Government, nor is there any certainty that it would be approved by it.—3d. No security is given or proposed, as to the Indians, nor could any be relied on. They have engaged in the war on the side of the British Government, and are now prosecuting it with vigour in their usual savage mode. They can only be restrained by force, when once let loose, and that force has already been ordered out for the purpose.—4th. The proposition is not reciprocal, because it restrains the United States from acting where their power is greatest, and leaves Great Britain at liberty, and gives her time to augment her force in our neighbourhood.—5th. That as a principal object of the war is to obtain redress against the British practice of impressment, an agreement to suspend hostilities, even before the British Government is heard from on that subject, might be considered a relinquishment of that claim.—6th. It is the more objectionable, and of the less importance, in consideration of the instructions heretofore given you, which, if met by the British Government, may have already produced the same result in a greater extent and more satisfactory form.—I might add, that the declaration itself is objectionable in many respects, particularly the following: 1st. Because it asserts a right in the British Government to restore the Orders in Council, or any part thereof, to their full effect, on a principle of retaliation on France, under circumstances of which she alone is to judge: a right which this Government cannot admit, especially in the

extent heretofore claimed, and acted on by the British Government.—2d. That the appeal is founded exclusively on the French Decree of the 28th of April, 1811, by which the repeal of the Decrees of Berlin and Milan, announced on the 5th of August, 1810, to take effect on the 1st of November of that year, at which time their operation actually ceased, is disregarded, as are the claims of the United States arising from the repeal on that day, even according to the British pledge.—3d. That even if the United States had no right to claim the repeal of the British Orders in Council, prior to the French Decree of the 28th of April, 1811, nor before the notification of that Decree to the British Government on the 20th of May, of the present year, the British repeal ought to have borne date from that day, and been subject to none of the limitations attached to it.—These remarks on the declaration of the Prince Regent, which are not pursued with rigour, nor in the full extent which they might be, are applicable to it, in relation to the state of things which existed before the determination of the United States to resist the aggressions of the British Government by war. By that determination, the relations between the two countries have been altogether changed; and it is only by a termination of the war, or by measures leading to it by consent of both Governments, that its calamities can be closed or mitigated. It is not now a question, whether the declaration of the Prince Regent is such as ought to have produced a repeal of the Non-importation Act, had not war been declared; because, by the declaration of war, that question is superseded, and the Non-importation Act having been continued in force by Congress, and become a measure of war, and among the most efficient, it is no longer subject to the control of the Executive in the sense and for the purpose for which it was adopted.—The declaration, however of the Prince Regent, will not be without effect. By repealing the Orders in Council, without reviving the blockade of May 1806, or any other illegal blockade, as is understood to be the case, it removes a great obstacle to an accommodation. The President considers it an indication of a disposition in the British Government to accommodate the differences which subsist between the two countries; and I am instructed to assure you, that if such disposition really exists, and is persevered in, and is extended to other objects, especially

the important one of impressment, a durable and happy peace and reconciliation cannot fail to result from it.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Friday, Nov. 13.

The following Message was received from the President of the United States, by Mr. Coles, his Secretary:—

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States.

For the farther information of Congress, relative to the pacific advances made on the part of the Government to that of Great Britain, and the manner in which they have been met by the latter, I transmit the sequel of the communications on that subject, received from the late Charge d'Affaires at London.

Nov. 12, 1812. JAMES MADISON.

DOCUMENTS WITH THE MESSAGE.

Mr. Russell to Mr. Monroe.

London, Sept. 19, 1812.

Sir,—On the 12th inst. I received your letter of the 27th of July last; and the copies of my note to Lord Castlereagh, and of his Lordship's reply enclosed herein, will inform you that the propositions, made in consequence of it, have been rejected.—As I have but this moment heard of the immediate departure of the Friends, I have time only to add, that I have received the communications of Mr. Graham, of the 9th and 10th of August, by the Gleaner, and that I leave London this evening, to embark on board the Lark, at Plymouth, for New York.—I am, with the greatest respect and consideration, Sir, your faithful and obedient servant,

(Signed) JONA. RUSSELL.

P. S.—An interesting interview took place between Lord Castlereagh and myself on the 16th instant, the account of which, I must, for want of time, reserve until I have the honour to see you.

Mr. Russell to Lord Castlereagh.

(Private).

18, Bentinck-street, 12th Sept. 1812.

My Lord,—In consequence of additional instructions which I have received from my Government this morning, I called about noon at the Foreign Office, and found with regret that your Lordship was out of town. My object was to communicate to your

Lordship the powers under which I act, that you might perceive their validity and extent. I have, however, sought to state them substantially in the official letter which I have herewith the honour to transmit to your Lordship, but should you find any thing that stands in need of explanation, previous to being submitted to His Royal Highness, I shall remain at 18, Bentinck-street, to receive the commands of your Lordship. If your Lordship could, in courtesy, find any motive in my personal convenience to hasten to a decision upon the propositions which I have submitted; the season of the year, my anxiety to depart (all my arrangements being made and all my baggage having left town), and the detention of the Lark at much expense, will plead powerfully in my favour. — I have the honour to be, with great consideration, your Lordship's very obedient and very humble servant,

(Signed) JONA. RUSSELL.
Lord Viscount Castlereagh, &c. &c. &c.

Mr. Russell to Lord Castlereagh.

18, Bentinck-street, Sept. 12, 1812.

My Lord,—I hasten, authorized by instructions recently received from the Government of the United States, and urged by an unfeigned anxiety to arrest the calamities of war, to propose to your Lordship a convention for the suspension of hostilities, to take effect at such time as may be mutually agreed upon, and stipulating that each party shall forthwith appoint Commissioners, with full powers to form a treaty, which shall provide, by reciprocal arrangements for the security of their seamen, from being taken or employed in the service of the other power; for the regulation of their commerce; and all other interesting questions now depending between them; and that the armistice shall not cease without such previous notice by one to the other party, as may be agreed upon, and shall not be understood as having any other effect than merely to suspend military operations by land and sea.—In proposing to your Lordship these terms for a suspension of hostilities, I am instructed to come to a clear and distinct understanding with His Britannic Majesty's Government, without requiring it to be formal concerning impressment, comprising in it the discharge of the citizens of the United States already impressed; and concerning future blockades, the revocation of the Orders in Council being confirmed.—Your Lordship is

aware that the power of the Government of the United States to prohibit the employment of British seamen must be exercised in the sense and spirit of the constitution; but there is no reason to doubt that it will be so exercised effectually and with good faith.—Such a measure, as it might by suitable regulations and penalties be made completely effectual and satisfactory, would operate almost exclusively in favour of Great Britain, for as few American seamen ever enter voluntarily into the British service, the reciprocity would be nominal, and it is sincerely believed that it would be more than an equivalent for any advantage she may derive from impressment.—By the proposition which I have now the honour to make in behalf of my Government, your Lordship will perceive the earnest desire of the President to remove every obstacle to an accommodation, which consists merely of form; and to secure the rights and interests of the United States in a manner the most satisfactory and honourable to Great Britain as well as to America.—The importance of the overture now made, will, I trust, obtain for it the early consideration of His Royal Highness the Prince Regent; and I shall detain the vessel in which I have taken my passage to the United States, until I have the honour to learn his decision.—I have the honour to be, my Lord, with high consideration, your Lordship's most obedient servant,

(Signed) JONA. RUSSELL.
Lord Viscount Castlereagh, &c.

Lord Castlereagh to Mr. Russell.

Lord Castlereagh presents his compliments to Mr. Russell, and requests to have the honour of seeing him at his house in St. James's-square, at 9 o'clock this evening.

Foreign Office, Sept. 16, 1812.

N. B. Received a little before 5 o'clock.

Mr. Hamilton to Mr. Russell.

Dear Sir,—I have not seen Lord Castlereagh since his receipt of your two letters of the —, but have received his directions to say to you, that he is concerned that he cannot have it in his power to reply to them for a few days, or would have had much pleasure in attending immediately to your request in that respect. You may be assured that no delay will take place which can be avoided.—I am, dear Sir, faithfully your's,

W. HAMILTON.

Foreign Office, Sept. 16, 1812.
Jonathan Russell, Esq. &c.

Mr. Russell to Mr. Hamilton.

Dear Sir,—I have learnt with much regret and disappointment, that Lord Castlereagh has directed you to inform me, that it is not in his power to give an immediate answer to the last letters which I have had the honour to address to him. The object of those letters was of a nature to require an early decision. Reluctant, however, by any precipitancy on my part, to protract the present unhappy relations between the two countries, I beg you to acquaint his Lordship, that I shall remain in town until Sunday (the 20th instant), when, unless some special and satisfactory reason be assigned for a longer delay, I shall consider it to be my duty to proceed to Plymouth to embark for the United States.—I am, dear Sir, with great truth and respect, your obedient servant,

(Signed) JONATHAN RUSSELL.
16, Bank-lane-street, 16th Sept. 1812.

N. B. Sent at 3 o'clock.

Lord Castlereagh to Mr. Russell.

Foreign Office, Sept. 16, 1812.

Sir,—Under the explanations you have afforded me of the nature of the instructions which you have received from your Government, I have, as on the preceding occasion, been induced to lay your letter of the 12th inst. before His Royal Highness the Prince Regent.—His Royal Highness commands me to express to you his regret that he cannot perceive any substantial difference between the proposition for a suspension of hostilities which you are now directed to make, and that which was contained in your letter of the 24th of August last. The form of the proposed arrangement, it is true, is different; but it only appears to aim at executing the same purpose in a more covert, and, therefore, in a more objectionable manner.—You are now directed to require, as preliminary to a suspension of hostilities, a clear and distinct understanding, without, however, requiring it to be formal on all the points referred to in your former proposition. It is obvious that, were this proposal acceded to, the discussion on the several points must substantially precede the understanding required.—This course of proceeding, as bearing on the face of it a character of disguise, is not only felt to be in principle inadmissible, but as unlikely to lead in practice to any advantageous result; as it does not appear on the important subject of impression that you are either authorized to

propose any specific plan, with reference to which the suspension of that practice could be made a subject of deliberation, or that you have received any instructions for the guidance of your conduct on some of the leading principles, which such a discussion must in the first instance involve.—Under these circumstances the Prince Regent sincerely laments, that he does not feel himself enabled to depart from the decision which I was directed to convey to you in my letter of the 2d inst.—I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient servant,
CASTLEREAGH.

Jonathan Russell, Esq. &c.

Mr. Russell to Mr. Monroe.

London, 19th Sept. 1812.

Sir,—Since writing to you this morning, fearing that this Government should infer from my silence an acquiescence in the strange and unwarrantable view which Lord Castlereagh has in his last note thought fit to take of the overtures which I have submitted, and of the powers under which I acted, I have considered it my duty to return an answer, of which the enclosed is a copy.—With great consideration and respect. I am, Sir, your assured and obedient servant,

(Signed) JONA. RUSSELL.

To the Hon. James Monroe, &c.

Mr. Russell to Lord Castlereagh.

London, 19th Sept. 1812.

My Lord,—I had the honour to receive, last evening, your Lordship's note of yesterday, and have learnt, with great regret and disappointment, that His Royal Highness the Prince Regent has again rejected the just and moderate propositions for a suspension of hostilities, which I have been instructed to present on the part of my Government.—After the verbal explanations which I had the honour to afford your Lordship on the 16th instant, both as to the object and sufficiency of my instructions, I did not expect to hear repeated any objections on these points. For itself, the American Government has nothing to disguise; and by varying the proposition as to the manner of coming to a preliminary understanding, it merely intended to leave to the British Government that which might be most congenial to its feelings. The propositions presented by me, however, on the 24th of August and 12th inst. are distinguishable by a diversity in the substance as

well as in the mode of the object which they embraced; as by the former, the discontinuance of the practice of impressment was to be immediate, and to precede the prohibitory law of the United States relative to the employment of British seamen; when, by the latter, both these measures are deferred, to take effect simultaneously hereafter.—Having made a precise tender of such law, and exhibited the instructions which warranted it to your Lordship, I have learnt with surprise that it does not appear to your Lordship that I am authorized to propose any specific plan on the subject of impressment. I still hope that the overtures made by me may again be taken into consideration by His Majesty's Government; and as I leave town this afternoon for the United States, that it will authorize some Agent to proceed thither, and adopt them as a basis for reconciliation between the two countries, an event so devoutly to be wished.—I have the honour to be, my Lord, your most obedient humble servant,

(Signed) JONA. RUSSELL.
The Right Hon. Lord Castlereagh, &c.

Mr. Russell to Mr. Monroe.

(Private).

On board the Lark, 7th Nov. 1812.

Sir,—I have the honour to inform you, that I am now passing the Narrows, and expect to land in New York this day. I conceive it to be my duty to repair to the seat of government, and shall set off as soon as I can obtain my baggage. In the mean time, I am sorry to inform you, that the second proposition for an armistice was rejected like the first, and a vigorous prosecution of the war appears to be the only honourable alternative left to us.—I have the honour to be, with great consideration and respect, Sir, your very obedient servant,

JONA. RUSSELL.

The Hon. James Monroe, &c.

LONDON GAZETTE, Tuesday, Dec. 29.

Copy of a Letter from Captain John Surman Carden, late Commander of His Majesty's ship the Macedonian, to John Wilson Croker, Esq. dated on board the American ship United States, at Sea, the 28th Oct. 1812.

Sir,—It is with the deepest regret I have to acquaint you for the information of my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty,

that His Majesty's late ship *Macedonian* was captured on the 25th inst. by the United States' ship *United States*, Commodore Decatur, Commander; the detail is as follows:—A short time after daylight, steering N. W. by W. with the wind from the southward, in latitude 29 deg. N. and longitude 29 deg. 30 min. W. in the execution of their Lordships' orders, a sail was seen on the lee beam, which I immediately stood for, and made her out to be a large frigate under American colours: at nine o'clock I closed with her, and she commenced the action, which we returned; but from the enemy keeping two points off the wind, I was not enabled to get as close to her as I could have wished. After an hour's action the enemy backed and came to the wind, and I was then enabled to bring her to close battle: in this situation I soon found the enemy's force too superior to expect success, unless some very fortunate chance occurred in our favour; and with this hope I continued the battle to two hours and ten minutes, when, having the mizen-mast shot away by the board, top-masts shot away by the caps, main-yard shot in pieces, lower-masts badly wounded, lower rigging all cut to pieces, a small proportion only of the fore-sail left to the fore-yard, all the guns on the quarter-deck and fore-castle disabled but two, and filled with wreck, two also on the main deck disabled, and several shot between wind and water, a very great proportion of the crew killed and wounded, and the enemy comparatively in good order, who had now shot a-head, and was about to place himself in a raking position, without our being enabled to return the fire, being a perfect wreck, and unmanageable log; I deemed it prudent, though a painful extremity, to surrender His Majesty's ship; nor was this dreadful alternative resorted to till every hope of success was removed even beyond the reach of chance, nor till, I trust, their Lordships will be aware, every effort had been made against the enemy by myself, my brave officers, and men; nor should she have been surrendered whilst a man lived on board, had she been manageable. I am sorry to say, our loss is very severe: I find by this day's muster, thirty-six killed, three of whom lingered a short time after the battle; thirty-six severely wounded, many of whom cannot recover; and thirty-two slightly wounded, who may all do well:—total, one hundred and four.—

The truly noble and animating conduct

of my officers, and the steady bravery of my crew, to the last moment of the battle, must ever render them dear to their country.—My first Lieutenant, David Hope, was severely wounded in the head towards the close of the battle, and taken below; but was soon again on deck, displaying that greatness of mind and exertion, which, though it may be equalled, can never be excelled; the third Lieutenant, John Bulford, was also wounded, but not obliged to quit his quarters: second Lieutenant, Samuel Mottley, and he, deserves my highest acknowledgments. The cool and steady conduct of Mr. Walker, the master, was very great during the battle, as also that of Lieutenants Wilson and Magill, of the Marines.—On being taken on board the enemy's ship, I ceased to wonder at the result of the battle. The United States is built with the scantling of a seventy-four gun ship, mounting thirty long 24-pounders (English ship guns) on her main deck, and twenty-two forty-two pounder carronades, with two long twenty-four pounders on her quarter deck and fore-castle, howitzer guns in her tops, and a travelling carronade on her upper deck, with a complement of four hundred and seventy-eight picked men.—The enemy has suffered much in masts, rigging and hull above and below water; her loss in killed and wounded, I am not aware of, but I know a Lieutenant and six men have been thrown overboard.—Enclosed you will be pleased to receive the names of the killed and wounded on board the Macedonian; and have the honour to be, &c.

JNO. S. CARDEN.

To J. W. Croker, Esq. Admiralty.

List of Officers and Men Killed and Wounded on board His Majesty's Ship Macedonian, in Action with the United States.

KILLED.—Mr. James Holmes, boatswain; Mr. Thomas James Nankivell, master's mate; Mr. Dennis Colwell, schoolmaster; William Brown, boatswain's mate; John Storrey, captain fore-castle; John Wells, captain fore-top; Joseph Newell, captain mast; Alexander Johnson, seaman; John Pierson, ditto; John Smith (1), ditto; William Hodge, ditto; William Aldridge, ditto; John M'Wiggin, ditto; John King, ditto; Thomas Curtis, ditto; George Watson, ditto; Thomas Hutchinson, ditto; John Card, ditto; Thomas Kayton, ditto; George Ingham, ditto; William Shingles, ditto; James Beat, ditto; John Hill, ditto; John White, ditto; James Kelly, ditto; James Warren, ditto; Joaquin Jozé, Jose de Compass, boys; John Johnson, sergeant of marines; Philip Molloy, private; Edward Skinner, ditto; Matthew Jackson, ditto; William Firth, ditto;

William Miller, ditto; Hugh Hughes, ditto; William Pillipan, ditto.

WOUNDED.—Lieutenant David Hope, severely; Lieutenant John Bulford, slightly; Mr. Henry Roebuck, master's mate, slightly; Mr. George Greenway, midshipman, severely; Mr. Francis Baker, volunteer, 1st class, slightly; Samuel Latchford, sail-maker, ditto; James Balgim, armourer, ditto; James Nichols, quarter-master, dangerous; John Lane, captain fore-top, severely; Thomas Homes, captain mast, ditto; Peter Johnson (1), captain after-guard, slightly; Thomas Richards, sail-maker's mate, severely; Elias Anderson, seaman, severely; Richard Stone, ditto, ditto; Thomas Dowler, ditto, ditto; Jacob Logholm, ditto, amputated leg; George Griffin, ditto, severely; Andrew Thorn, ditto, slightly; James Fenwick, ditto, ditto; Thomas Ryan, ditto, severely; John Bates, ditto, slightly; Philip Reed, ditto, amputated leg; William Biggs, ditto, severely; John Gordon, ditto, slightly; Charles Hand, ditto, severely; Giles Edmonds, ditto, slightly; Richard Hiffer, ditto, ditto; Thomas Whitaker, ditto, dangerously; James Duffy, ditto, slightly; James Smith, ditto, dangerously; George Glass, ditto, slightly; Thomas Starkhill, ditto, dangerously, since dead; Emanuel Isaacs, ditto, severely; William Burnett, ditto, dangerously; Daniel Eagle, ditto, severely; James M'Carthy, ditto, slightly; John Wilson (1), ditto, severely; John Active, ditto, slightly; Thomas Steward, ditto, ditto; Michael Beeby, ditto, ditto; Robert Nichols, ditto, dangerously, since dead; Andrew Smith, ditto, slightly; T. Turner, ditto, ditto; Mathew Davison, ditto, severely; David Conner, ditto, dangerously; John Lala, ditto, severely; Thomas Jenkins, ditto, slightly; Richard Spencewood, ditto, severely; David Nulton, ditto, slightly; Lawrence Mulligan, ditto, ditto; Thomas Gray, ditto, severely; Daniel Nalland, ditto, slightly; Thomas Willicott, ditto, ditto; Charles M'Gibbons, ditto, ditto; Thomas Budd, ditto, severely; James Scratchley, boy, ditto; Robert Hatherly, ditto, ditto; John Jordan, ditto, amputated leg; Robert Sneedon, ditto, ditto; John Duckworth, private marine, severely; John Rutland, ditto, slightly; William Reynolds, ditto, ditto; Benjamin Harrison, ditto, ditto; Lancelot Mills, ditto, severely; Thomas Cox, ditto, ditto; Igdaiah Holding, ditto, slightly; Samuel Browning, ditto, severely; Johan Kells, ditto, ditto.

Killed, 36; severely wounded, 35; slightly wounded, all likely to recover, 52.—Total 104.

(Signed) JOHN S. CARDEN, Captain.

RUSSIAN BULLETINS.

The General of Cavalry Count Willgenstein makes the following Report to His Imperial Majesty: dated Starroy Berisow, 17/29/ Nov.

Yesterday I reported to your Imperial Majesty, that I should proceed to the river Berisena, near Studentzy, which I the same day accomplished.—On coming up with the enemy at the above-mentioned passage they halted, and with a very strong force

defended the passage in order to save their baggage and heavy waggons.—Notwithstanding this I drove them from their first position, and pursued them three versts; the action continued the whole day. To-day I forced them to cross the river at Studentzy, having done which they burned the bridge. Admiral Tschitchagow having sent me panteons I am now re-establishing the bridge. I shall act in concert with him and Count Platow, on the opposite side.—Yesterday we took from the enemy one gun and 1,500 prisoners; and this day at the passage we took 12 guns, many more having been thrown into the river.—Several Staff and General Officers were taken prisoners, besides others of inferior rank, and more continue to be brought in, which I have not yet been able to take an account of.—The number of waggons belonging to Government and private persons is so great, that a space of half a verst square is so covered with them, that it is impossible either to ride or walk through them; and 3 companies of the new-raised militia have been employed merely to clear a passage for the army.—In these vehicles, which chiefly consisted of carriages of different descriptions, sent from Moscow, we found, besides a very great booty for the army, silver and other articles belonging to the churches, which were plundered by the enemy at Moscow. We are now collecting them, and I shall dispatch them to the Governor of Moscow.—Congratulating your Majesty on the above, I lay at the feet of your Imperial Majesty a stand of colours. The loss in killed and wounded in the course of these two days exceeds 3,000 men.

Report from General Count Wittgenstein to His Imperial Majesty, dated Berisow, Nov. 26.

I had the honour, on the 24th November, most submissively to report that Marshals Victor and Oudinot were retreating before me towards Berisow. I marched after them from the town of Tschetuga. General Platow followed the enemy's grand army. Admiral Tschitchagow was to receive the enemy at Berisow, and by this means it was intended to enclose him on three sides. In consequence of this arrangement, I caused my vanguard, under Major General Westow, to pursue the enemy. This General defeated General Dentila's division,

near the town of Batura, and within two days, one Lieutenant-Colonel, 86 officers, and 2,000 men were made prisoners. As I then perceived that the enemy was quickly retreating, I undertook making a flank movement from Kolopetsche, and marched towards the town of Karau, in order from this point to cut him off from the Lapelska road, and be enabled to act on Wesselowe and Studentzy, where he was forming bridges. When I arrived at the town of Kontrezy, I received information that Napoleon would cross the Berisna river, and that Victor's corps formed his rear-guard; I therefore put myself in march to attack him whilst crossing, and desired General Platow to hasten to Berisow, which he accordingly did. He proceeded on the Telschlin road, and after my arrival with the whole corps at Old Berisow, I cut off the enemy's rear-guard, consisting of half of Victor's corps, and attacked it on yesterday afternoon. After a heavy fire of musketry, which continued for four hours, and by the effect of our artillery, the enemy were thrown into disorder and put to flight; we took one piece of artillery, and 30 officers, with 1000 men, were made prisoners. He suffered a great loss besides in killed and wounded. Meanwhile I sent a flag of truce to inform the enemy of our superiority of force, and told him that he was surrounded and must surrender. The courage and valour of the troops under my command, together with General Platow's arrival at Berisow, forced the enemy to send me two flags of truce, with information that they surrendered. At midnight, the General of Division Partinoux, the Brigade General Lettre, two Colonels, 40 officers, and 800 men who had already submitted, were brought to me.—At seven o'clock this morning the remainder laid down their arms, viz. Generals Camusi and Blaimont, 3 Colonels, 15 Lieutenant-Colonels, 184 Officers, and 7000 men, and delivered up three pieces of artillery, three standards, and a number of baggage-waggons. Among these troops are two regiments of cavalry, one of Saxony and one of Berg, with very good horses.—On such a victory, a similar to which has scarcely hitherto been gained over the French, I take the liberty of congratulating your Majesty, and of laying all these trophies at your Majesty's
(To be continued.)

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. XXIII. No. 3.] LONDON, SATURDAY, JANUARY 16, 1813. [Price 1s.

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SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

AMERICAN STATES.—My two last Numbers were devoted principally to the task of endeavouring to convince the Prince Regent and the public, that it was neither dangerous nor dishonourable to yield to the terms upon which we might have had, and may yet have, peace with America; and, to my great mortification, though, I must confess, not much to my surprise, I now see, from the contents of the last Gazette, wherein is His Royal Highness's "*Declaration*," that all my endeavours have been of no avail, and that war, long, expensive and sanguinary war, will now take place with an enemy, who, above all others, is capable of inflicting deep wounds upon this already-crippled, or, at least, exhausted nation.

—From the first publication of the Letters which passed between Lord Wellesley and Mr. Pinckney, soon after the French had announced their intention to repeal the Berlin and Milan Decrees; from the very day of that publication, which took place soon after I was imprisoned in Newgate for two years (with a fine to THE KING, which I have since paid, of a thousand pounds) for having written and published upon the subject of flogging certain English militia-men, at the town of Ely, in England, who had been first reduced to submission by German Troops; from the very day of that publication I began to fear the present sad result of the dispute which had then assumed a new and more serious character than it had ever before worn. With that fear in my mind, I bent all my feeble powers towards preventing such result, I have failed: opinions and counsels the direct opposite of mine have prevailed; and time will show who was right and who wrong. — Upon former occasions the real grounds of war have, but too often, been lost sight of in the multitude and confusion of subsequent events; the Government has had the address to instil the passions of men on its side, and the voice of reason has been stifled. — But, here, as I was from the first resolved it should be, there is a clear, a distinct, an undisguisable ground

before our eyes; we know well what we are at war for: we know, and must bear in mind, that we are at war for the purpose of enforcing our practice of stopping American vessels upon the high seas, and taking out of them all such persons as our naval officers may deem to be British seamen. —

This is now become the clearly defined subject of the war with America. — The "*DECLARATION*," which will be found below, inserted at full length, does not contain any new matter: it is a summary of what our ministers have before alleged and asserted in their correspondence with the American Government and its divers agents. But, there are some few passages of it which require to be particularly noticed. — The question relating to the Orders in Council has been before so amply discussed, in my several Letters and articles upon the subject, that I will not encumber my present remarks with any thing relating thereunto; but, will confine myself to what relates to the impressment of persons out of American ships on the high seas.

— Upon this point the "*DECLARATION*" says: "His Royal Highness can never admit, that in the exercise of the undoubted and hitherto undisputed right of searching neutral merchant vessels in time of war, the impressment of British seamen, when found therein, can be deemed any violation of a neutral flag. Neither can he admit, that the taking such seamen from on board such vessels, can be considered by any neutral State as a hostile measure, or a justifiable cause of war. — There is no right more clearly established, than the right which a Sovereign has to the allegiance of his subjects, more especially in time of war. Their allegiance is no optional duty, which they can decline, and resume at pleasure. It is a call which they are bound to obey: it began with their birth, and can only terminate with their existence. — If a similarity of language and manners may make the exercise of this right more liable to partial mistakes, and occasional abuse, when practised towards the vessels of the United States, the same circum-

"stances make it also a right, with the exercise of which, in regard to such vessels, it is more difficult to dispense."—The doctrine of *allegiance*, as here laid down, I admit, with some exceptions; but, as to the right of impressing British seamen, on the high seas, out of neutral ships; I deny it to be founded on *any* principle or maxim, laid down by *any* writer on public law. Indeed, the "DECLARATION" does not say that it is; it says, that the right of SEARCHING neutral vessels in time of war is "*undoubted* and has *hitherto been undisputed*." This is not correct; for, not only has even *this* right been doubted, not only are there two opinions about it in the books on public law, but the writers on public law are, for the most part, *against* the said right *as we practise it*, and they contend, that we have *no* right to seize enemy's goods on board of merchant ships which are neutral. Nay, the contest has given rise to military resistance on the part of our now-ally, Russia, Denmark, and Sweden; and, what is still more, Great Britain ceased, upon their *threats*, to exercise this, even *this*, right of seizing *enemy's* goods on board of neutral ships of war.—But, this right; this right of SEARCHING neutral ships; what has it to do with the *impressment* of persons on board of such ships? That is what the Americans object to, and are at war against. They are not at war against our right of *search*, even in our own interpretation of that right. What they object to is, the stopping of their vessels on the high seas, and taking *people* out of them by force; a practice which, I repeat it, is sanctioned by no principle or maxim of *any* writer on public law, nor by any usage heretofore known in the world.—The "DECLARATION" does not assert, as Lord Castlereagh did, in his letter to Mr. Russell; that this practice is sanctioned by any former usage; but, it *declares* the right from the *right of search*. It says, that, in *exercising* "the right of search," that is to say, the right to search for articles *contraband of war*, and for *enemy's* goods, we have a right to impress British seamen, if we find them. So that, this is the new shape of the defence of the practice: we do not now assert that we have a right to stop American vessels upon the high seas *for the purpose* of impressing our seamen; but, having stopped them for the purpose of exercising our old "*right of search*," we have a right to avail ourselves of the opportunity to take out persons whom our own officers, at their discretion,

may judge to be British seamen.—This is not even *plausible*, in my opinion; for, what right can we have to impress, if we have no right to stop for the purpose of impressing? I may enter another's house to search for a stolen coat, and, if I find there my hat, I may seize it as well as my coat, having due authority for the first; but, be it observed, that to steal the hat was as criminal as to steal the coat; and, if I had known, or suspected, that the hat was there, I might have had my search-warrant for the former as well as for the latter.—The law of nations calls the high seas the common right of nations. A ship there is a parcel of the State to which she belongs, and the sovereign rights of that State travel with her. The sole exception is, as has been before stated, that belligerents have a right to search neutrals *for goods of the enemy*, and for *warlike stores and troops*, carrying for the enemy's use; because, as far as neutrals are engaged in such a service, they are deemed to be *in the service of the enemy*.—In all other respects a neutral ship carries with her, on the high seas, the rights of sovereignty appertaining to the State to which she belongs.—Now, it is well known, that no nation has a right to enter the territory of another to exercise any authority whatever, much less that of seizing persons and carrying them away by force; and, indeed, is it not fresh in every one's memory, what complaints were made against the French for entering the territory of the Elector of Baden, and seizing the Duke of Engheim?—If we have a right to enter American ships on the high seas, and take out of them, by force of arms, British seamen, what should hinder us from having the same right as to any of the sea-ports of America? Nay, why should we not go and seize our numerous manufacturers, who have been (contrary to our laws) carried to America, and who are filling America with cloths and cutlery? Their alleging, that they went thither to avoid the effect of prosecutions for libel, or for some other of our state crimes, would be no bar to our claim upon them; and, in short, they could never be safe to the last moment of their lives.—It is said, that the seamen on board of American ships are *deserters*. Be it so. We may be sorry that they do desert; but it is no crime in the Americans that our sailors go into America. Is it not well known, that numerous deserters from the Austrian and Prussian armies have, at all times, deserted into the neighbouring States; and is it not equally

well-known, that the neighbouring State has invariably possessed the undisputed right of giving them protection, and of in-lining them in its service?—Why, therefore, should we deem it a crime in America, whose abundance of lands and provisions, whose high price of labour, and whose happiness to the lower orders of mankind, hold out their arms to the whole world?

—And here I cannot help introducing a remark upon the proposition, made by Lord Castlereagh to Mr. Russell, that the American Government should stipulate to *deliver up* all British seamen in the service of Americans. Mr. Russell is said to have expressed himself as having been *shocked* at this proposition, which has afforded an abundant theme of abuse of him by our hiring writers. But, I have no scruple to say, that I firmly believe, that it is a proposition that never was before made to any independent State; even to the most petty State of Germany. There was a plan, some years ago, in agitation amongst the States of Europe, for putting in force a mutual surrender of each other's subjects, whereupon the Abbé Raynal remarks, that, if it had gone into effect, each of the several States might have taken the motto of *Dante* over the entrance to his *infernal regions*: "He who enters here leaves even *hope* behind." He represents it as the utmost stretch of tyranny; a point, he says, which the world ought to perish rather than reach. And, therefore, though Lord Castlereagh's proposition did not go this length; though it was confined to British seamen, we have no reason to abuse Mr. Russell for his expression.—It will be said, may be, that Mr. Russell was ordered to stipulate for the surrender, on our part, of all American seamen. Aye; but the difference is, that Mr. Russell proposed the surrender of those only who had been *impressed by us*; whereas we wanted to stipulate for the surrender of those British seamen who had gone into America of *their own free will*. We wanted to have surrendered to us, men who were employed in American merchant ships; they wanted us to surrender men, whom we had seized in their ships and forced into our *men of war*.—But, is it possible, that any one can find any thing to object to in a request, that, as a *preliminary*, we should give up the Americans, whom we had impressed into our service? What is the state of those men, now on board of our ships of war? What is their state? Has the reader reflected upon this? They must be useless

on board of ship; they must not act; they must do no seaman's duty; or, they must, according to our own doctrine, lately exemplified at Horsemonger Lane, be *TRAITORS*, worthy of being hanged, ripped up, and cut in quarters.—His Royal Highness's Declaration says, that allegiance to his father and his successors begins with a man's birth and ends but with his death. And, is it not the same with American citizens? Do they not owe similar allegiance to their country? Or is it about to be pretended, that none but kings can claim this sort of allegiance?—I do not think that any one, even of the writers in the Times and Courier, will have the impudence to set up this doctrine; but, this they must do before they can make out any good ground of charge against the Americans for having demanded, as a preliminary, the surrender of the impressed American seamen.—Captain Dacres, in accounting for the loss of his Frigate, expressly states, that he had *many Americans on board*, whom he permitted to be spectators, from a reluctance to compel them to fight against their country. And, can the reader believe, that this was the only instance in which native Americans were unwillingly serving on board of British ships of war? What, then, again I ask, must be the state of those Americans? And, what are we to think of those writers, who abuse Mr. Russell for proposing to us their surrender as a step preliminary to any further arrangement?—The Declaration complains, that America demanded the abandonment of the practice of impressment as a *preliminary* to her passing a law to prevent British seamen from being received on board her ships.—The hiring writers have treated this demand as something too insolent to be for a moment listened to. The "DECLARATION" does not treat it in this lofty style; but it speaks of it in pretty strong terms, as thus:—"The proposal of an armistice, and of a simultaneous repeal of the restrictive measures on both sides; subsequently made by the commanding officer of His Majesty's naval forces on the American coast, were received in the same hostile spirit by the Government of the United States. The suspension of the practice of impressment was insisted upon in this correspondence which passed on that occasion, as a necessary preliminary to a cessation of hostilities. Negotiation, it was stated, might take place without any suspension of the exercise of this right, and also without any armistice being con-

cluded: but Great Britain was required "previously to agree, without any knowledge of the adequacy of the system which could be substituted, to negotiate upon the basis of *accepting the legislative regulations of a foreign State*, as the sole *equivalent* for the exercise of a right, which she has felt to be essential to the support of her maritime power."—Well, and what then? "*A right*" it is called again; but, if America denied it to be a right, as she has uniformly done, what wonder was there that she made the proposition? Great Britain might "*feel*," though I should have chosen the word "*deem*," as smacking less of the boarding-school Miss's style; Great Britain might "*feel*," if feel she must, that the practice complained of was essential to the support of her maritime power; but, did it hence follow, that America, and that, impressed Americans, should like the practice the better for that? We have so long called ourselves the *deliverers* of the world, that we, at last, have fallen into the habit of squaring up all our ideas to that appellation; and seem surprised that there should be any nation in the world inclined to wish for the diminution of our power.—The Americans, however, clearly appear to see the thing in a different light. They, in their home-spun way, call us any thing but *deliverers*; and, it must be confessed, that, whatever may be our general propensity, we do not seem to have been in haste to *deliver* impressed American seamen.—That one nation ought not to yield a *right*, depending for compensation solely upon the legislative provisions of a foreign State, is very true; but, if the right be doubtful; if it be unsupported by any law, principle, maxim, or custom, then the case is different; and then, indeed, the offer of a legislative provision is a proof of a sincere desire to accommodate.—If my view of the matter be right, and I verily believe it is, this is the light in which that offer ought to be viewed; and I most deeply lament that it was not thus viewed by the ministers.—These lamentations, however, are now useless. The sound of war is gone forth: statement and reasoning are exhausted: the sword is to decide whether England is, or is not, to impress, at the discretion of her naval officers, persons on board American merchant ships on the high seas.—There is one passage more in the "*DECLARATION*," upon which I cannot refrain from submitting a remark or two. After stating, that America has made only feeble remonstrances

against the injuries she has received from France, the "*DECLARATION*," this "*moral document*," as the Courier calls it, concludes thus:—"This disposition of the Government of the United States—this *complete subserviency to the Ruler of France*—this hostile temper towards Great Britain—are evident in almost every page of the official correspondence of the American with the French Government.—Against this course of conduct, the real cause of the present war, the Prince Regent solemnly protests. Whilst contending against France, in defence not only of the liberties of Great Britain, BUT OF THE WORLD, His Royal Highness was entitled to look for a far different result. From their *common origin*—from their *common interest*—from their *professed principles of freedom and independence*, the United States were the last power, in which Great Britain could have expected to find a *willing instrument*, and *abettor of French tyranny*.—Disappointed in this just expectation, the Prince Regent will still pursue the policy which the British Government has so long, and invariably maintained, in *repelling injustice*, and in supporting the general rights of nations; and, under the *favour of PROVIDENCE*, relying on the justice of his cause, and the tried loyalty and firmness of the British Nation, His Royal Highness confidently looks forward to a successful issue to the contest, in which he has thus been compelled most reluctantly to engage."—The last paragraph is in the old style, and will hardly fail to remind Mr. Madison of the documents of this kind, issued about *six-and-thirty years ago*. However, the style is none the worse for being old; though one cannot but recollect the occasion upon which it was formerly used.—I regret, however, to find, in this solemn document, a distinct charge against the American Government of "*subserviency to the Ruler of France*;" because, after a very attentive perusal of all the correspondence between the American and French Governments, I do not find any thing, which, in my opinion, justifies the charge. The truth is, that "*the Ruler of France*" gave way in the most material point to the remonstrances of America; and, I have never yet read a Message of Mr. Madison, at the opening of a Session of Congress, in which he did not complain of the conduct of France. The Americans abhor an al-

liance with France; and, if they form such an alliance, it will have been occasioned by this war with us.—This charge of subserviency to Buonaparté has a thousand times been preferred against Mr. Madison, but never, that I have seen, once *proved*. It is, indeed, the charge which we have been in the habit of preferring against all those powers, who have been at war with us: Spain, Holland, Prussia, Denmark, Sweden, and, though last not least, Russia, as will be seen by a reference to Mr. Canning's answer to the propositions from Tilsit.—“Subserviency to the Ruler of France?” We stop the American Merchautmen upon the high seas; we take out many of their own native scamen; we force them on board of our men of war; we send them away to the East Indies, the West Indies, or the Méditerranéan; we expose them to all the hardships of such a life and all the dangers of battle, in a war in which they have no concern: all this we do, for we do not deny it; and, when, *after* MANY YEARS of remonstrances, the American Government arms and sends forth its soldiers and sailors to compel us to desist, we accuse that Government of “*subserviency to the Ruler of France*,” who, whatever else he may have done, has not, that I have ever heard, given the Americans reason to complain of impressments from on board their ships. Many unjust acts he appears to have committed towards the Americans; but he has wisely abstained from impressments, which, as I have all along said, was the *only ground* upon which the people of America could have been prevailed upon to enter heartily into a war with any power: it is a popular ground: the war is in the cause of the people: accordingly, we find the motto to the war is: “*Liberty of the seas and sea-men's rights*.”—I, therefore, regret exceedingly, that the “DECLARATION” styles America “a willing instrument and abettor of French tyranny.” It is a heavy charge; it is one that will stick close to the memory of those who support the war; it will tend to inflame, rather than allay, the angry passions; and, of course, it will tend to kill all hopes of a speedy reconciliation.—As to what the “DECLARATION” is pleased to say about the “*common origin*” of the two nations, if of any weight, it might be urged, I suppose, with full as much propriety by the Americans *against our impressments*, as it is now urged against their resistance. I

remember that it was urged with great force in favour of American submission to be taxed by an English parliament; but, as the result showed, with as little effect as it possibly can be upon this occasion.—There is one thing in this “*calling cousin*,” as the saying is, that I do not much like. The calling cousin always *proceeds from us*. The Americans never remind us, that we are of the same origin with them. This is a bad sign on our side. It is we, and not they, who tell the world of the relationship. In short, it is well enough for a news-paper to remind them of their origin; but, I would not have done it in a solemn Declaration; especially when I was accusing them of being the willing instrument and abettor of our enemy.—“*Common interest*.” That, indeed, was a point to dwell on; but, then, it was necessary to produce something, at least, in support of the proposition. The Americans will *query the fact*; and, indeed, they will flatly deny it. They will say, for they have said, that it is not for *their interest*, that we should have more power than we now have over the sea; and, that they have much more to dread from a great naval power, than from an overgrown power on the Continent of Europe. They are in no fear of the Emperor Napoleon, whose fleets they are now a match for; but, they are in some fear of us; and, therefore, they do not wish to see us stronger.—It is in vain to tell them, that we are fighting in defence of the “*liberties of the world*.” They understand this matter full as well as we do, and, perhaps, a little better. I should like to see this proposition attempted to be *proved*. I should like to hear my Lord Castlereagh, beginning with the Declaration against the Republicans of France, continue on the history of our hostilities to the present day, taking in those of India by way of episode, and concluding with the war for the *right of impressment*, make it out, *how* we have been and are *defending the liberties of the world*.—I dare say that his Lordship could make it out clearly enough. I do not pretend to question the fact or his ability; but, it would be at once instructive and entertaining to hear *how* he would do it.—“From their *professed* principles of *freedom*.” From these the “DECLARATION” says, that His Royal Highness expected the United States would have been the last power to become a willing instrument of *French tyranny*. Very true;

of *French tyranny*: but, that did not hinder him from expecting them to be the enemy of *impressing men from on board their ships*; and, it should have been shown how this disposition proved them to be a willing instrument of French tyranny, or of any tyranny at all.—It is useless to revile; it is useless to fly off to other matter. We impress men on board of American ships upon the high seas; we take out (no matter whether by mistake or otherwise) American seamen as well as English; we force them to fight on board our ships; we punish them if they disobey. And, when they, after years of complaints and remonstrances, take up arms in the way of resistance, we tell them that they show themselves the willing instruments and abettors of French tyranny.—I wish sincerely that this passage had been omitted. There are other parts of the "DECLARATION" that I do not like; but this part appears to me likely to excite a great deal of ill-will; of lasting, of rooted, ill-will.—I do not like the word "*professed*," as applied to the American *principles of freedom*. The meaning of that word, as here applied, cannot be equivocal, and assuredly would have been better left out, especially as we never see, in any of the American documents, any expressions of the kind applied to us and to our Government.—But, to take another view of the matter, *why* should His Royal Highness expect the Americans to be disinclined towards France, because they profess principles of freedom? *Why* should he, on *this account*, expect that they would lean to *our side* in the war?—Does the Declaration mean to say, that the Government of France is more tyrannical than was that monarchy, for the restoration of which a league was made in Europe in the years 1792 and 1793? From its tone, the Declaration may be construed to mean, that *our* Government is *more free* than that of France, and that, therefore, we might have expected the Americans, who profess principles of freedom, to be on *our side* in a contest against "*French tyranny*."—Hem! Mum!—Well, well! We will say nothing about the matter; but, it must be clear to every one, that the Americans may have their *own opinion* upon the subject; and, they may *express it too*, until we can get at them with an *Ex-Officio*. They may have their own opinion upon the matter; and their opinion may possibly differ from ours. They are, to be sure, at a great

distance; but, they are a *reading* and an *observing* and a *calculating* people; and, I'll engage, that there is not a farmer in the back States who is not able to give a pretty good account of the blessings of "*English liberty*."—Besides, leaving this quite out of the question; supposing that the Americans should think us freemen and the French slaves, why should that circumstance prevent them from leaning to the side of France? What examples of the effect of such morality amongst nations have the Regent's ministers to produce? How often have we seen close alliances between free and despotic states against states either free or despotic? How often have we been on the side of despots against free States? England was once in offensive alliance with France against Holland; Holland and France against England; and, it ought never to be forgotten, that England, not many years ago, favoured the invasion of Holland and the subjugation of the States General by a Prussian army. Have we not formed alliances with Prussia, Austria, Russia, Spain, Naples, and all the petty princes of Germany against the *Republic* of France? Nay, have we refused, in that war, the co-operation of *Turkey* and *Algiers*? And, as for the old Papa of Rome, "*the Whore of Babylon*," as our teachers call him, his alliance has been accounted holy by us, and his person an object of our peculiar care and protection.—Why, then, are we to expect, that America is to refrain from consulting her interests, if they be favoured by a leaning towards France? Why is she to be shut out from the liberty of forming connexions with a despotism, supposing a despotism now to exist in France?—The truth is, that, in this respect, as in private life, it is interest alone that guides and that must guide; and, in my mind, it is not more reasonable to expect America to lean on our side on account of the nature of the Government of our enemy, than it would be to expect a Presbyterian to sell his sugar to a Churchman, because the only man that bade him a higher price was a Catholic.—Here I should stop; but, an article, upon the same subject, in the Morning Chronicle of the 13th instant, calls for observation.—Upon the falsehoods and impudence of the Times and the Courier, that is to say, the principal prints on the side of the Wellesley party and that of the Ministers, I have remarked often enough. I was anxious to hear what the Whigs had to say, and here we have it.

Mr. Poultonby and Mr. Brougham had pledged themselves to support the war, if America was not satisfied with the repeal of the Orders in Council; and here we have the *grounds* of that support. On this account the article is interesting, and, of course, worthy of an attentive perusal.

—“Notwithstanding the tedious length of the papers on both sides, the question between the Court of London and the Government of the United States is simply *the right of impressment of seamen on board trading ships*—and this is in truth the sole cause of the war.—If we were to examine the value of this cause to the two parties, it cannot be denied but that to the Americans it is *exceedingly slight*, and to the British *highly material*. The Americans cannot regard it as an *insult*, because it is a right which has been at all times asserted and acquiesced in by Sovereign States respectively. Then viewed as an *injury* what is it? That they shall go to war to prevent British subjects who have forfeited their allegiance, abandoned their country, and left their families probably starving, from being impressed on board their merchant vessels—that is to say; they claim the right to afford an asylum and employ the *refuse* of the British navy—men without principle, for it is only the profligate that are likely to become the objects of their protection. In this view, then, the point is of little consequence to the Americans, but it is interesting to the British to assert the power inherent in every State to reclaim its subjects; and the time may come when the principle would be equally important to America herself.—But, say the American Ministers, it is not so much the right itself, as the violent and insulting mode of exercising it that we complain of; for we have upon reflection agreed in the principle of international law, that free bottoms do not make free goods, and therefore we have no objection to the search of our merchant ships for contraband of war; but in that case, whenever warlike stores, &c. are found on board an American vessel, she is detained and carried into a port, for adjudication by a competent Court. Whether the adjudication be always impartial or not is another affair, but in this respect nations are on an equal footing, and these Admiralty Courts, well or ill conducted, are recognized by all maritime nations. But with respect to the *impressment of seamen*, the act is violent

because summary, and because it is subject to no revival—to no adjudication—and because the individual seized has no means of redress. By this sort of reasoning there is a tacit admission on the part of America, that it is not to the act itself which they object so much as to the manner of the act; and accordingly we see various suggestions made by Americans, for entering into an amicable discussion on the means of getting over the outrageous way in which the right is exercised, and of giving security to both nations against the abuse in question. On the other side, Lord Castlereagh declares the readiness of the British Government to receive and discuss any proposition on this subject coming from the American Government; though he would not enter into a negotiation, a preliminary to which should be the concession of this right, and so far we think he was clearly right.—But is it not monstrous that two people of common origin, and of almost inseparable interests, should remain at war on a point upon which there is so little difference between them? Surely without any sacrifice of etiquette on either side, the expedients might be canvassed, by which this mighty cause of war might be removed. Let each party promulgate their thoughts on the subject, and if there be an honest disposition to peace, it must follow.—The argument on both sides is short, and may be put in a few words. The agreement ought to be so drawn as to make it most dangerous to the Captain of an American ship to employ a British seaman on board; and, on the other side, to make it equally dangerous for a British Captain to seize and carry off an American seaman, under pretext of his being a British subject. Or, in other words, it ought to be made their interest to abstain from those two causes of national offence. Various modes have been suggested for this purpose.—The most effectual undoubtedly would be to ordain by a treaty, that the subjects of each power, if found on board the merchants' vessels of the other, should be considered in the nature of contraband of war, inasmuch as their natural Sovereign was thereby deprived of their service in war, and that that should be a cause to detain the vessel for adjudication. By this the American Captain or his owners would most seriously suffer by having British seamen on board; and, on the other hand, the Bri-

“fish Captain would equally suffer, if he
 “had all the risk and loss to incur of an
 “improper detention. Against this, how-
 “ever, the arguments are strong. The
 “American Captain may have been impos-
 “sed upon by the similarity of language,
 “&c.; and when brought into one of our
 “ports, where there is a competent Court
 “to adjudge the point, a real American
 “seaman might find it impossible to ad-
 “duce proofs of his nativity. Besides, in
 “both events, the penalty would be inor-
 “dinate.—Another suggestion has been
 “made, that the British naval officer im-
 “pressing a seaman on board an American
 “vessel, and *vice versa*, should be bound
 “to make a certificate in duplicate (or
 “what the French call a *proces verbal*), to
 “the fact, one copy of which he should
 “deliver to the American Captain, and
 “transmit the other to the Admiralty to
 “be filed; and that the seaman seized
 “should have his action for damages in the
 “Courts of Law, the certificate to be pro-
 “duced by the Admiralty as proof of the
 “trespass, if the person can prove himself
 “to be a native of the country that he
 “pretended to be. We confess we think
 “that this ought to satisfy both Govern-
 “ments, for this would make officers cau-
 “tious in exercising the right which at the
 “same time cannot be safely surrendered.”
 This is poor, paltry trash. But, it contains
 one assertion, which I declare to be *false*.
 It is here asserted, that “the right of im-
 “pressment of seamen on board of trading
 “ships, is a right which has, at all times
 “been asserted, and acquiesced in by sove-
 “reign States respectively.”—I give this an
 unqualified denial. I say, that it is a
 right, which *no nation* has before as-
 serted, and that *no nation* ever acquiesced
 in.—Let the Morning Chronicle name the
 nation that has ever done either: let him
 cite the instance of such a practice as we
 insist upon; let him name the writer, every
 English writer, on public law, who has
 made even an attempt to maintain such a
 doctrine; nay, let him name the writer,
 who has laid down any principle, or maxim,
 from which such a right can possibly be
 deduced. And, if he can do none of these,
 what assurance, what a desperate devotion
 to faction, must it be to enable a man to
 make such an assertion! The assertion of the
 “value of the cause” being slight to Ame-
 rica, in comparison to what it is to us, has
 no better foundation. The *value* what
 is of value, what is of any value at all,
 if the *liberty and lives of the people of*

America are of no value? And, when we
 know, when no man will deny, when
 official records of the fact exist, that
 hundreds of native Americans have been
 impressed and sent to serve on board our
 ships of war: when this is notorious; when
 it neither will nor can be denied, what is
 of value to America if this cause be not of
 value?—As to the proposition for making
 English seamen “*contraband of war*,” it
 is so impudent, it is so shameful, it is even
 so horrid, that I will do no more than just
 name it, that it may not escape the reader’s
 indignation.—Indeed, there needs no more
 than the reading of this one article to con-
 vince the Americans, that all the factions
 in England are, in effect, of one mind upon
 the subject of this war; and, I am afraid,
 that this conviction will produce conse-
 quences, which we shall have sorely to
 lament, though I shall, for my own part,
 always have the satisfaction to reflect, that
 every thing which it was in my power to
 do, has been done, to prevent those conse-
 quences.

WM. COBBETT.

Batley, 14th January, 1813.

OFFICIAL PAPERS.

AMERICAN STATES.—*Declaration of the
 Regent of England against them.*

The earnest endeavours of the Prince Re-
 gent to preserve the relations of peace and
 amity with the United States of America
 having unfortunately failed, His Royal
 Highness, acting in the name and on the
 behalf of His Majesty, deems it proper
 publicly to declare the causes and origin of
 the war, in which the Government of the
 United States has compelled him to engage.
 —No desire of conquest, or other ordi-
 nary motive of aggression has been, or can
 be, with any colour of reason, in this case,
 imputed to Great Britain: that her com-
 mercial interests were on the side of peace,
 if war could have been avoided, without the
 sacrifice of her maritime rights, or without
 an injurious submission to France, is a truth
 which the American Government will not
 deny.—His Royal Highness does not,
 however, mean to rest on the favourable
 presumption to which he is entitled. He
 is prepared, by an exposition of the circum-
 stances which have led to the present war,
 to shew that Great Britain has throughout
 acted towards the United States of America

with a spirit of amity, forbearance, and conciliation; and to demonstrate the inadmissible nature of those pretensions, which have at length unhappily involved the two countries in war.—It is well known to the world, that it has been the invariable object of the Ruler of France, to destroy the power and independence of the British Empire, as the chief obstacle to the accomplishment of his ambitious designs.—He first contemplated the possibility of assembling such a naval force in the Channel as, combined with a numerous flotilla, should enable him to disembark in England an army sufficient, in his conception, to subjugate this country; and through the conquest of Great Britain he hoped to realize his project of universal empire.—By the adoption of an enlarged and provident system of internal defence, and by the valour of His Majesty's fleets and armies, this design was entirely frustrated; and the naval force of France, after the most signal defeats, was compelled to retire from the ocean.—An attempt was then made to effectuate the same purpose by other means; a system was brought forward, by which the Ruler of France hoped to annihilate the commerce of Great Britain, to shake her public credit, and to destroy her revenue; to render useless her maritime superiority, and so to avail himself of his continental ascendancy, as to constitute himself, in a great measure, the arbiter of the ocean, notwithstanding the destruction of his fleets.

—With this view, by the Decree of Berlin, followed by that of Milan, he declared the British territories to be in a state of blockade; and that all commerce, or even correspondence with Great Britain was prohibited. He decreed that every vessel and cargo which had entered, or was found proceeding to a British port, or which, under any circumstances, had been visited by a British ship of war, should be lawful prize: he declared all British goods and produce wherever found, and however acquired, whether coming from the Mother Country, or from her colonies, subject to confiscation: he further declared to be denationalized the flag of all neutral ships that should be found offending against these his decrees: and he gave to this project of universal tyranny the name of the Continental System.

—For these attempts to ruin the commerce of Great Britain, by means subversive of the clearest rights of neutral nations, France endeavoured in vain to rest her justification upon the previous conduct of His Majesty's Government.—Under

circumstances of unparalleled provocation, His Majesty had abstained from any measure, which the ordinary rules of the law of nations did not fully warrant. Never was the maritime superiority of a Belligerent over his enemy more complete and decided. Never was the opposite Belligerent so formidably dangerous in his power, and in his policy to the liberties of all other nations. France had already trampled so openly and systematically on the most sacred rights of neutral powers, as might well have justified the placing her out of the pale of civilized nations. Yet in this extreme case Great Britain had so used her naval ascendancy, that her enemy could find no just cause of complaint: and in order to give to these lawless decrees the appearance of retaliation, the Ruler of France was obliged to advance principles of maritime law unsanctioned by any other authority than his own arbitrary will.—The pretexts for these decrees were, first, that Great Britain had exercised the rights of war against private persons, their ships and goods, as if the only object of legitimate hostility on the ocean were the public property of a State, or as if the edicts, and the Courts of France itself had not at all times enforced this right with peculiar rigour. Secondly, that the British orders of blockade, instead of being confined to fortified towns, had, as France asserted, been unlawfully extended to commercial towns and ports, and to the mouths of rivers; and thirdly, that they had been applied to places, and to coasts, which neither were, nor could be actually blockaded. The last of these charges is not founded on fact, whilst the others, even by the admission of the American Government, are utterly groundless in point of law.

Against these Decrees, His Majesty protested and appealed; he called upon the United States to assert their own rights, and to vindicate their independence, thus menaced and attacked; and as France had declared, that she would confiscate every vessel which should touch in Great Britain, or be visited by British ships of war, His Majesty having previously issued the Order of January 1807, as an act of mitigated retaliation, was at length compelled, by the persevering violence of the enemy, and the continued acquiescence of neutral powers, to revisit, upon France, in a more effectual manner, the measure of her own injustice; by declaring, in an Order in Council, bearing date the 11th of November 1807, that no neutral vessel should

proceed to France, or to any of the countries from which, in obedience to the dictates of France, British commerce was excluded, without first touching at a port in Great Britain, or her dependencies. At the same time His Majesty intimated his readiness to repeal the Orders in Council, whenever France should rescind her Decrees, and return to the accustomed principles of maritime warfare; and at a subsequent period, as a proof of His Majesty's sincere desire to accommodate, as far as possible, his defensive measures to the convenience of neutral powers, the operation of the Orders in Council was, by an order issued in April 1809, limited to a blockade of France, and of the countries subjected to her immediate dominion.—Systems of violence, oppression, and tyranny, can never be suppressed, or even checked, if the power against which such injustice is exercised, be debarred from the right of full and adequate retaliation: or, if the measures of the retaliating power, are to be considered as matters of just offence to neutral nations, whilst the measures of original aggression and violence, are to be tolerated with indifference, submission, or complacency.—The Government of the United States did not fail to remonstrate against the Orders in Council of Great Britain. Although they knew that these Orders would be revoked, if the Decrees of France, which had occasioned them, were repealed, they resolved at the same moment to resist the conduct of both Belligerents, instead of requiring France, in the first instance, to rescind her Decrees. Applying most unjustly the same measure of resentment to the aggressor, and to the party aggrieved, they adopted measures of commercial resistance against both—a system of resistance which, however varied in the successive acts of embargo, non-intercourse, or non-importation, was evidently unequal in its operation, and principally levelled against the superior commerce, and maritime power of Great Britain.—The same partiality towards France was observable, in their negotiations, as in their measures of alleged resistance.—Application was made to both Belligerents for a revocation of their respective edicts; but the terms in which they were made were widely different.—Of France was required a revocation only of the Berlin and Milan Decrees, although many other edicts, grossly violating the neutral commerce of the United States, had been promulgated by that Power. No

security was demanded, that the Berlin and Milan Decrees, even if revoked, should not under some other form be re-established; and a direct engagement was offered, that upon such revocation, the American Government would take part in the war against Great Britain, if Great Britain did not immediately rescind her Orders.—Whereas no corresponding engagement was offered to Great Britain, of whom it was required, not only that the Orders in Council should be repealed, but that no others of a similar nature should be issued, and that the blockade of May, 1806, should be also abandoned. This blockade, established and enforced according to accustomed practice, had not been objected to by the United States at the time it was issued. Its provisions were on the contrary represented by the American Minister resident in London at the time, to have been so framed, as to afford, in his judgment, a proof of the friendly disposition of the British Cabinet towards the United States.—Great Britain was thus called upon to abandon one of her most important maritime rights, by acknowledging the Order of blockade in question, to be one of the edicts which violated the commerce of the United States, although it had never been so considered in the previous negotiations;—and although the President of the United States had recently consented to abrogate the Non-Intercourse Act, on the sole condition of the Orders in Council being revoked; thereby distinctly admitting these orders to be the only edicts which fell within the contemplation of the law, under which he acted.—A proposition so hostile to Great Britain could not but be proportionably encouraging to the pretensions of the enemy; as by thus alleging that the blockade of May 1806, was illegal, the American Government virtually justified, so far as depended on them, the French Decrees.—After this proposition had been made, the French Minister for Foreign Affairs, if not in concert with that Government, at least in conformity with its views, in a dispatch, dated the 5th of August, 1810, and addressed to the American Minister resident at Paris, stated that the Berlin and Milan Decrees were revoked, and that their operation would cease from the 1st day of November following, provided His Majesty would revoke his Orders in Council, and renounce the new principles of blockade; or that the United States would cause their rights to be respected; meaning thereby,

that they would resist the retaliatory measures of Great Britain.—Although the repeal of the French Decrees thus announced was evidently contingent, either on concessions to be made by Great Britain, (concessions to which it was obvious Great Britain could not submit,) or on measures to be adopted by the United States of America; the American President at once considered the repeal as absolute. Under that pretence, the Non-Importation Act was strictly enforced against Great Britain, whilst the ships of war, and merchant ships of the enemy were received into the harbours of America.—The American Government, assuming the repeal of the French Decrees to be absolute, and effectual, most unjustly required Great Britain, in conformity to her declarations, to revoke her Orders in Council. The British Government denied that the repeal, which was announced in the letter of the French Minister for Foreign Affairs, was such as ought to satisfy Great Britain; and in order to ascertain the true character of the measures adopted by France, the Government of the United States was called upon to produce the instrument, by which the alleged repeal of the French Decrees had been effected. If these Decrees were really revoked, such an instrument must exist; and no satisfactory reason could be given for withholding it.—At length, on the 21st of May 1812, and not before, the American Minister in London did produce a copy, or at least what purported to be a copy, of such an instrument.—It professed to bear date the 28th of April 1811, long subsequent to the dispatch of the French Minister of Foreign Affairs of the 6th of August 1810, or even the day named therein, viz. the 1st of November following, when the operation of the French Decrees was to cease. This instrument expressly declared that these French Decrees were repealed in consequence of the American Legislature having, by their Act of the 1st of March 1811, provided, that British ships and merchandize should be excluded from the ports and harbours of the United States.

By this instrument, the only document produced by America, as a repeal of the French Decrees, it appears beyond a possibility of doubt or cavil, that the alleged repeal of the French Decrees was conditional, as Great Britain had asserted; and not absolute or final, as had been maintained by America: that they were not repealed at the time they were stated to be

repealed by the American Government: that they were not repealed in conformity with a proposition simultaneously made to both Belligerents, but that in consequence of a previous Act on the part of the American Government, they were repealed in favour of one Belligerent, to the prejudice of the other: that the American Government having adopted measures restrictive upon the commerce of both Belligerents, in consequence of Edicts issued by both, rescinded these measures, as they effected that power, which was the aggressor, whilst they put them in full operation against the party aggrieved; although the Edicts of both powers continued in force; and lastly, that they excluded the ships of war, belonging to one Belligerent, whilst they admitted into their ports and harbours the ships of war belonging to the other, in violation of one of the plainest and most essential duties of a neutral nation. Although the instrument thus produced was by no means that general and unqualified revocation of the Berlin and Milan Decrees, which Great Britain had continually demanded, and had a full right to claim; and although this instrument, under all the circumstances of its appearance at that moment, for the first time, was open to the strongest suspicions of its authenticity; yet, as the Minister of the United States produced it, as purporting to be a copy of the instrument of revocation, the Government of Great Britain, desirous of reverting, if possible, to the ancient and accustomed principles of maritime war, determined upon revoking conditionally the Orders in Council. Accordingly, in the month, of June last, his Royal Highness the Prince Regent was pleased to declare in Council, in the name and on the behalf of His Majesty, that the Orders in Council should be revoked, as far as respected the ships and property of the United States, from the 1st of August following. This revocation was to continue in force, provided the Government of the United States should, within a time to be limited, repeal their restrictive laws against British commerce. His Majesty's Minister in America was expressly ordered to declare to the Government of the United States, that "this measure had been adopted by the Prince Regent in the earnest wish and hope, either that the Government of France, by further relaxations of its system, might render perseverance on the part of Great Britain in retaliatory measures unnecessary, or if this hope should prove delusive, that His

"Majesty's Government might be enabled, in the absence of all irritating and restrictive regulations on either side, to enter with the Government of the United States into amicable explanations, for the purpose of ascertaining whether, if the necessity of retaliatory measures should unfortunately continue to operate, the particular measures to be acted upon by Great Britain, could be rendered more acceptable to the American Government, than those hitherto pursued."—In order to provide for the contingency of a Declaration of War on the part of the United States, previous to the arrival in America of the said Order of Revocation, instructions were sent to His Majesty's Minister Plenipotentiary accredited to the United States (the execution of which instructions, in consequence of the discontinuance of Mr. Foster's functions, were at a subsequent period intrusted to Admiral Sir John Borlase Warren), directing him to propose a cessation of hostilities, should they have commenced; and further to offer a simultaneous repeal of the Orders in Council on the one side, and of the Restrictive Laws on the British ships and commerce on the other. —They were also respectively empowered to acquaint the American Government, in reply to any inquiries with respect to the blockade of May, 1806, whilst the British Government must continue to maintain its legality,—“That in point of fact this particular Blockade had been discontinued for a length of time, having been merged in the general retaliatory blockade of the enemy's ports under the Orders in Council, and that His Majesty's Government had no intention of recurring to this, or to any other of the blockades of the enemy's ports, founded upon the ordinary and accustomed principles of Maritime Law, which were in force previous to the Orders in Council, without a new notice to Neutral Powers in the usual form.”—The American Government, before they received intimation of the course adopted by the British Government, had in fact proceeded to the extreme measure of declaring war, and issuing “Letters of Marque,” notwithstanding they were previously in possession of the Report of the French Minister for Foreign Affairs, of the 12th of March, 1812, promulgating anew, the Berlin and Milan Decrees, as fundamental laws of the French Empire, under the false and extravagant pretext, that the monstrous principles therein contained were to be found in the

Treaty of Utrecht, and were therefore binding upon all States. From the penalties of this Code no nation was to be exempt, which did not accept it, not only as the rule of its own conduct, but as a law, the observance of which it was also required to enforce upon Great Britain. —In a Manifesto, accompanying their Declaration of hostilities, in addition to the former complaints against the Orders in Council, a long list of grievances was brought forward; some trivial in themselves, others which had been mutually adjusted, but none of them such as were ever before alleged by the American Government to be grounds for war. —As if to throw additional obstacles in the way of peace, the American Congress at the same time passed a law, prohibiting all intercourse with Great Britain, of such a tenor, as deprived the Executive Government, according to the President's own construction of that Act, of all power of restoring the relations of friendly intercourse between the two States, so far at least as concerned their commercial Intercourse, until Congress should re-assemble. —The President of the United States, has, it is true, since proposed to Great Britain an Armistice; not, however, on the admission, that the cause of war hitherto relied on was removed: but on condition that Great Britain, as a preliminary step, should do away a cause of war, now brought forward as such for the first time; namely, that she should abandon the exercise of her undoubted right of search, to take from American merchant vessels British seamen, the natural-born subjects of His Majesty; and this concession was required upon a mere assurance that laws would be enacted by the Legislature of the United States, to prevent such seamen from entering into their service; but independent of the objection to an exclusive reliance on a Foreign State, for the conservation of so vital an interest, no explanation was, or could be afforded by the Agent who was charged with this Overture, either as to the main principles upon which such laws were to be founded, or as to the provisions which it was proposed they should contain. —This proposition having been objected to, a second proposal was made, again offering an Armistice, provided the British Government would secretly stipulate to renounce the exercise of this Right in a Treaty of Peace. An immediate and formal abandonment of its exercise, as a preliminary to a cessation of hostilities, was not demanded; but His

Royal Highness the Prince Regent was required, in the name and on the behalf of His Majesty, secretly to abandon what the former Overture had proposed to him publicly to concede.—This most offensive proposition was also rejected, being accompanied, as the former had been, by other demands of the most exceptionable nature, and especially of indemnity for all American vessels detained and condemned under the Orders in Council, or under what were termed illegal blockades—a compliance with which demands, exclusive of all other objections, would have amounted to an absolute surrender of the rights on which those Orders and Blockades were founded.—Had the American Government been sincere in representing the Orders in Council, as the only subject of difference between Great Britain and the United States, calculated to lead to hostilities; it might have been expected, so soon as the revocation of those Orders had been officially made known to them, that they would have spontaneously recalled their “letters of marque,” and manifested a disposition immediately to restore the relations of peace and amity between the two Powers.—But the conduct of the Government of the United States by no means corresponded with such reasonable expectations.—The Order in Council of the 23d of June being officially communicated in America, the Government of the United States, saw nothing in the repeal of the Orders in Council, which should of itself restore Peace, unless Great Britain were prepared, in the first instance, substantially to relinquish the right of impressing her own seamen when found on board American merchant ships.—The proposal of an Armistice, and of a simultaneous Repeal of the restrictive measures on both sides, subsequently made by the commanding officer of His Majesty's naval forces on the American coast, were received in the same hostile spirit by the Government of the United States. The suspension of the practice of impressment was insisted upon in the Correspondence which passed on that occasion, as a necessary preliminary to a cessation of hostilities:—Negotiation, it was stated, might take place without any suspension of the exercise of this right, and also without any Armistice being concluded; but Great Britain was required previously to agree, without any knowledge of the adequacy of the system which could be substituted, to negotiate upon the basis of accepting the Legislative

Regulations of a foreign State, as the sole equivalent for the exercise of a right which she has felt to be essential to the support of her maritime power.—If America, by demanding this preliminary concession, intends to deny the validity of that right, in that denial Great Britain cannot acquiesce; nor will she give countenance to such a pretension, by acceding to its suspension, much less to its abandonment, as a basis on which to treat. If the American Government has devised, or conceives it can devise, regulations, which may safely be accepted by Great Britain, as a substitute for the exercise of the right in question, it is for them to bring forward such a plan for consideration. The British Government has never attempted to exclude this question from amongst those on which the two States might have to negotiate: It has, on the contrary, uniformly professed its readiness to receive and discuss any proposition on this subject, coming from the American Government: It has never asserted any exclusive right as to the impressment of British seamen from American vessels, which it was not prepared to acknowledge as appertaining equally to the Government of the United States, with respect to American seamen when found on board British merchant ships:—But it cannot, by acceding to such a basis in the first instance, either assume, or admit that to be practicable, which, when attempted on former occasions, has always been found to be attended with great difficulties; such difficulties as the British Commissioners in 1806, expressly declared, after an attentive consideration of the suggestions brought forward by the Commissioners on the part of America, they were unable to surmount.—Whilst this proposition, transmitted through the British Admiral, was pending in America, another communication on the subject of an armistice was unofficially made to the British Government in this country. The Agent, from whom this proposition was received, acknowledged that he did not consider that he had any authority himself to sign an agreement on the part of his Government. It was obvious that any stipulations entered into, in consequence of this overture, would have been binding on the British Government, whilst the Government of the United States would have been free to refuse or accept them, according to the circumstances of the moment: this proposition was therefore necessarily declined.—After this exposition of the circum-

stances which preceded, and which have followed the Declaration of War by the United States, His Royal Highness the Prince Regent, acting in the name and on the behalf of His Majesty, feels himself called upon to declare the leading principles by which the conduct of Great Britain has been regulated in the transactions connected with these discussions.—His Royal Highness can never acknowledge any blockade whatsoever to be illegal, which has been duly notified, and is supported by an adequate force, merely upon the ground of its extent, or because the ports, or coasts blockaded, are not at the same time invested by land.—His Royal Highness can never admit that neutral trade with Great Britain can be constituted a public crime, the commission of which can expose the ships of any power whatever to be denationalized.—His Royal Highness can never admit that Great Britain can be debarred of its right of just and necessary retaliation, through the fear of eventually affecting the interest of a neutral.—His Royal Highness can never admit, that in the exercise of the undoubted and hitherto undisputed right of searching neutral merchant vessels in time of war, the impressment of British seamen, when found therein, can be deemed any violation of a neutral flag. Neither can he admit, that the taking such seamen from on board such vessel, can be considered by any Neutral State, as a hostile measure, or a justifiable cause of war.—There is no right more clearly established, than the right which a Sovereign has to the allegiance of his subjects, more especially in time of war. Their allegiance is no optional duty, which they can decline, and resume at pleasure. It is a call which they are bound to obey: it began with their birth, and can only terminate with their existence.—If a similarity of language and manners may make the exercise of this right more liable to partial mistakes, and occasional abuse, when practised towards vessels of the United States, the same circumstances make it also a right, with the exercise of which, in regard to such vessels, it is more difficult to dispense. But if, to the practice of the United States, to harbour British seamen, be added their assumed right to transfer the allegiance of British subjects, and thus to cancel the jurisdiction of their legitimate sovereign, by acts of naturalization and certificates of citizenship, which they pretend to be as valid out of their own territory, as within it, it is ob-

vious, that to abandon this ancient right of Great Britain, and to admit these novel pretensions of the United States, would be to expose to danger the very foundation of our maritime strength.—Without entering minutely into the other topics, which have been brought forward by the Government of the United States, it may be proper to remark, that whatever the Declaration of the United States may have asserted, Great Britain never did demand that they should force British manufactures into France; and she formally declared her willingness entirely to forego, or modify, in concert with the United States, the system by which a commercial intercourse with the enemy had been allowed, under the protection of licenses; provided the United States would act towards her, and towards France, with real impartiality.—The Government of America, if the differences between States are not interminable, has as little right to notice the affair of the Chesapeake. The aggression in this instance, on the part of a British officer, was acknowledged, his conduct was disapproved, and a reparation was regularly tendered by Mr. Foster on the part of His Majesty, and accepted by the Government of the United States.—It is not less unwarranted in its allusion to the mission of Mr. Henry; a mission undertaken without the authority, or even knowledge of His Majesty's Government, and which Mr. Foster was authorized formally and officially to disavow.—The charge of exciting the Indians to offensive measures against the United States, is equally void of foundation. Before the war began, a policy the most opposite had been uniformly pursued, and proof of this was tendered by Mr. Foster to the American Government.—Such are the causes of war which have been put forward by the Government of the United States. But the real origin of the present contest will be found in that spirit, which has long unhappily actuated the Councils of the United States; their marked partiality in palliating and assisting the aggressive tyranny of France; their systematic endeavours to inflame their people against the defensive measures of Great Britain; their ungenerous conduct towards Spain, the intimate ally of Great Britain; and their unworthy desertion of the cause of other neutral nations. It is through the prevalence of such councils that America has been associated in policy with France; and committed in war against Great Britain.—And under what

conduct on the part of France has the Government of the United States thus lent itself to the enemy? The contemptuous violation of the Commercial Treaty of the year 1800 between France and the United States; the treacherous seizure of all American vessels and cargoes in every harbour subject to the control of the French arms; the tyrannical principles of the Berlin and Milan Decrees, and the confiscations under them; the subsequent condemnations under the Rambouillet Decree, antedated or concealed to render it the more effectual; the French commercial regulations, which render the traffic of the United States with France almost illusory; the burning of their merchant ships at sea, long after the alleged repeal of the French Decrees—all these acts of violence on the part of France, produce from the Government of the United States, only such complaints as end in acquiescence and submission, or are accompanied by suggestions for enabling France to give the semblance of a legal form to her usurpations, by converting them into municipal regulations.—This disposition of the Government of the United States—this complete subserviency to the Ruler of France—this hostile temper towards Great Britain—are evident in almost every page of the official correspondence of the American with the French Government.—Against this course of conduct, the real cause of the present war, the Prince Regent solemnly protests. Whilst contending against France, in defence not only of the liberties of Great Britain, but of the world, His Royal Highness was entitled to look for a far different result. From their common origin—from their common interest—from their professed principles of freedom and independence, the United States were the last power in which Great Britain could have expected to find a willing instrument, and abettor of French tyranny.—Disappointed in this his just expectation, the Prince Regent will still pursue the policy which the British Government has so long, and invariably maintained, in repelling injustice, and in supporting the general rights of nations; and, under the favour of Providence, relying on the justice of his cause, and the tried loyalty and firmness of the British nation, His Royal Highness confidently looks forward to a successful issue to the contest, in which he has thus been compelled most reluctantly to engage.

Westminster, Jan. 9, 1813.

RUSSIAN BULLETINS.

Report from General Count Wittgenstein to His Imperial Majesty, dated Berisow, Nov. 28.

(Continued from page 64.)

feet. The loss on our side is not great. I am to-day going to attack Napoleon at the town of Studentzy. Admiral Tschitschagow and Count Platow will attack him on the other side of the river Berisena.

The same General reports, under date of 19th (24th) November, from the village of Tschvuga, as follows:—

Admiral Tschitschagow arrived on the 22d at Berisow, from whence the General of infantry, Langeron, reports to me in two letters of the 10th (22d) instant, that Adjutant-General Count Lambert took possession of Berisow on the 9th (21st) and there defeated the whole of Dombrowski's corps, taking six cannon and two stands of colours, and making 3,000 prisoners; the remainder of this beaten corps marched off on the road to Orscha.—Count Lambert also took two pieces of artillery at Kaidenow, and made about 8,000 prisoners, and had in all, in the course of eight days, made about 11,000 prisoners, including the sick that were found in the hospitals at Minsk, and taken 24 cannon.—Victor and Oudinot are retreating before me towards Berisow. I am in pursuit of them, and yesterday took upwards of 800 prisoners and a number of baggage waggons. The General of cavalry, Count Platow, is already in pursuit of the enemy's grand army towards Totoschin. Your Imperial Majesty will please to perceive by this statement, that we are compressing the enemy on three sides. General Count Platow pursues them on the rear; I act on their flank; and Admiral Tschitschagow will receive him at Berisow.—*Petersburgh Gazette, Dec. 1.*

The same Paper contains a dispatch from Prince Kutusow, dated Lammiku, 28d November, stating that Napoleon left Orscha on the 20th November, and detailing the means he had adopted for pursuing him.

Petersburgh, Dec. 1.

Intercepted Letter from the Prince of Neufchatel to Marshal Davoust, Prince of Eckmuhl.

It is the wish of the Emperor, that you support the Duke of Elchingen in the re-

treat which he is making with his rear-guard, while the Viceroy, to-morrow the 27th, will march to take post at Krasnoi. You will, therefore, take care to occupy the post which you shall judge advisable, and which the Viceroy shall evacuate. The intention of the Emperor is, that you, with your corps, and that of the Duke of Elchingen's, retire from Krasnoi, and make this movement on the 28th and 29th. General Charpeautier, with his garrison, consisting of three-third Polish battalions, and a regiment of cavalry, will leave the town at the same time with the rear. Before you march out you will blow up the ramparts which surround Smolensko, as the mines are ready, and only need to be set fire to. You will take care that the ammunition, powder-chests, and every thing that cannot be carried away, be destroyed and burnt, as also the muskets; the cannon should be buried. Generals Ghasselop and Loulosiers will take care, each in his department, to carry these orders into proper execution. — You will take care to send out patrols, that no marauders remain behind; and you will also leave as few persons as possible in the hospitals.

(Signed) Prince of Neufchatel, Maj.-Gen.

ALEXANDER.

Smolensko, 2d (14) Nov.

A true account of the manner in which the Prince of Eckmuhl executed the orders of the Emperor Napoleon, transmitted to him in the dispatch to the Prince of Neufchatel:—

Before Marshal Davoust left Smolensko, he in fact executed the orders he had received, but only in such manner as characterizes a flying enemy. He caused the mines to be sprung; set fire to 800 powder chests; and in his own person set the example to the incendiaries, who, notwithstanding the endeavours of Marshal Ney to prevent it, were spreading the flames into all parts of the city. After this proof of his valour, Marshal Davoust marched with his corps in such disorder as would have reflected disgrace on conscripts, and thus proceeded on Krasnoi, where, although he was supported by several corps of the Imperial guards, who formed the remainder of the 4th corps d'armée; and although

stimulated by the presence of Napoleon, he was totally defeated on the 5th (17th) of this month. He himself escaped with great difficulty; he lost his artillery, his baggage; his staff of command; all his equipages, and even a part of those belonging to the Emperor his master. Thus the Marshal's staff, which Louis Nicholas Davoust received on the 29th Floréal, and the year 12, is added to the number of victories, which will serve as a testimony to posterity of the melancholy fate which has befallen this vanquished army, which dared to make an irruption into the Russian empire, in a manner worthy of the Vandals. Marshal Davoust being by this defeat cut off from the corps of Marshal Ney, was so far from being able to support him, that it was not even in his power to give him information of the destruction of his own corps. Marshal Ney experienced the same fate on the next day, the 6th (18th) ditto. He took the same road, and after a battle, which was decided on both sides by the naked sword, 12,000 men laid down their arms. In one word, Marshal Ney's corps, and the whole garrison of Smolensko were made prisoners to a man. The number of cannon that fell into the hands of the Russians on both those days amounts to upwards of 190. Marshal Ney has fled through the woods, where our yagers are searching for him.—*St. Petersburg, 19th Nov. (1st Dec.)*

Tver, Nov. 20.—Our brave troops in pursuit of the enemy continue incessantly to gain victories. Every day French prisoners are brought in by hundreds and by thousands, which have been sent by the corps of Count Wittgenstein. A great number of cannon have likewise been taken. The roads to Dorogobush are covered for the distance of several wersts with the dead bodies of the enemy, and the rivers on those roads are entirely filled with their bodies and with their dead horses.

Tula, Nov. 16.—On the 13th inst. 1,200 French prisoners were taken through this city, on the Kasan road; they are dreadfully exhausted and covered with rags.—*(Same Paper.)*

From the Berlin Gazette of Dec. 3.

Vienna, Nov. 24.—The report that negotiations towards a general Peace will
(To be continued.)

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

NORTHERN WAR.—We have, at last, information, on which we may safely rely as to this war. It is now become evident, that the losses of the French Emperor have been immense, since his departure from the place where Moscow once stood; that his army in the North is fearfully reduced both in men and horses, as well as in all the stores and implements necessary in war; that, that part of his army which has made good its retreat, is in great want of every thing to inspirit it, except its own native soil; but, at the same time, it is to be observed, that, in no part of this army has disaffection appeared, and that its fidelity to its Chief does not betray any of those symptoms, that would naturally be expected, if, as we are incessantly told, the French people were so discontented with the laws of conscription.—With the *allies* of the Emperor, however, the case is, as was to be expected, totally different. They have not only discovered disaffection towards him, but have, in one case, as will be seen from the Official documents, actually deserted him; and, in fact, *gone over to the enemy*.—The French report to the Senate ascribes this defection to the intrigues and corruption of England; but, if Napoleon had not been obliged to retreat; if he had not met with reverses that so materially enfeebled his army, “the intrigues and corruption of England” would have had no effect at all.—The exultation of our hireling prints, upon this occasion, is, of course, without bounds. They predict, from the defection of the Prussian army (for, I have no doubt that it will extend to the whole army), nothing short of the total overthrow of Napoleon and of the French empire. If they were to predict, as a consequence of it, an addition of 10 or 15 millions annually to our taxes, and a prolongation of the war for four or five years, they would, I am afraid, be nearer the mark. — What ground; what solid ground, is there for these exultations? Do we view the baffling of Napoleon's views on Russia merely as philanthropists?

If we do, what ground have we for joy thereat? Would he, if he had completely conquered Russia, have made the lot of the people worse than it was before? Would he have made them *less free*? Would he have deprived them of any privilege; any means of ensuring their safety and happiness? If we answer these questions; if we, with sincerity, can answer these questions in the affirmative; then, indeed, have we cause for joy at the failure of his enterprise; but, if we cannot, we have not, as philanthropists, any cause for joy at that failure.—As Englishmen have we any cause for joy? Does his failure at such an immense distance from us, make us more secure against his power? Does it remove any of the causes of alarm to us, which before existed?—I am of opinion; an opinion which I sincerely entertain, and wish distinctly to express and to put upon record; if the power of Napoleon be dangerous to us, the wider his forces are extended upon the continent, in a direction away from us, the better. The expedition to Egypt, if we had not followed the French thither, was what every Englishman ought to have wished for; and, the force and talents requisite for establishing and maintaining a new division of territory and power on the other side of the Vistula, would certainly have left us in a greater degree of security.—Suppose, that, as the consequence of the late events in Russia, Prussia should openly declare against Napoleon? What then? Has he not tried Prussia as an enemy? Has he not had to fight Prussian armies before? And, if he be not able to maintain himself on points so distant as those which he has now reached, does it follow, that he will be unable to give us as much annoyance as he has hitherto given us?—Where, then, is the ground for all this boisterous exultation? Where the cause for all this frantic joy?—Our hireling prints consider Napoleon as ruined, because he has failed in a war against the elements; for, after all, to the elements alone he owes his failure. *Ruined! Ruined,* when he can call out an additional force of 300,000 men! We are told, that

these men will never be forth-coming; and, we have been told the like twenty times during the last twenty years. In every instance, however, we have been told falsehoods, and so, I am convinced, we are now.

—The fate of Napoleon, and of continental Europe, depends upon the *French people*; and I am very glad that he is compelled to confess this. While they remain attached to him, he has little to fear. The resources which he finds in their soil, their industry, and, above all, in their love of glory, are greater than all the other powers of the continent possess. While the French people remain, as they now appear to be, animated with his soul, he has nothing to fear: his ambition may receive checks; he may meet with difficulties and mortification; but, he will lose very little of the power that he now possesses. —Nevertheless, he must now, one would suppose, be in a state that would induce him to listen to moderate terms of peace; an advantage to us, resulting from his reverses, which our hired writers never even allude to; nay, the fairer that the occasion for offering terms of peace become, the farther do they seem to be from wishing for such offers to be made. They represent him as humbled in the dust; as trembling for the daily existence of his power; as reduced to the utmost extremity; and, instead of recommending this as the moment to offer terms of peace, they cry out for war, war, war, until peace can be attained by “marching over his corpse.” In short, their view of the matter is this: that peace ought never to be sought for, till what they call “the legitimate sovereigns of Europe are restored;” or, in other words, till Holland be in the hands of the Stadtholder; Hanover in those of its former Elector; Naples in those of its former King; the States of the Church and the rest of Italy in those of the Pope and its former King, Duke, and Princes; Spain in those of Ferdinand; and France itself in those of the Bourbons. This is their view of the question of peace. Without such a counter-revolution, they think, or, at least, they say, that England cannot make peace with safety. —To entertain such an idea, really seems to argue a state of mind that calls, that raves aloud for a straight waistcoat. But, these fits, or, more politely speaking, *paroxysms*, or, still more politely speaking, “*exacerbations*,” have visited this country for the last twenty years, upon every occasion when the French have met with a reverse in the war. The most remarkable

exacerbation, before this, was that which seized the country a few months before the battle of Marengo; but, though it has not yet broken out so authentically as it did then, I think that the present exacerbation is full as strong. —That the notions and writings, of which I have been speaking, do proceed from real mental malady, and that the parties entertaining or uttering them are *bona fide* mad, or, more politely speaking, affected with mental delirium, is, I think, pretty well proved by the fact, that the malady here, as in the cases of individuals, unhappily afflicted with high delirium, are to be quieted only by coercive means, vulgarly called *beating*. The high delirium of 1792 and 1793 was totally cured the next years by the campaigns of the French in Flanders, Holland, and Germany. The Helder war operated as a great composer; and, the battle of Marengo actually effected a cure, which, though temporary, was, at least, a proof of the truth of the position for which I am contending: that this species of delirium is, like that of individuals, quieted by beating. —To effect the counter-revolution obviously contemplated by these writers, the human mind must travel backwards three centuries; and, they may be assured, that, great as may be the merit of the old dynasties, the human mind is going to perform no such movement. France, and, indeed, the greater part of Europe, is in the hands of new possessors; fame, power, property, respect, reverence, have changed owners. The change, too, has been from the feeble to the vigorously minded; and, do the silly men, who live by selling their columns of lies and trash in London, imagine, that there is to be a change back again, because those who purchase those lies and that trash shake in their shoes lest the same change should come hither? —But, suppose it possible to effect such a change as these wise-acres contemplate, of what use would it be to us? To make France *weaker*? Better tell her so. It is not, however, necessary, for there is not a man in France who does not know, that it is with that view that her enemies wish for a counter-revolution. —This is the real object wished, but there is also another, which is now-and-then avowed; namely, to put a total stop to the progress of revolutionary principles; to extinguish for ever the hopes of those who are charged with wishing for a change in England. —Now, how false must be the hearts of those men who wish for the fall of Napoleon upon this ground!

They call him tyrant, despot, monster; they say he has established a military despotism in France; they assert, that the people of France lament the change from the sway of the Bourbons; they swear, that, from one end to the other of France, the name of Napoleon is execrated; and, that were it not for the army, his power would not last a day.—Now, if this be true, what has the Government, what has the established order of things in England to fear from the *example of France*? If all this be true; if it be all notorious, as it is assumed to be; or, if it be capable of proof, what danger is there, that the people of England, and especially the lovers of *liberty*, will receive encouragement from the *example of France*? If these accusations against Napoleon and his government be well-founded; or, if the accusers be sincere in their accusations, what can they desire better than the example of France as a *warning* to England? If they be sincere in their accusations, nothing but a wonderful stretch of philanthropy can possibly induce them to wish for any change of things in France; for, if revolution be really attended with all the horrors ascribed to the government of Napoleon, who can believe, that the people of England are to be prevailed upon to enter upon such a revolution? Those, therefore, who wish to support the present system of things in England, ought, one would think, to wish for the prolongation of the present system of things in France.—But, the truth is, that these writers are *not sincere*. They produce no proof of the truth of what they say respecting Napoleon's government; and they do not themselves believe that which they assert on the subject. If they were sincere, they ought to wish for a peace, that Englishmen might go, and with their own eyes, convince themselves of the truth of what now rests on bare assertion. Peace (which Napoleon has so often tendered us) would enable us to go, and satisfy ourselves of the miseries which the French people have brought on their country by the change in their government. Peace, one would think, would be worth making, were it only to effect this purpose. We might go, and come back loaded with the *proofs* of what now rests upon the bare word of notorious dealers in falsehood. We might publish in detail the fatal consequences of the abolition of *Tithes* and *feudal rights*, of the *corvée*, the *gabelle*, and the *game-laws*, which two latter sent so many thousands of people to the galleys,

and caused so many fathers and mothers to be flogged, for the transgressions of their children. We might then hear, with our own ears, the reasons of the common people for lamenting that the privilege of being commissioned officers in the army and navy is no longer confined exclusively to the Aristocracy; we might then hear the farmer's reasons for lamenting that he is no longer called upon for a tenth-part of his produce; we might hear *why* it is that the people of Brittany sigh for the return of that order of things, when the little Seigneurs left them not even their new-married wives to call their own, and when, under the title of *droit de buis de mariées*, they exacted from each bridegroom a fine, in the way of composition for abstaining from the first possession of his bride.—We might, I say, hear with our own ears, the *reasons* of the people of France for lamenting the loss of the old government; and, therefore, if these accusers of the government of Buonaparté were sincere in their accusations, they would wish for nothing so ardently as peace.—The Times news-paper, which, some few weeks ago, abused the whole French nation, now calls for a DECLARATION on our part of our view in the war. Very good. Let us have that declaration; we shall then know for *what* the war is to be continued; and the people of France and of all the world will know it too. There is nothing that I should like better than to see such a Declaration just at this time; because, if our views were moderate; if we had no wild scheme about *deliverance*, if we spoke in the language of peace, I have no doubt that peace we should have.—But, if our language were high; if we insisted upon the restoration of Holland, Hanover, and the like, the Declaration would assuredly do harm.—In short, it appears to me, that we may, if we will, now have peace upon safe and honourable terms; and, if we miss this opportunity, we may never have another. The ministers have now the means of putting down their rivals for many years to come, and, amongst the advantages of peace, that, perhaps, would not be the least; for, of all the factions that I ever heard of, that of the present Whigs is certainly the worst; the most corrupt, the most greedy, and the most hostile to the people's rights.

PRICE OF PORTER.—The general complaint of things being dear, and especially the complaints of the rise in the price of

Porter, require some observation.—This beverage was sold not a great many years ago, and, indeed, until the war against the Republicans of France, at *three-pence half-penny the pot*: it is now to be *sixpence the pot*. The rise has been called *unreasonable*; some have called it *extortion*. The latter it cannot be, because no man is compelled to purchase it; no man is compelled to give his money for it.—But as to its being *unreasonable*, how can it be so called, when the brewer's expenses are more than *three times* what they formerly were, while the price, even at sixpence, does not amount to the double of what it formerly was. The average price of Barley before the French war was not more than three shillings the Bushel. The average price for years past has been seven shillings the Bushel. Hops have kept on rising in the same way, and the duty both on malt and beer have kept pace with the other expenses. Rent, labour, utensils, have all tripled. How, then, is it possible to make beer as cheap as before the war? There is only one way, in which it can be done, and that is, by making the *pump* keep pace with the Barley, Hops, &c. This has, of course, been done; but, things are now come to that pass, that, if the pump is to be resorted to for the purpose of protecting the Brewer, those who drink must be content with something very little stronger than water itself.—It is very certain that sixpence is nearly the double of three-pence halfpenny; but, then, it must be in *money of the same quality*; whereas, our money has changed its nature. It was, before the French war, *gold and silver*: it is now *paper*; and sixpence in this money is not worth more than four-pence in the money which we had before the war. Wheat is said to be *dear*; and so it is; but, it is not so dear as it appears to be at first sight. It sells for £80 a load, or more; but the sale is for *paper*; and, I state it as a fact which I know to be true, that, only a few weeks ago, wheat was sold at £22 a load, at Christ-church market, for *hard cash*. This is a high price; but it is one-third less than the price *seems* to be; for the average price of the market, on that day, was £32 a load in *paper*. Here is, at once, a sufficient cause for the rise in the price of porter.—It should be borne in mind, too, that the *wages* of men rise in the same proportion as the wheat. I can remember when wheat was thought dear at £12 a load; but, then the labouring man had

9s. a week, and now he has 15s. He is, indeed, paid in *paper*; but, then, the wheat is purchased in *paper* also.—In short, all goes on together rising in price, and nobody visibly suffers from the rise, except persons of *fixed incomes*. The fixed annuitant, whether his annuity arise from the funds or from any other source, suffers most lamentably. If his annuity was granted before the French war, he does not now receive much more than half as much as was intended. And, here, I would beg to remind parents, who provide annuities for their children in the way of *Insurance*, what a losing, nay, what a perilous, game they play.—Suppose, for instance, a father, in 1792, laid out a sum sufficient to secure his daughter £300 a year in 1813, and thereafter for her life; she, in fact, will receive *now* only £200 of money of the same quality that he laid out for her; and, which is still worse, if the paper continue to depreciate, she will, in another ten years, receive not £100 a year. The thing will appear more clear, if we suppose the payment of the annuity to take place in *wheat* instead of money.—When he lodged the money which was to secure the annuity to his daughter, wheat, we will say, was £20 a load, and, of course, the annuity, when it came to be paid, would have brought her 15 loads of wheat; but, it will now, if she be paid in wheat, bring her only 10 loads; and, in all human probability, if paid in wheat ten years hence, the annuity would not bring her 5 loads.—The insurance offices, on the contrary, drive a most profitable trade. The more the paper depreciates the better it is for them. They can never be wrong. They are sure to gain. They must always pay in *money* inferior in value to that which they receive as the consideration for the annuity.—When, therefore, a father is making this sort of provision for his children, he should reflect upon the uncertainty of what he is doing. If he be a true blue Anti-jacobin, he will, perhaps, impute my opinions to *disloyalty*; but, he should not, because he hates the jacobins, expose his own children to starvation.—He may depend upon it, that a depreciated paper-money, like the human frame, is doomed to inevitable extinction. It can no more be brought back to its original value, than an old woman can be made young, though my Lord Lauderdale professes to know how to do it.—Wheat will, I dare say, be £200 or £300 a load; but,

that will make no difference to either the farmer or the ploughman, since the expenses of the former and the wages of the latter will keep due pace with the price of the wheat. Not so with the *fixed annuitant*. He will receive the same nominal sum that he now receives; and, instead of the price of *ten* Loads of wheat, he will receive the price of only *one* load.—There are other descriptions of persons besides the fixed annuitant, who deserve consideration. I mean persons in the *army* and the *navy*, and all *pensioners*, who have had pensions granted them for real services or losses. The private soldier and sailor have, indeed, their *bread* and *meat* supplied them at fixed prices, and, as these form the principal part of their wants, they cannot suffer much from the depreciation of money. But, their officers, the greatest part of whose expenses arise from the purchase of articles not supplied them by the government, must experience the effect of depreciation in a very serious degree. The *necessary* expenses; I am not talking of wine and other superfluities; but of expenses absolutely necessary to decent existence, must be, at least, one third more than they were at the commencement of the French war; and, I believe, that their pay has received very little indeed of augmentation.—The case of officers' widows and children is equally hard. These persons are objects of all the compassion and kindness that we can possibly bestow; and to what a pitance must their allowances be reduced in a short time, if the paper money continue to diminish in value at only the same rate that it has been diminishing during the last two years!—These are matters worthy of the serious reflection of those whose business it is to take care of the nation's concerns. Here, in this paper money, we have an enemy that is not easily subdued. Victories in Spain and Russia do not affect this enemy, the child of the Whigs at the latter end of the 17th century, and brought up to destructive manhood by Pitt and his colleagues at the close of the 18th century. This is an enemy over whom no park-and-tower-gun victories will be obtained. It is an enemy, too, which is always in the field, summer and winter, night and day. If the ministers subdue this enemy, they will deserve immortality; but, if they do not, all their other triumphs are in vain.—To return, for a moment, to the Price of Porter and of other things; what are we

to think of those *writers*, who nourish the fallacious ideas respecting *monopolies*, *combinations*, and the like? This they do, because they would not acknowledge the truth. They encourage, too, the stupid cry against *Country Banks*. Just as if it signified a straw from what house the paper issued. Just as if that which arises from the *quantity* of a thing was at all affected by the place whence it comes.—The fact is, the nation feels itself ill, and does not know what is the matter with it. It is peevish and cross-grained, and ascribes its pains to the first thing that comes in its way.—In the midst of all this, however, our hireling writers have the impudence to call for a continuation of the war upon the ground, that the enemy's *resources* will soon be exhausted. What assurance must they have! What matchless effrontery! When it is well known, that, not only is there no paper money in France; that not only is specie in great abundance, but that the very guineas which have gone from England are to be found chiefly in France. This reliance upon the exhausting of the French finances has been now revived after having been laid aside for ten years, and, it must be confessed, that the time of the revival has been admirably chosen.—The finances of France are of a *solid* nature. They depend not upon external commerce, which is subject to so many fluctuations, nor upon stocks and loans. What is raised is raised in real money, and every pound tells for a pound; while, on the contrary, every pound of paper-money, withers in the hand of him who holds it. It purchases less this year than it did last year, and next year it will purchase still less. Thus it is with our Government, whose revenue increases in amount while it diminishes in the powers of purchase. These things ought to engage the attention of the ministers, and not wild schemes of effecting the deliverance of Europe.—But, this is a subject which they seem to wish to keep out of their minds. Yet, it must come upon them at some time or other. They must think of it, and act in it.—I know, that it is the notion of some men, that, if we can but carry on the paper system, till Napoleon be put down, we may then do what we like; that we shall then have time for settling our affairs at home. This is a very weak notion; for, if we should not put Napoleon down in the course of four or five years, what is then to become of us? What is then to become of those

who receive fixed incomes. What is to become of the hundreds of thousands, whose sole dependence is on the public funds? What will then avail us all our present boastings about the victories of the Russians, who, to save their country, set it on fire?—The French ruler understands the nature of paper-money as well as we do. He has seen the rise, progress, and fall of a paper money; and, in his estimate of our means, he does not omit this item. Paper-money, while it lasts in any degree of vigour, gives great power to a Government, but, it is the power of self-destruction; and, I do not believe that the world affords an instance of any Government having made a free use of it, without having, in the end, fallen by it. Whether ours will form an exception to the rule remains to be seen.

WM. COBBETT.

Bottle, 22d January, 1813.

OFFICIAL PAPERS.

RUSSIAN BULLETINS.

From the Berlin Gazette of Dec. 3.

(Continued from page 96.)

again be renewed has gained ground within these few days. It is grounded on the circumstance of the Prince Von Stahremberg, formerly Ambassador from the Emperor of Austria to the Court of London, being sent for to this city; from which many conjectures are formed.

Berlin, Dec. 12.—Our Gazette contains the following:—His Majesty the Emperor has just appointed the General of Division Dessaix, Governor of Berlin, in the place of the General of Division Durette, who has left this place.—His Majesty the Emperor Napoleon, who was in excellent health, had his head-quarters on the 3d at Molodziezno, a small town on the *ri-devant* Palatinate of Wilna, between 16 and 18 miles distant from Wilna, and 10 or 12 from Minsk.

Cottlenburgh, Dec. 21.—Accounts from Copenhagen, dated the 17th December, state, that a French courier arrived there on the 15th, bringing a report of a battle fought on the 28th and 29th November, between General Tschitchagow and Wittgenstein and the Grand Army, in which, of course, it is said the French were completely victorious, taking 10,000 prisoners.—It is also said Murat, King of Naples, was

at Konigsberg, with both his legs off.—The Prussians have retreated from before Riga. The Russians have entered Liebau, and were expected at Memel.

Official Information from the Armies.

Dispatch from Count Palenka, dated Headquarters, Kopy, 26th Nov.

By all accounts, hitherto received, it appears that the enemy continues his retreat through Borisow, for which reason the following preparations have been made to hinder it:—A strong advanced guard of two corps, under General Miloradowitsch, follow close upon the enemy; Count Platoff, with 15 regiments of Cossacks, 12 battalions of infantry, and some companies of artillery, has orders to keep on his right flank, and prevent all his attempts at foraging; but on his right, he has Adjutant General Kutusoff's detachment, which is placed under General Wittgenstein's command.—All these considerable corps must necessarily beat the enemy before he crosses the Beresena, or at least whilst doing it. Admiral Tchichagoff has been requested, after passing the river, to act against the heads of the enemy's columns. But on the left, he has three detachments of our partisans, to prevent his foraging and watch his motions. The main army, in the mean time, continues its march straight forward to the town of Borezino, partly to prevent the enemy from stretching to the right, and partly because that sufficient provisions for the army are only to be procured on that road.

From the same to the same, dated Headquarters, Kalouga, Nov. 27.

The general plan of operations laid down by the Emperor is strictly followed; Admiral Tschitschagoff, whose van-guard was totally defeated Gen. Donsbrowski, arrived on the 21st, together with General Count Langeron's corps, at the town of Borisow.—By a report from Count Platoff, just come to hand, we hear that Count Wittgenstein arrived at the town of Barow on the 26th Nov. The van-guard of the main army, under General Miloradowitsch, is this day in the town of Bobt. The Cossacks, under General Platoff, are at Krupky, and have likewise taken possession of some places to the left of the high road to watch the enemy's motions. To-morrow the head-quarters will arrive at the town of Slehwald, which lies on the road between Bobt and the Beresina.

Report of Col. Tschernischew, Adjutant to his Imperial Majesty, to the General of Cavalry, Count Wittgenstein, dated Nov. 5 (17).

I have the honour to inform your Excellency, that after my safe return from the Duchy of Warsaw, with the detachment under my command, at the time when the Western army was on its march from Brest to Minsk, the Commander in Chief, Admiral Tschitchagoff, who for a long time past had not received the least intelligence of the glorious operations of the troops under your Excellency's command, nor of those of the corps under Marshal Victor, considered it to be necessary to use all possible means to effect a direct communication with your Excellency's corps as speedily as possible, and for this purpose the Commander in Chief thought proper, on the 26th October (6th Nov.), to confer on me the command of the Cossack regiment of Pantilgen, then at Slonim. On the night between the 25th and 26th (6th and 7th Nov.), Admiral Tschitchagoff, after having already sent forward all the columns to Newish, received intelligence that Prince Schwartzembergh, to oppose whom Lieutenant-General Jackson had been left with a corps in the vicinity of Brest, had detached a considerable body of troops towards Wolkowisk and Selwig, by which means he threatened cutting off the communication between General Sacken and the army. The Commander in Chief, therefore, directed me to march with the aforesaid regiment of Pantilgen which was at that time at Slonim, to Deretschin and Silurg, to take possession of both these ports, and observe the enemy's movements. On the 27th October (9th Nov.), I arrived at Deretschin, where I learned that the enemy's corps, under General Moor, was marching from Grodno to the village of Mosty, and had already begun to throw a bridge over the river at that village. Although the Niemen was at the distance of eight leagues from me, I immediately sent a detachment there, who found a party covering the labourers on the right bank of the river, and destroyed all their preparations made on the left bank. At the very same time the parties I had detached to Wolkowisk informed me, that the enemy had already garrisoned that village, and appeared on the road to Silurg, which induced me to collect the detachments of the Cossack regiment of Pantilgen, without loss of time, and to proceed with them against the enemy, in order thereby to gain time to de-

stroy three bridges at the village itself over the river Silurg. I met the enemy's advanced guard, consisting of some squadrons of cavalry, about fourteen wersts from the village of Silurg, they attacked my Cossacks with great impetuosity, in the expectation of reaching the bridges before they were destroyed, but they were totally destroyed by the time that they were within only one werst of the river. In the course of the night, I received information that another of my parties had likewise destroyed the bridge at Iwaschkewitsche, and that two hours after it was burnt, a strong detachment of the enemy's cavalry from Isabelin had arrived at the village of Swaschkwilschi.—After passing the night in the village of Silurg, and at a very small distance from the enemy, I found early in the morning of the 28th (9th Nov.), that he had not only desisted from making any attempt on me, but that he had even retired on Wolkowisk, to which he was no doubt induced by the offensive operations of Gen. Sacken, against the main body of the Austrian army. Just as I was preparing to follow the enemy, I received directions from the Commander in Chief at Polanka, to go from Disitschen through Dsenzal, on Nowogrodsk, to observe the enemy along the Niemen, and then proceed further, according to my first destination. From Nowogrodsk, which place I reached by forced marches, making ten German miles and upwards every day, I undertook my venturesome expedition at the very time when there were strong detachments of the enemy in Belizi, Nekologew, Lidy, Woloshia, Rakow, and Radaschkowitschi, and the whole corps of Gen. Dombrowski was to the right in Stolpy and Kordanow. I crossed the Niemen, near to Kolodessna, by swimming, and took my route through Naliboke and Kamen to Iwenez. In both the last-mentioned villages I found an enemy's hospital, in which there were 800 sick, under the protection of 100 men. The importance of my object, and my distance from the army, would not allow of my sending these prisoners off to the army, or to encumber my detachment with the transporting them; I, therefore, contented myself with destroying their arms and ammunition, and of carrying away their horses, of which I have, in the whole course of the expedition, taken several hundreds, to which the sudden and unexpected appearance of the Cossacks gave me an opportunity; when I approached the great road at about two German miles from the

village of Dubrowo, I seized a French picquet of cavalry, consisting of 20 cuirassiers and dragoons, whom I permitted to depart, after taking their horses, and destroying their arms. The report, which is very detailed, states his having reached Admiral Tchichagoff, after overcoming great difficulties, and praises his officers and soldiers.

General Prince Kutusow Smolensk has transmitted to His Imperial Majesty a continuance of the proceedings of the Armies from the 15th to the 19th of November.

On the 15th November an enemy's corps, upwards of 500 strong, appeared in front of the wood, near the town of Kobyswo. The Polish regiment of Uh-lans and the Kixholm and Polotzka regiments of infantry, attacked him on three different sides, took 220 men prisoners, and cut the rest down. General Miloradowitsch states, that he attacked with both corps the enemy, who was 15,000 strong, and for the most part consisting of the Guards, on the high road from Smolensko to Krasnoi, and obtained a complete victory; made many prisoners, and took several cannon. Colonel Prince Kudschew took one of them, the Sumuka Hussars took two, and Colonel Capile's Yagers the remainder. An enemy's column, with its General, had surrendered prisoners. On the 16th November, a report arrived from General Platow, with information of his having, whilst in pursuit of the enemy, made 400 prisoners; and from General Grekow, of his having taken two cannon.

—The Emperor Napoleon, who was at Krasnoi with the Guards, in the night of the 15th, caused a division of them under command of General Rouguet, 7,000 men strong, to attack Adjutant-General Osharowsky's detachment. But this small troop received the superior numbers of the enemy with the valour inherent to Russians, and soon put them in disorder, on which the hussars charged, and the infantry attacked with the bayonet, which caused him a severe loss. A Lieutenant-Colonel of the French Guards was taken prisoner. Count Osharowsky then departed to the town of Palkino, and the enemy withdrew to the city of Krasnoi. On the 17th November, reports came in from Count Orlow Denisow, of his having, on the 15th, attacked the enemy at different points, taken from him four cannon, and fifty baggage wagons, and made prisoners three Generals, viz. the General of Division, Almera, Bri-

gade General Baron Burt, and General Dufour, upwards of 20 Staff Officers, and 420 men. Major-General Barosden states, that during the operations on the 16th, he took four cannon, and made General Matuschuwilsh, one Officer, and 100 men prisoners. General Milaradowitsch reports, that the Viceroy of Italy's corps was attacked, on the 15th, by Lieutenant-General Ragidsky, and was, at the same time, taken in flank by Lieutenant-General Prince Dalgorvaldi. The enemy then joined his whole force against General Rajeusky's right wing, but Lieutenant-General Uwarrow, who supported the latter with the cavalry, attacked the enemy's square with the dragoon regiments of Moscow and Kargopol, and totally broke them. Colonel Dawydoce, commander of the Moscow regiment, himself, took General Cor Heiliger, who commanded both squares, prisoner; and likewise captured a pair of colours. General Raguesty took two cannon and one pair of colours. The enemy lost 40 officers, and 1,500 men prisoners in the whole.—Prince Kudaschow was sent to the enemy to require him to surrender; but as he delayed his answer, the attack was recommenced. General Ragewsty drove the enemy from the high road, and put him to flight.—Night prevented the continuance of the operations. Our corps took possession of the towns of Merleno and Meruleno. General Platow states, under date of the 12th November, that the Vice Roy of Italy's rear-guard, which was pursued on the road from Duschswitschina to Swanetcha, by Attaman's regiment, Colonel Kaissarow's yagers, and a party of horse artillery, had lost on the road two cannon, and 1,000 men, in killed and wounded. Lieutenant-General Schepelus states, under the 16th, that on his march to Mostislawl, he had received information that an enemy's troop of 150 men, had fled from thence to Mohilow, and therefore sent a party of Cossacks after them, who cut down 100 men, and made 11 prisoners.—Adjutant-General Baron Korf informs, under date of the 16th, that the Pskou Regiment of Dragoons had three times attacked the enemy, beaten him, and taken seven Officers and 500 men prisoners.—The Cossacks also took many prisoners, amounting in all to 912 men. When the enemy crossed the Dnieper, Major-General Karpow attacked some regiments of his cavalry on the road to Krasnoi, made 300 prisoners, and took three standards. The army,

which was marching by the shortest road to Krasnoi, to cut off the enemy from the road, marched forward on the 17th from its position at Schilowo, to attack him in the rear.—General Ostermann reports, under the 16th, that he had attacked near Kolysi the enemy's columns, which were coming out of the woods, and made 824 prisoners. General Miloradowitsch, who, with the 2d and 7th corps of infantry and 1st corps of cavalry, kept himself concealed near the high road at the town of Merlino, and suffered Marshal Davoust's corps to threaten Krasnoi; in the meanwhile the 3d corps and the 2d division of cuirassiers, which formed the centre of the whole army, under Prince Goltzyn's command, likewise advanced thither. When the enemy saw these troops, he halted without the town and prepared for battle. Our artillery now opened its fire from all sides. Our main army, consisting of the 6th, 8th, and 5th, corps; and the 1st division of cuirassiers, the van-guard of which consisted of Major-General Borosdin's light troops, your Imperial Majesty's body-cuirassiers, three battalions of the Finland life-guards, under the command of Major-General Baron Roseu, now put themselves in motion, under General Tormassow, to pass round the town of Krasnoi,—and after having reached the great Orcheska road, notwithstanding the defiles, it formed behind the town of Dobraga, thereby to cut off the retreat of the enemy's army, which consisted of Marshal Davoust's corps, and that of the Viceroy of Italy, and part of the guards, under the command of the Emperor Napoleon in person. General Miloradowitsch now pressed on the enemy's rear, whilst Prince Galitzin engaged him in the centre, and General Tormassow, who had cut him from the road, disturbed him, at the outlet from the town of Krasnoi. This troublesome situation of the enemy forced him to desperate measures; he formed in close columns, and endeavoured to break through the van-guard, under Baron Rosen, but was totally beaten by the Yagers of the Guards and the Finland Life Guards, supported by two squadrons of your Majesty's Body Cuirassiers. The second column of the enemy, which endeavoured to take Prince Galitzin's artillery, was defeated by the second division of Cuirassiers, and the Royal Infantry.—The first Voltigeur Regiment of the French Guards was here totally destroyed. General Miloradowitsch likewise caused the enemy a very great loss.

Defeated in this manner at all points, he took to fight in the utmost disorder in the woods, where he expected to find security, but the light troops, under Osharowsky and Borosdin, there completed his defeat. After this action the army was removed near to the town of Dobraga, on the great road to Orschaska. The enemy's loss on this day, exclusive of killed and wounded, consists in two Generals, 58 Officers, and 9,170 men made prisoners, and in 70 cannon, three pair of colours, three standards, and a Marshal's Staff taken from them. During the defeat, the Emperor Napoleon, who did not wait for the conclusion of the battle, had the good fortune to escape through the woods to Lody, on the Dnieper, where several respectable witnesses, among whom were a Russian Major and a Lieutenant, who this day forced themselves from French captivity, saw him arrive with a small retinue, on horses quite worn out. A part of the garrison there put themselves immediately under arms, and remained so till midnight, when he set off for Dubrowna, under their escort.—It is especially remarkable, that on this memorable day, Napoleon, that commander crowned with 20 years conquest, and Marshal Davoust his companion, retreated to Dubrowna, without stopping at Lody, wholly forgetting Marshal Ney's corps, which, after having gathered to it all the lesser corps, and the garrison of Smolensk, amounted to 30,000 men, and 100 pieces of artillery. This very considerable corps, which was cut off by the Russian army, was forgotten, and left to fall a sacrifice. Near Lody, General Borosdin came up with the enemy, and drove them from thence, where we took five cannon. On the 19th of November, in the afternoon, the Cossacks perceived General Ney's corps, which, by the operations of the foregoing battle, was separated from the main French Army, marched from Smolensk to Krasnoi, to force its way through our army. General Miloradowitsch, supported by the 8th corps, awaited its approach. A thick fog hid the enemy's numbers from our sight, who came within short range of cannon-shot, and threw himself with desperation on our batteries, notwithstanding the heavy fire kept up from them; but when within 250 paces, he was received with a most dreadful cartridge fire from our batteries. Whilst this was doing, Major-General Paschkewitz attacked on the left, and the Pawtow grenadier regiment on the right, another

enemy's column, which had come forward to support the former, and, forcing in on it, cut every thing down before them. General Konowinze, by command of the Field-Marshal, formed the troops on the left flank, with the Ischnosubou regiment of Cossacks in the van, and commanded them to watch the enemy's motions from the town of Krasnoi to the passage of the river at Syrokchenge, and to do him all possible damage. Colonel Tschinouchon executed these orders with the greatest success. When towards evening he saw the enemy approaching, he fell suddenly upon them, took 14 cannon, and did him much damage, by cutting down a considerable number; many were drowned or taken prisoners, and the remainder were dispersed in the woods. The cavalry under command of Adjutant-General Koff, pursued the enemy further, and cut down a number of men. At five o'clock other columns of the enemy came on, intending to force their way through, but twenty-four pieces of artillery caused great havoc among them, whilst the cavalry having turned them, forced them to send a flag of truce, and ask for quarter. At twelve o'clock at night, the whole enemy's corps laid down their arms, and were made prisoners. In this action the enemy has lost in prisoners, 100 officers and 12,000 men, as likewise 27 cannon, two pair of colours, and two standards. From the 15th to the 19th we have taken prisoners eight Generals, one of whom is since dead of his wounds; as also 300 Officers and 21,170 men, and taken in the whole 209 cannon, exclusive of those left by the enemy at Krasnoi; and 800 ammunition chests, which the Cossacks blew up.—*Petersburgh Gazette.*

FRENCH PAPERS.

Paris, Dec. 20.—This day, Sunday, December the 20th, 1812, at noon, the Emperor, being seated on his throne, surrounded by the Princes, Grand Dignitaries, Cardinals, Ministers, Great Officers, Great Eagles of the Legion of Honour, and attendants of his Majesty, received the Senate, who were conducted to this audience by a Master and Assistant of the Ceremonies, introduced by his Excellency the Grand Master, and presented by his Serene Highness the Prince Vice-Grand-Elector. His Excellency M. the Count Lacépède, the President, delivered the following Address:—

"Sire,—The Senate hastens to present at the foot of your Imperial and Royal Majesty's throne, the offering of its congratulations on the happy arrival of your Majesty among your people.—The absence of your Majesty, Sire, is always a national calamity, while your presence is a blessing which fills the whole French people with joy and confidence.—Your Imperial and Royal Majesty has laid all the bases of the organization of your vast empire; but many objects yet remain to be consolidated or executed; and the smallest delay in the completion of our institutions is a national misfortune.—While your Imperial Majesty, Sire, was at eight hundred leagues from your capital, at the head of your victorious armies, attempts were made to disturb public order in this great capital, by men who had escaped from prisons, in which your Imperial clemency had saved them from a death, merited by their past crimes. They have paid the penalty of their new offences.—Happy France, Sire, whose monarchical constitution places her beyond the reach of civil discord, of the bloody feuds to which party gives birth, and of the horrible distractions which revolutions engender.—The Senate, first Council of the Emperor, and whose authority only has existence when the Monarch calls it forth, and puts it in movement, is established for the conservation of that monarchy, and of the hereditary succession to your throne, under our fourth dynasty.—France and posterity will find it, under all circumstances, faithful to this sacred trust; and all its Members will be always ready to die in defence of that palladium of national security and prosperity.—In the commencements of our ancient dynasties, Sire, the Monarch has been more than once seen to ordain; that a solemn oath should, by anticipation, connect the French of all ranks with the heir of the throne; and sometimes, when the age of the young Prince permitted it, a crown was placed upon his head, as the pledge of his future authority, and the emblem of the perpetuity of the Government.—The affection which the whole nation feels for the King of Rome, proves, Sire, both the attachment of the French to the blood of your Majesty, and that internal sentiment which reassures every citizen, and which points out to him, in that august infant, the security of his own children, the safeguard of his own fortune, and an insurmountable obstacle to those intestine divisions, those civil agitations, and those political revolutions, which are the

greatest scourges that can afflict nations.

—Sire, your Majesty has waved the French eagles over the towers of Moscow. The enemy could neither arrest your success nor thwart your plans, but by reporting to the frightful resources of despotic governments—creating deserts on all his frontiers, carrying conflagration into his provinces, and delivering to the flames his capital—the centre of his riches, and the growth of so many ages.—Those, Sire, who renewed these barbarous tactics of their savage ancestors, were ill acquainted with the heart of your Majesty. It would have voluntarily renounced the trophies which were to be purchased by so much blood, and as many woes to humanity.—The ardour with which we see arriving from all the departments of the empire, under the colours of your Majesty, the numerous soldiers called forth by the *Senatus Consultum* of last September, furnishes an example of what your Majesty may expect from the zeal, patriotism, and warlike spirit of the French, to snatch from the influence of our enemies the various portions of the Continent, and to conquer an honourable and solid peace.—May your Imperial and Royal Majesty accept the tribute of the gratitude, love, and inviolable fidelity of the Senate, and the French people."

His Majesty replied as follows—

"Senators,—What you have said is very agreeable to me. I have at heart the glory and the power of France; but my first thoughts are engaged by every thing that may perpetuate internal tranquillity, and place my people for ever in security against the rage of faction, and the horrors of anarchy. It is upon these enemies of the happiness of nations that, with the consent and love of the French, I have founded this throne, to which henceforward are attached the destinies of the country.—A timid and cowardly soldiery stain the independence of nations; but pusillanimous magistrates destroy the empire of the laws, the rights of the throne, and social order itself.—The noblest of deaths would be that of the soldier who falls in the field of honour, were not the death of a magistrate, perishing in defence of his Sovereign, the throne, and the laws, more glorious still.—When I undertook the regeneration of France, I entreated of Providence a determinate number of years. Destruction is the work of a moment, but one cannot build up again without the assistance of time. The greatest want of a State is that of courageous magistrates.—Our fathers had for their ral-

lying cry, *The King is dead,—long live the King!* These few words comprehend the principal advantages of the monarchy. I believe I have deeply studied the spirit which my people have shewn in different ages; I have reflected on what has happened in different epochs of our history; I will still think of it.—The war which I maintain with Russia is a war of policy. I have waged it without animosity; I could have wished to spare her the misfortunes which she has caused herself. I should have been able to arm the greater part of her population against her, by proclaiming liberty to the slaves; a great number of villages demanded it of me: but when I perceived the brutality of that numerous class of the Russian people, I refused to accede to a measure which would have devoted many families to death and the most horrible punishments. My army has sustained losses; but they arose from the premature severity of the season.—I accept the sentiments which you express towards me."

After this audience, the Council of State, conducted and introduced with the same forms, were presented to his Majesty by his Serene Highness the Prince Arch-Chancellor of the Empire.

His Excellency M. the Count Defermon, Minister of State, President of the Section of Finances, spoke as follows:—

"Sire,—the first wish which the Members of your Council of State feel, in common with all your faithful subjects, is to lay at the feet of your Majesty's throne their congratulations on your happy return; and to express the sentiments of gratitude with which they are inspired, on learning that your Majesty is come to crown by your presence the hopes and wishes of your people.—Whilst in the absence of your Majesty we were employing ourselves in those labours with which you deigned to intrust us, and whilst every moment of our time was occupied in the execution of your orders for the happiness and prosperity of the empire, we were far from conceiving that any Frenchman could forget those sacred and protecting principles which have extricated us from anarchy, and which should ever secure us from it.—Sire, it was with the most profound grief that we witnessed the crime committed by a maniac, who, for a previous offence, had deserved a punishment which your Majesty was so generous as to remit; but his attempt has only served to convince our old enemies of the fruitlessness of similar plots, and to

prove anew the sincere attachment of all the functionaries of the empire to the constitution which your Majesty has given to it. All parties in the empire exhibited proofs of their attachment; and all your subjects have rivalled the public functionaries in respect for principles, and in attachment to your sacred person, and your august Majesty.—God, who protects France, will long preserve her from the greatest of misfortunes. But, in such an event, every heart would rally around the Prince who is the object of our hopes and prayers; and every Frenchman would renew at his feet the oaths of fidelity and of love for the Emperor whom the constitution would call to the succession.—We have been touched with the recitals contained in the last Bulletin of the Grand Army. What admiration must not be excited by the development of the most august character during that month of perils and of glory, when the sufferings of the heart could take away none of its vigour from the intellect!—What sentiment must not be inspired in a nation truly generous, by the faithful picture of its unforeseen losses, on perceiving that the tutelary genius of France has known how to prevent their effects, and to make them the occasion of new glory! Your Majesty never appeared more fully at the summit of your destinies, than in those moments, when fortune, by arming the elements, seemed to endeavour to remind us that she could be inconstant.—Let our enemies exult, if they please, in the *material* losses, which the rigour of the season, and the severity of the climate occasioned; but let them calculate our forces; let them learn that there are no efforts or sacrifices, of which, after the example of your Majesty, the French nation is not capable, in order to realize your glorious plans.—In return, Sire, for your labours and your paternal cares, we can only offer to your Majesty, in common with your whole empire, the expression of our sentiments of respect, admiration, and love. We venture to hope, that your Majesty will deign to accept this tribute with the same goodness with which you have invariably honoured the fidelity and devotion of your Council of State."

His Majesty replied as follows:

"Counsellors of State, every time that I re-enter France, my heart experiences the most lively satisfaction. If the people testify so much love for my son, it is because they are impressed with a conviction of the advantages of monarchy.—It is so that

ideal system, to those dark metaphysics, which, in pursuing with subtlety the search after first causes, seek to found upon their basis the legislation of nations, instead of accommodating laws to the knowledge of the human heart, and to the lessons of history, that we must attribute all the misfortunes which our favoured France has experienced. These errors necessarily, and in reality, did lead to the régime of men of blood. Who proclaimed the principle of insurrection to be a duty? Who flattered the people by proclaiming a sovereignty which it was incapable of exercising? Who destroyed the sanctity of and respect for the laws, by making them depend, not upon the sacred principles of justice, the nature of things, and of civil justice, but solely on the will of an assembly composed of men, strangers to the knowledge of civil, criminal, administrative, political, and military laws? When a man is called to regenerate a State, he must follow principles directly opposite. History paints the human heart; it is in history that he must search for the advantages and inconveniences of different modes of legislation. Such are the principles which the State Council of a great empire should never lose sight of; it must unite to them a courage superior to every trial; and, after the examples of the Presidents Harlay and Molé, be ready to perish in defence of the Sovereign, the throne, and the laws.—I appreciate the proofs of attachment which the Council of State has given in every circumstance. I accept its sentiments."

Berlin, Jan. 5.—Our Monarch has experienced the most lively indignation at the treason of General D'York, of which he yesterday received the afflicting intelligence. His Majesty the same day ordered the following measures:—All means shall be taken to seize General D'York and send him to Berlin, where he shall be judged and punished according to his crime.—General Kliest is appointed Lieutenant-General Commandant of the Prussian contingent, in place of General D'York.—He will adopt all the necessary measures for collecting the troops, and conducting them under the orders of his Majesty the King of Naples, into such place as this Prince shall have designated.—M. de Natzmer, Aid-de-Camp to the King, set out this morning for Königsberg, charged with a letter, by which his Majesty, after having declared that he could not ratify the Convention concluded by General D'York, con-

sidering that the dispositions to be taken in respect to his troops, belong, according to the treaty of alliance, to his Majesty the Emperor, and afterwards to the King of Naples, as his Lieutenant-General, invites this Prince to give his orders to Lieutenant-General Kliest, and to express them to Major de Natzmer, who will make known to the Prussian corps the wishes of their Sovereign.—An Order of the Day shall be published in all the States of his Prussian Majesty; and the King of Naples will be requested to give orders for a similar notification to take place in the French army, to promulgate by all possible ways the disavowal of the King, and the expression of his indignation.—If General D'York cannot be arrested he will be tried for contumacy.—We are assured that Prince de Hatzfeld will immediately proceed to Paris, to convey to his Majesty the Emperor the expression of the sentiments of the King, and to prove these same sentiments to the whole of Europe by this brilliant mission.

Here follows the Convention which General D'York made with the enemy.

CONVENTION.

To-day the undersigned, viz. the Commander-in-Chief of the Prussian Auxiliary Corps, Lieutenant-General D'York, on the one side, and the Quarter-Master-General of the Imperial Russian Army, under the orders of Count Wittgenstein, Major-General de Deibetsch on the other, after mature deliberation have agreed to the following—

CONVENTION.—ART. 1. The Prussian Corps shall occupy, in the interior of the Prussian territory, the line along the frontier from Memel and Meminertat to the road from Woinecta to Tilsit. From Tilsit, the road which passes through Schellapeschken and Melanken to Labiaw, and comprehending the towns which it touches, shall determine the extent of the country which the said Prussian Corps is to occupy. This territory shall be bounded on the other side by the Curisch-Haff, so that all this extent shall be considered as perfectly neutral, as soon as the Prussian troops shall have occupied it.—It is well understood that the Russian troops are to be allowed to pass and repass upon the great road (Rocites) prescribed; but they shall not take up their quarters in the towns of this arroundissement.—ART. 2. The Prussian troops shall remain in perfect neutrality, in the arroundissement designated by Art. 1, till the arrival of orders

from his Majesty the King of Prussia; but they engage in the event of his Majesty ordering them to rejoin the Imperial French troops, not to fight against the Russian arms for two months from the present day.—

ART. 3. In the event of his Majesty the King of Prussia, or of his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, refusing to ratify the present Convention, the Prussian corps shall be at liberty to march wherever the King shall call it.—ART. 4. All stragglers shall be given up to the Prussian corps, which shall be found on the great Mittau road, and likewise every thing which forms a part of the MATERIAL of the army. In respect to the provisions and train of the said corps, and every thing belonging to it, shall pass without obstacle past the Russian armies to rejoin from Konigsberg, or further, the Prussian corps d'armée.—

ART. 5. In the event of Lieut.-General D'York's orders being still able to reach Lieutenant-General Massenbach, the troops, which are under the command of the latter, shall be comprehended in the present Convention.—ART. 6. All the prisoners which the Russians, commanded by Major-General Deibetsch, shall make, from the troops under the orders of General de Massenbach, shall likewise be comprehended in this Convention.—ART. 7. The Prussian corps shall retain the power of concerting about every thing which relates to its provisioning, with the provincial Reginurs of Prussia, not even excepting those provinces, which may be occupied by the Prussian arms.—Done at the Mill of Paschernu, the 18th (30th) Dec. 1812.

(Signed)

D'YORK,

Lieut.-Gen. in the service of Prussia.

DE DEIBETSCH,

Major-Gen. in the service of Russia.

CONSERVATIVE SENATE.

Sitting of the 10th January.

The Sitting opened at three o'clock in the afternoon, under the Presidency of his Serene Highness the Prince Arch-Chancellor of the Empire.—His Excellency the Minister for Foreign Affairs was present at the Sitting.—Their Excellencies Counts Regnaud de St. Jean D'Angely, and Deferman, Ministers of State and Counsellors of State being introduced, his Serene Highness the Arch-Chancellor spoke in these terms:—

“GENTLEMEN—The nation is of itself disposed to adopt measures which it judges necessary for the maintenance of its glory,

and for the preservation of its preponderance in Europe.—From all parts of this vast empire, addresses succeed each other; offers multiply; the public will is ready to outstrip the appeal of sovereign authority.

—The Emperor, who reckons upon the love of his people, and who appreciates their resources, has judged that there is no reason for varying from usual dispositions.

—His Majesty would even have deferred employing them, if an unexpected event had not made him think that the profiting of the useful co-operation of our allies, depended upon the development of our own forces, which is to accelerate the moment of an honourable peace, such as a French heart can desire, and such as his Majesty has not ceased to offer his enemies.

—It is in that spirit, Gentlemen, that the projet submitted to your deliberation has been digested.—Gentlemen, Orators of the Council of State, you will expose the motives, the advantages of it, after the Minister for Foreign affairs has read to you a report, and certain papers, of which his Majesty has commanded a communication to be made to you."

His Excellency the Minister for Foreign Affairs then communicated the following Report:—

Report from the Minister for Foreign Affairs to his Majesty the Emperor and King.

"SIRE,—When Russia, violating her treaties and renouncing her alliance with France, to unite herself with the system of England, declared war against your Majesty, you apprehended, Sire, all the importance of the contest in which you were going to engage. You appreciated the formation, under the title of Cohorts of the National Guards, of 100 battalions of men between 20 and 26 years of age, who belonged to the six last classes of the Conscription, had not been called to the active army. This institution has had all the success which your Majesty could have expected from it. A warlike youth prepared to the trade of war under the instruction of old soldiers, eagerly demand to partake of the glory of their brethren in arms. When from Smolensko your Majesty advanced towards Moscow your victorious arms, you did not dissimulate that its progress in the enemy's country added fresh chances to the common chances of war. You wished to further strengthen the basis of its operations, and you ordered the levy of the Conscription for 1813, the whole of which is now under arms.—With the garrisons of the

fortresses of France and Italy, your Majesty has therefore in the interior of your dominions, a force of more than 300,000 men, sufficient to support the war against Russia during the next campaign. And your intention, Sire, was not to demand any extraordinary succours; if our allies, and especially as Austria, Denmark, and Prussia remained faithful to the common cause. Austria, Denmark, and Prussia have given your Majesty the strongest assurances of their sentiments. Prussia has even offered to augment a third, and carry the contingent which she had furnished in execution of treaties to 30,000 men.—But whilst this power manifested dispositions so conformable to her engagements, and to the interests of her policy, the intrigues of England prepared one of these events which characterizes the spirit of disorder and anarchy, which that power does not cease to foment in Europe. General D'York, commanding the Prussian corps under the orders of Marshal the Duke of Tarente, betrayed at once his honour, his General in Chief, and his King. He has made a perfidious compact with the enemy. There are no intrigues, no threats which England has not put in work to change the dispositions of Sovereigns; but when she has found them firm to their true interests, and immovable in their alliance with your Majesty, she has undertaken to produce a general disorder by endeavouring to shake the fidelity of the people. Beyond the states of your Majesty, Sire, there are few countries where the audacity and manoeuvres of disorganizers have carried uneasiness among the depositaries of the public tranquillity. In the courts of the agents of corruption, in the camps of vile instigators, and in short, in cities, schools, and even the bosoms of the most revered institutions, false enthusiasts incessantly labour to seduce by dark doctrines those who ought with the most courageous fidelity to maintain the authority which has been confided to them, and those who have no other duty than that of obeying.—In such circumstances, Sire, and whenever the intentions of an allied Prince has not been able to guarantee the advantages which your political system ought to have ensured you, it becomes an imperious necessity to have recourse to the means which your Majesty will find in the power of your Empire, and in the love of your subjects.—Under these considerations the Ministers of your Majesty, assembled in an extraordinary Cabinet Council, propose to you, I. To send to the active army the 100 cohorts of

National Guards.—2. To make a call of 100,000 men from the conscriptions of 1809, 1810, 1811, and 1812.—3. To raise 100,000 men of the conscription for 1814, which shall be formed in garrisons and camps, upon our frontiers and coasts, and ready to march wherever it may be necessary, to the assistance of your Majesty's allies.—By this immense développement of forces, the interests, the consideration of France, and the safety of her allies, will be guaranteed against all events.—The French people will feel the force of circumstances; it will render fresh homage to this truth, so frequently proclaimed by your Majesty from the height of your throne,—that there is no repose for Europe till England shall have been forced to conclude a peace.—It is not in vain, Sire, that you have given France the title of the 'Grand Nation'—no effort is painful to her when the object is to evince her love to your Majesty and her devotion to the glory of the French name.—I join to this report the documents relative to the defection of General D'York.—I am, with the most profound respect, Sire, your Majesty's very humble, very obedient and faithful subject,

(Signed) The DUKE OF BASSANO.
"Paris, 9th Jan. 1813."

Sitting of the 11th January.

The Senate re-assembled at two o'clock, under the presidency of his Serene Highness the Prince Arch-Chancellor of the Empire.—M. the Count de Lacépède, in the name of the Special Commission, nominated in the Sitting of yesterday, made the report of the projet of the Senatus Consultum.—The Senate, after having deliberated on the projet of the Senatus Consultum, ordered it to be presented, with an Address to his Majesty. In consequence of which, at half past eight o'clock this evening, Messrs. the Counts de Lacépède, President, De Beaumont and De Laparens, Secretaries, had the honour of presenting the Senatus Consultum to his Majesty, with an Address, the contents of which are as follows:

Extract from the Registers of the Conservative Senate.

"On Monday, the 11th January, 1813, the Conservative Senate assembled to the number of members prescribed by the 90th article of the Act of Constitution of the 13th December, 1799.—Having adopted the projet of Senatus Consultum, which was presented to it in the sitting of yesterday, by which three hundred and fifty thousand men are placed at the disposal of Govern-

ment!—Deliberating on the proposition made by its Special Commission, charged with the report of this projet; Ordain, that the Senatus Consultum of this day be presented to his Majesty the Emperor and King by the Officers of the Senate, and that after such presentation, M. the Annual President shall express to his Majesty the sentiments of the Senate by an Address of the following tenor:—SIRE—The Senate has the honour to present to your Imperial and Royal Majesty the homage of its fidelity, its devotion, its respect, and the Senatus Consultum which it has just adopted.—It was its desire, Sire, to express at the foot of your Majesty's throne, the profound indignation with which all the French are inspired, at the treason of a General of an Allied Power, placed under the orders of one of your Majesty's Marshals, and forming a part of your armies. This violation of the laws of honour and of war, is a new effect of the corrupt intrigues of the British Cabinet. It is a crime against the safety of Governments, the repose of nations, against public faith, and the order of society. The Continent of Europe, Sire, is menaced with these terrible commotions, which your Majesty alone has been able to annihilate in our own country.—But your Majesty has foreseen every thing; you have discovered that it was needful to employ the greatest power, in order to command events, or to direct their effects; you wished to have nothing that might turn you off from the object of your desires, of all your victories, and of the so frequently renewed sacrifice of your repose, of your affections, and of your dearest enjoyments. The nation adds to its numerous phalanxes 350,000 Frenchmen, the brave men of the immense army which your Majesty is going to put in motion, will be the Conquerors of Peace.

The President and Secretaries.
 (Signed) CAMBACERES.

The Count de BEAUMONT:

The Count de LAPPARENT.

(Seen and sealed) The Chancellor of the Senate,
 Count LAPLACE.

(Signed)

Napoleon by the Grace of God and the Constitution, Emperor of the French, King of Italy, Protector of the Confederation of the Rhine, Mediator of the Swiss Confederation, &c. &c. to whom these presents may come greeting.

The Senate, after having heard the Orators of the Council of State, has decreed, and we ordain as follows:

Extract from the Registers of the Conservative Senate of Monday, the 11th Jan. 1813.

The Conservative Senate being assembled to the number of members prescribed by the 90th Article of the Act of Constitution, of the 18th December, 1799;—Having seen the projet of *Senatus Consultum* drawn up, and in the form prescribed by the Act of Constitution of the 4th August, 1802;—After having heard the Orators of the Council of State on the motives of the said projet, and the report of the Special Commission nominated in yesterday's sitting, the adoption having been deliberated by the number of voices prescribed by the 56th Article of the Act of Constitution of the 4th August, 1802; ,

DECREE.

Art. 1. 350,000 men are placed at the disposal of the Minister at War, to wit:—1st. 100,000 men forming the 100 cohorts of the first Ban of the National Guards.—2d. 100,000 men of the Conscription of 1809, 1810, 1811 and 1812, taken from among those who have not been called upon to make a part of the active army.—3d. 150,000 of the Conscription of 1812.—II. In the execution of the preceding Article, the hundred cohorts of the first Ban shall cease to form a part of the National Guard, and shall form a part of the active army.—Such men as have married before the publication of this present *Senatus Consultum*, cannot be designated to make a part of the levies taken on the Conscriptions for the years 1809, 1810, 1811 and 1812.—The 150,000 men of the Conscription of 1814 shall be levied in the course of the year, at such time as shall be designated by the Minister at War.—III. The present *Senatus Consultum* shall be transmitted by a Message to his Majesty the Emperor and King.

The President and Secretaries.
(Signed) CAMBACERES.

The Count de BEAUMONT.

The Count de LAPPARENT.

(Signed and Sealed) The Chancellor of the Senate,

(Signed) Count LAPLACE.

We command and ordain that these presents, sealed with the seals of the State, inserted in the Bulletin of the Laws, shall be addressed to the Courts, the Tribunals and other Administrative Authorities, to be by them inserted in their Registers, to observe them and cause them to be observed, and our Grand Judge, Minister of Justice, is charged to see they are duly published.—Given at our Palace of the Thuilleries, on the 11th January,

(Signed) NAPOLEON.

(Seen by us) We, Arch-Chancellor of the Empire.

(Signed) CAMBACERES.

By order of the Emperor,
The Minister Secretary of State, par inter.
(Signed) Duke De CADORE.

After the reading of the report, Messieurs the Councillors of State presented a project of a *Senatus Consultum*, (see the following sitting of the 11th,) the motives for which, were explained by M. the Count Regnaud de St. Jean d'Angely, in the manner following:

Motives of the Senatus Consultum for putting 350,000 Men at the Disposal of the Minister of War.

“ Monseigneur and Senators,—The Treaty of Tilsit gave to the North of Europe a peace which it appeared would have been of duration. But England, menaced with a war with the United States of America, and dreading, with great reason, the bad issue for her which must, sooner or later, attend the flame kindled in Spain, occupied herself in giving birth to a new war against France, by obtaining the breach of the alliance lately sworn to by Russia.—All the efforts of the Emperor to keep it, and to ensure the execution of the treaties, were useless, and the war was renewed.—It was forced on him by the violation of the most solemn conventions, by numerous armaments, by evident aggressions, by repeated refusals of every explanation, and, in short by the necessity imposed on his Majesty to maintain the rights and dignity of his Crown, and those of his allies.—The enemy, forced from all his posts, repulsed in every combat, van-
(To be continued.)

Letter I.

TO THE THINKING PEOPLE OF ENGLAND,

ON THE AFFAIRS OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY.

THINKING PEOPLE,

Amongst all the numerous subjects upon which you have displayed your acuteness of perception and profundity of thought, I know of none (except that of Pitt's standing fund) which has drawn forth so brilliant a display of these qualities as the subjects connected with India; and, when I reflect on your wise notions about the riches derived to the nation from "our Empire in the East," I cannot wonder at the alarm that many of you now feel at the curbing of the power of the East India Company, through the means of the now-proposed measure, should bring ruin upon England. In plain language, you have so long been deceived; you have so long listened, and loved to listen, to falsehoods; you have so long been the almost willing dupes of designing knaves; that there is scarcely a passage left by which truth can find its way to your minds. Nevertheless, I shall endeavour to disentangle the question, which is now so much agitating your wise and plodding noddies; I shall endeavour to strip this grand humbug of its covering; and, when I have so done, I shall leave you to the tricks of the several classes of mountebanks, who are striving for the upper hand in deceiving you.

Those, whose object is to deceive; who have falsehoods to make pass for truths; these persons generally endeavour to confuse and confound facts and circumstances as much as possible; and, in the present case, the real points at issue seem to have been wholly kept out of sight. Nay more, I would bet my life, that, if you were all examined one by one, not one out of 5,000 of you know what the words *East India Company* mean; that you have no more knowledge of the nature and effect of that Corporation than you have of what is passing in the moon; and that, when you read about the wars in India, it is with about as

much knowledge and advantage as you read, in Milton, about the Devils firing off cannon in heaven.

This being my firm persuasion, I shall endeavour to make the subject clearly understood; and, when I have so done, I shall willingly leave, to be chosen will, every one who is fool enough to join in the clamours now raised and raising against the proposed measure of opening the trade to India.

This measure, it is said, by the purchase of the Company, will ruin the Company; that it will break up their power; that it will cause the loss of India as a Colony. I will not stop to dispute about this. I will take these propositions as granted; and, still I shall contend, that the measure ought to be adopted. It is useless, therefore, to enter into any details at short what the measure will do against the Company; for I am ready to assert, and to prove, that I mean that I shall prove, that the breaking up of the Company would be a great blessing to England; that Company being, and having long been, one of our greatest scourges, one of the chief causes of corruption and oppression.

The outline of the proposed measure is this: that, whereas the trade to India is now exclusively in the hands of the Company, the Ministers mean to make such a change as shall open the trade to other merchants. At present, in consequence of an agreement, made with the Government 30 years ago (which agreement is called a *Charter*), no merchant of this kingdom, except the Company, can trade with the East India; no ships but the East India Company's ships can go thither; but, the Ministers mean to introduce a measure (now that the Company's Charter is upon the point of expiring), which shall enable any merchant of this kingdom to trade to India. Of this proposed measure it is that the Company is complaining, and in opposition to it they are exciting the most violent clamours, representing it as an act of injustice as well as of impolicy.

Faction is endeavouring to make the question a party one, and the City of Lon-

don, actuated by narrow self-interest, is abetting, in some degree, the opposition, and joining in the clamours. But, the people, if they have not been quite bereft of their reason by conflicting falsehoods, ought to consider the question as one in which they are opposed to this domineering Company. It is with the nation that that Company has made a bargain; it is from the nation that they hold their Charter; and, it is for the nation to consider, whether that Charter shall be renewed; whether it shall again grant a monopoly of trade to a select body of men, to the exclusion of all the rest of the King's subjects.

It is not a little impudent in the Company to pretend that the nation is guilty of injustice in withholding this renewal. What would be thought of a tenant, who should set up a clamour against his landlord, because the latter refused to renew his lease? He would be called, at least, a very presumptuous man, and, if he endeavoured to show, that his landlord would lose by not renewing his lease, would not that landlord laugh in his face? The very endeavour to persuade the nation, that it will lose by not renewing the Charter, is enough to make any rational man distrust the views of those who make it.

In order to decide, whether a new Charter should be granted to the Company, we ought first to inquire how they have acted towards the nation in consequence of their last Charter. But, before we enter upon this inquiry, I will, in nearly the same words that I used seven years ago, give a brief description of that strange thing, called the East India Company.

You hear of great fortunes being made in the East; you hear of plunder enormous, and you see the plunderers come and elbow you from your houses; but, you never appear to perceive, that any part of this plunder is, either first or last, drawn from your own estates or their labour. You seem to think, that there are great quantities of goods, and of gold and precious stones in India; and, the only feeling which the acquirers of these excite, seems to be that of envy, and, in some instances, of emulation. But, that this proceeds from a gross error, and that the two millions lately paid to the East India Company out of the taxes of the nation, have been clearly demonstrated, had any system of finance been such as to be a wisdom, upon this point,

* This was in 1800. There have been several millions granted in the same way since that time.

men otherwise well-informed. Now, however, the demands upon the taxes must, for the purposes of India, be such as will, I should imagine, open men's eyes, especially if the ministry make and promulgate an authentic statement of the nation's affairs. Fourteen years ago a charter, by the influence of Mr. Pitt and his colleague Dundas, was granted to the East India Company, whereby were secured to the said company of merchants certain rights of sovereignty in, and, with some exceptions, an exclusive trade with, those countries in Asia, which we, taking them all together, call the East Indies. As the foundation of their firm, or partnership, of trade, this company were allowed by the Charter, to create a quantity of stock; that is to say, to make loans, in the same way that the ministry do, and to pay annually, or quarterly, in dividends, interest upon the amount of these loans. The company became, in fact, a sort of tender government, having its loans, its scrips, its debt, or, more properly speaking, its funds, or, still more properly, its engagements to pay interest to a number of individuals. The paper, of whatever form it may be, which entitles the holder to demand this interest, or these dividends, is called *East India Stock*, the principal of which has now been augmented to the sum of 12 millions sterling; and, the holders of this stock are called *East India Proprietors*. The sources, whence the means of regularly discharging the interest upon the stock were to be derived, were, of course, the profits of the trade which the company should carry, but, aided by the revenue which they were authorized to raise from their territory, the defence and government of which were, however, placed, in some sort, under the control of the mother government at Westminster. Thus set out in the world this company of sovereigns, furnished, at once, with dominions, subjects, taxes, and a funded debt. But, supposing the measure (which I do only by way of illustration) to have been, in other respects, just and politic, it certainly would have been neither, not to have bound these sovereigns to pay the nation something, or, more properly speaking, to contribute something towards the taxes, by way of consideration for the immense advantages to be derived from the exclusive trade of a country, while the nation might be called upon, as it has been, to defend in a naval war, and which must, at any rate, be defended on the land, by troops drawn, in part at least, from the population of the kingdoms.

It was, therefore, provided, that the Company, during the continuance of its charter, which was to be for twenty years (thirteen of which have now nearly expired,* should pay into the Exchequer £500,000 sterling a year; and that, upon all the money not so paid, an interest would arise and accumulate, at the rate of fifteen per centum. —Such were the principal engagements, on both sides, under which this Company started. The nation has fulfilled its engagements, and that, too, at an enormous expenditure both of men and of money; and, while the Company has been enjoying all the advantages of an exclusive trade, and all the receipts of a territorial revenue; while hundreds and thousands of persons, concerned in that trade, have amassed fortunes so great as to overshadow and bear down, not only the clergy and the country gentlemen, but even the ancient nobility of the kingdom, not one penny (since the first year) has the Company ever paid into the Exchequer of the stipulated half-million a year; and, what is still more glaringly unjust, and more galling to the burdened people, two millions of our taxes have already been granted to this Company, wherewith to pay the dividends upon their stock; and, such has been the management, and such is now the state, of the Company's affairs, that we need not be at all surprised if another million be called for from us, during this present session of parliament! For the causes of this state of the Company's concerns; for the reasons why they have not been held to their engagements; why the act of parliament has thus been treated as if it had been passed merely as a job; why we have been called upon to *pay* to, instead of to *receive* from, this company of trading sovereigns; let the eulogists of Mr. Pitt's memory; let Mr. Canning and *Old Rose*—let Lord Melville, with his £2,000 a year pension from the Company (who are so *poor* as to come to us for money); let the Directors, those managers of the Company's affairs, and those staunch advocates of the Minister that suffered the act to lie unenforced against them; let Lord Wellesley, who has so long been the Governor-General of India, why the act has not been enforced, why the law has been thus set at naught, let those persons tell.

It seems incredible, that these things should have been; but, not only were they so up to the year 1808, they are so up to this hour, except, that *four millions*

more of money have, since that time, been advanced by the nation to the Company, instead of the nation having *received*, as it ought to have done, *nine millions and a half* of principal money from the Company, with accumulated interest at *fifteen per centum*. The nation engaged to do certain things and to grant certain privileges to the Company: these things have been done and these privileges granted; but, of the money, which we were to receive in return, only one half million out of twenty half millions has ever been received by us. The Company entered into certain engagements with the nation: amongst these engagements was that of paying, on the part of the Company, under certain provisions and penalties, the sum of £500,000 a year into the King's exchequer, as an equivalent, in part, for the exclusive advantages granted and secured to the Company by the nation. In case of failure to fulfil this important provision of the act of Charter (being the 33 Geo. III. Chap. 52), the lords of the Treasury, of whom Mr. Pitt, afterwards Mr. Addington, and then Mr. Pitt again, then Lord Grenville, then Perceval, and now Lord Liverpool, have been at the head, were to take certain steps, and to make certain reports, ~~thereon~~ to the parliament. It is now nearly 30 years since the act of charter was passed, of these 20 years the first year only has seen a payment made by the Company into the Exchequer, the Company owing, therefore, to the nation 6 millions sterling, with; as the act provides, accumulated interest at 15 per centum a year; yet, in the whole of this series of years, during this long scene of defalcation and of forfeiture, have the Lords of the Treasury, though so positively thereunto enjoined by the act, never taken any steps whatever, and never made any report to parliament relating to the subject. It is possible, and, indeed, likely, that the present Lords of the Treasury will make a report agreeably to the law; but, that report cannot remove, or shake, any of the facts that I have stated. I have fairly stated the nature of the agreement between the nation and the Company; and it will, I imagine, require no very long time for any unbiassed man to decide, whether the nation ought again to trust this Company with the advantages that it before enjoyed. I am not only for throwing open the trade, but for taking the sovereign authority wholly out of the hands of the Company. I am for not listening to them for a single

* The 20 years are now about to expire.

moment; until they have paid up their arrears with interest agreeably to the law.

But, you will ask, "what do they say for themselves: what defence do they set up: what excuse do they make for not paying the stipulated sums to the nation?" The excuse they make is this: that they have been engaged in expensive, *unavoidable wars*; and, they say, that the Act of Charter provides, that, in such a case, they *shall be excused*. Yes; but, only for a time; the sums are still to be due to the nation; and interest is to run on against the Company. In fact, the law allows of a *postponement* only, and not that, except upon a report and recommendation of the Lords of the Treasury made to the parliament; and, no such report has ever been made. In short, there is no legal defence; no legal defence can be made; the Company owes the nation the 9 and a half millions sterling, and, in this situation it has the assurance to come forward and reproach the ministry with a *design* not to trust it again to the same extent as it was trusted before. What would any man think of a tenant, who, during a term of twenty years, should pay but one year's rent, and who should then becall his landlord for refusing a renewal of his lease? What you would think of such a man, you will readily think of this Company; but, you will not easily find terms to express your contempt of the landlord who should be fool enough to assent to such a renewal.

Let us, for argument's sake, take the word of those trading sovereigns; let us, however common sense forbids it, believe them for once. Let us suppose, that they, while they have been dividing their gains so largely, have spent the 9 and a half millions in wars. With whom have they been at war? With those who were attacking England? Oh, no! With the natives of a country at nine months' sail from our shores; with a people whom Mr. Robert Grant, in his late speech in favour of the Company, described as "the most pusillanimous, unresisting and weak in the world." This is the people, in wars against whom, they say they have spent so much as to be thereby rendered incapable of paying the sums due to the nation as a compensation for advantages given up to their exclusive possession. Could such wars be necessary? Could such wars be just? Could such wars be unavoidable? But, monstrous as is the supposition, let us grant it even for argument's sake; and,

then, I ask what better reason can there be for not renewing their charter; what better reason for not again putting any of the power of government in their hands; what better reason for wholly breaking up their corporation? If from their Charter such scenes of blood and devastation have arisen, shall we consent to a renewal of that charter? The very excuse for their defalcation furnishes the best possible reason for the adoption of some measure that shall for ever put an end to their power.

I beg, most thinking people, once more to draw your attention to the nature of the argument contained in the Act of Charter, before referred to. The nation grants to the Company, the power of raising a revenue upon the millions of people in India; and, it further grants a trade to India, while it stipulates to exclude from that trade, supposed to be very advantageous, all the rest of the King's subjects; and while it agrees to send out forces, by land and water, for the protection of the trade and the territory against foreign enemies. In return for all this the nation is to receive, in money paid into the exchequer, £500,000 a year, during the 20 years that the Charter is to last. This sum was, of course, to go in aid of the taxes; and, 10,000,000 of pounds would have been something worth having. But, only half a million of this has been paid: the rest, we are told, has been spent in wars; in "just and necessary wars;" and, we have advanced them five millions besides. A very pretty way this of executing the terms of the Charter! A decent way of fulfilling a bargain!

What the nation now demands is, that another such a bargain shall not be made; and, the ministry propose, that the trade shall be open; that other English merchants shall trade to India; that a country, the possession of which is, like Jamaica or any other Colony, held by the means of the national taxes, shall be open to all the King's subjects. And, what can be more just; what more reasonable; what more moderate than this proposition? Why should not all the people of the kingdom be free to profit from a territory, of which they all assist in maintaining the possession. Whether India ought to be held as a colony at all, is another question, to be hereafter considered; but, while it be so held, or whether it be so held or not, can any man devise a good reason for continuing the trade a monopoly in the hands of a Com-

pany, who, as experience proves, will pay the nation nothing for such monopoly?

The opposition, which the *City of London* is making to the measure, proposed to be adopted, arises from a motive of the same sort as that which actuates the East India Company: namely, a preference of their own interests to those of their fellow-subjects at large. But, before I enter upon this subject more minutely, let me notice certain passages, in the speeches of Mr. FAVELL and Mr. Alderman BIRCH, during the debate of the 25th instant.

Mr. FAVELL said, there was "great danger of transferring the government of India from the Company to the British Ministry. Now, Lord Buckinghamshire expressly threatened the Company with a new Administration of India; and therefore his worthy Friend, when he saw Government on the point of laying hold of the Indian army, would certainly be disposed to stand forward and resist in time, what, if adopted, would effectually put an end to every thing like resistance to the measures of the Executive of this country." Mr. BIRCH said, "He had no doubt that this was the first of a series of measures by which the whole of the revenue of India would be taken by Government. They would thus obtain by stratagem, what, in the beginning, they do not ask."

This is a sort of doctrine that I cannot comprehend; and, I wonder how Mr. Favell and Mr. Birch have arrived at the discovery, that there is danger in putting the government, and Mr. Birch in putting the revenue, of India into the hands of those who have in their hands the government and revenue of England. If they mean to say, that the present ministry are unfit to be intrusted with the government and revenue of England; or, that any ministry that can be chosen in the present state of the representation in parliament are unfit to be intrusted with the government and revenue of England, that gives rise to a new question; but, to say, that the same men, who are fit to be intrusted with the ruling and the taxing of us at home, are unfit to be intrusted with the ruling and taxing of Hindostan, or, at least, more unfit than a Company of merchants living and holding their Court in London, is, to me, a proposition that requires very good arguments indeed to maintain it. For my part, my taste is the opposite of those of these Gentlemen. I would much rather trust the ministers with an

army and a revenue in India than in England; and I would a million to one rather trust them with an army and a revenue in England, than I would trust the same in the hands of the East India Company, who are a body of men, of the individuals forming which body no one knows any thing. It is a non-descript sort of sovereign, from whose sway every man of common sense must wish to be preserved. The taste of Mr. Birch must be very curious. He has always been on the side of every ministry. There has been no act of theirs, that I have ever observed, which he has not supported. He has no objection to trust them with the distribution of the 70 or 80 millions a year, which they raise upon the people of this kingdom; but he is in terrible alarm at their getting possession of the "whole revenue of India."

I would ask these two gentlemen, whether they seriously believe, that the ministry, that any ministry, that the present or any other, would, or could, make a worse use of power, than has been made of power by the East India Company? What could they do more than spend the revenues of India in wars? Has war ever ceased since the Company's Charter was granted? And, what could any ministry do worse than this? The excuse for not paying the nation the 9 and a half millions of money is, that it has been expended in necessary wars. Is it not time to take the government of thirty millions of people out of such hands? Whether it is likely to fall into better hands I do not pretend to know; but, here I come to close quarters with Mr. Birch; for, I say, that those whom he thinks good enough to govern England, I think quite good enough to govern India.

Mr. BIRCH even asserted, that the adoption of the proposed measure would be a violation of the Company's Charter: "He considered the proposed innovation as a violation of the East India Company's Charter, and a daring confiscation of property. Their Charter had been renewed from time to time; their property had been embarked in numerous establishments on the faith of it; and now, when these had attained maturity, the Company were to be turned out, that others might enjoy the fruits of their labours. Unless the safety of the State were concerned, Charters ought never to be infringed." I do not know, for my part, where men find confidence sufficient to make assertions like these. The

measure cannot be a violation of the Charter. The term of the Charter will have expired. The nation has fulfilled its part of the agreement. It was a grant for 20 years, and, when the 20 years shall have been completed, the nation has, surely, a right to resume its possession. What an impudent man should we think a tenant, who, at the expiration of his lease, should accuse his landlord of a violation of it, because he refused to renew it? "A daring confiscation of property!" What language applied to such a case! Mr. Birch could see no confiscation of property in the selling of a part of an Englishman's estate under what is called the redemption of the land tax; but, the refusing to grant a new Charter to the East India Company, he calls a daring confiscation of property! The Company have embarked, he says, in numerous establishments, on the faith of the Charter. What faith? The faith of its lasting 20 years. No other faith did the nation pledge; and that faith, notwithstanding all the defalcations of the Company, the nation has kept. What reason, then; what reason, in the name of common sense, have the Company to complain?

"Now," says Mr. BIRCH, "the Company are to be turned out, that others may enjoy the fruits of their labour." How are others to enjoy the fruits of the Company's labour? The Company have pocketed those fruits themselves. They have had their lease out, though they have paid but one year's rent out of twenty; and how, then, are others to get at the fruits of their labour. Besides, who are these "others" that Mr. Birch talks of so slightly? They are nothing less than all the people of the kingdom, able to embark in the India trade. It is the nation, in short, who, at the expiration of a lease, re-enters its demised estate; and this is what Mr. Birch terms "others;" and this act of re-entry he calls a violation of the charter and a daring confiscation of property. The worthy Alderman has only to apply his doctrine to the affairs of private life, and he will go a great deal farther than even the abused sans-culottes of France ever dreamt of going.

SIR WILLIAM CURTIS, during this debate, expressed his fears, that a free trade to India might cause the introduction of political freedom. "If a free trade to India were once allowed, among other exports, they would probably soon have a variety of politicians, who would use their best

"endeavours to give the Hindoos a conception of the Rights of Man."—A most alarming thought, to be sure! Sir William Curtis is, then, for no rights of man. He is for keeping the poor slaves, slaves still. His wishes, however, will not be accomplished, I believe; and, he may yet live long enough to see men claiming and asserting their rights all over the world. But, what a sentiment is this from an Englishman! His objection to an unrestricted intercourse with another part of the world, is, that it may lead to the teaching of enslaved men their rights! This is the objection which one of the Aldermen, who is also a member of parliament, for the great City, has to the opening of the trade to India. Commerce has, by many writers, been applauded for having produced an extension of knowledge and of freedom; but, this man objects to it on that account; he fears that the opening of trade may tend to the enlarging of the mind of man; he is afraid that a free intercourse would break the chains of a people! Let us hope, that there are very few assemblages of men in the world where such a sentiment would not have been received with an unanimous exclamation of horror. And yet, I dare say, that Sir William Curtis is one of those who talks well about the despotism of Buonaparté's government, and who is loud in his prayers for the deliverance of Europe. I dare say he is one of those who is for the deliverance of every body but those whom we may deliver at any hour that we please. Now, I am for beginning the work of deliverance that is within our own power; and, having closed that, then call upon Buonaparté to follow our example.

The arguments urged in favour of the opposition by the City of London I shall notice in my next, as well as the statements and reasoning in some of the speeches at the India House. In the mean while I shall insert below the copies of Lord Buckinghamshire's letters, containing the statement of the intentions of the Ministers, together with a letter of remonstrance on the part of the Directors, which documents are necessary to be attentively read, in order to enter with advantage on a further discussion of the subject.

WM. COBBETT.

Molloy, 28th January, 1813.

INDIA COMPANY.

Tuesday, Jan. 5.—A General Special Court of Proprietors of East India Stock

was held, this day, within their Court Room, at the India-House, Leadenhall-Street, on special affairs, connected with the Company's Charter.

Sir HUGH INGLIS, the Chairman, having taken the chair, addressed the Meeting, and informed them that this Court had been specially summoned for the purpose of submitting to their consideration certain papers which had passed between Ministers and the Court of Directors, on that most important subject—the renewal of the Company's Charter; and he was sorry to have to inform them, that the present appearance of the negotiation presented a most unfavourable aspect. The papers should be read to them, and he was concerned to think would prove what he had now said. The last letter had only been received at a late hour last night, of course there had been no time to make any reply to it. When the papers should be read he was satisfied they would make a deep impression on every one present. He did not pretend to speak the sentiments of the Court of Directors, but simply to express the feelings of himself individually, and undoubtedly, on his mind, they had made a very deep impression.—The papers were accordingly read, and consisted chiefly of Minutes of the Secret Committee of Correspondence of the Court of Directors, communicating to the whole Court the different steps in the progress of their communications with the President of the Board of Control. The first was a Minute of the Secret Committee of Correspondence, of date 27th November, 1812, stating a communication made to the Chairman and Deputy Chairman, on the part of the President of the Board of Control, that it was the intention of Ministers not to depart from the principle they had already intimated to the Company, namely, to extend the trade with India to the Out-ports; but that this might be limited to a certain number of ports less than those specified in the Warehousing Act. On this subject, however, the Noble Lord (Buckinghamshire) wished that the Chairman and Deputy Chairman should have a conference with Lord Liverpool and himself.—Then follows a letter from the Chairman and Deputy Chairman of the Court of Directors to the Earl of Buckinghamshire, dated the 28th November, stating that they had communicated to the Secret Committee the terms of his Lordship's last intimation, which the Secret Committee had received with concern and regret, contriving in opinion, as they did wish the

Chairman and Deputy Chairman, that the opening of the Import Trade from India, even to a small number of the out-ports, would be highly injurious to the Revenue, destructive to the Company, and highly detrimental to all the merchants, manufacturers, ship-owners, &c. now engaged in the trade with India, from the river Thames. They beg that his Lordship will allow a deputation to wait on him and Lord Liverpool on the following Tuesday, so that they may be enabled to lay the result before the Court of Directors on the next day.—Lord Buckinghamshire, in answer states, that he shall be happy to see them.—The interview accordingly took place; but it was agreed, that no minute of the conversation should be made; but that Ministers should make a full communication of their intentions to the Chairman and Deputy Chairman.—After this follows a Minute of the Secret Committee of Correspondence, of 16th December, by which the Chairman and Deputy Chairman are requested to persevere in their opposition to the extension of the Import Trade from India to the different Out-Ports in the Kingdom, as being a measure ruinous in its consequences to the country, and to the East India Company.

No. LXVI.

At a Secret Court of Directors, held on Friday, the 18th December, 1812, the Court having resolved itself into a Committee of the whole Court, and being resumed, the following Report from the Committee of the whole Court was read:—The Committee taking into consideration the present state of the negotiation with His Majesty's Ministers for the renewal of the Company's exclusive privileges, deem it to be highly important, that the sentiments of the Court of Directors, upon the proposition brought forward for admitting the imports from India to the out-ports of this kingdom, should be unequivocally known.—The Committee therefore recommend to the Court to pass a Resolution, stating that the proposition in question is, for various reasons already set forth in the Court's writings, pregnant with ruin to the affairs of the Company, inasmuch as it would render them incapable of performing the functions allotted to them, as well in their commercial as in their political capacity, and that the Court cannot, therefore, consistently with their duty to their Constituents, recommend to them the adoption of such a proposition.—And it was, on the question,—Resolved unanimously, That this Court approve the said

Report.—And the Chairman and Deputy Chairman were requested to wait on the Right Honourable the President of the Board of Commissioners for the Affairs of India, and to communicate to his Lordship the above proceedings of this day.

No. LXVII.

At a Secret Court of Directors held on Tuesday, the 22d December, 1812, the Chairman acquainted the Court, that in obedience to their Resolution of the 16th instant, the Deputy and himself, on Saturday last, waited on the Right Honourable the President of the Board of Commissioners for the Affairs of India, with a copy of the Minutes of the Secret Court of the 18th instant.

No. LXVIII.

At a Secret Committee of Correspondence, the 28th December, 1812, read a letter from the Right Honourable the President of the Board of Commissioners for the Affairs of India to the Chairman and Deputy Chairman, dated the 24th instant, and—Paragraphs proposed to form part of the draught of a letter to his Lordship in reply.

No. LXIX.

At a Secret Court of Directors, held on Monday, the 28th December, 1812, Minutes of the 15th, 16th, 18th, and 22d instant, were read and approved.—Read a letter from the Right Honourable the President of the Board of Commissioners for the Affairs of India to the Chairman and Deputy Chairman, dated the 24th instant; also—Paragraphs proposed to form part of the draft of a letter to his Lordship in reply.

No. LXX.

Letter from the Right Honourable the Earl of Buckinghamshire to the Chairman and Deputy Chairman, referred to in the preceding Minutes.

India Board, Dec. 24, 1812.

GENTLEMEN,—The conferences held at this Board with the Committee of Correspondence, having had for their object the most unreserved and candid discussions upon points of the greatest importance, with respect to the renewal of the East India Company's Charter, and it having been understood that no farther steps should be taken upon the subject, until a communication was made by me, in an official shape, to the Court of Directors, it was not without some surprise that the copy of their resolution of the 18th instant was received by His Majesty's Government, because that resolution, adopted under such

circumstances, appeared to them to have for its object an abrupt termination to all discussion.—They cannot, however, consider it the less incumbent upon them, through you, as the proper official channel to bring before the Court of Directors the principle upon which the opinions I have to apprise you of have been formed, in order to present to the Proprietors and the public a correct view of a subject to which so much importance is attached.—I shall, therefore, convey to you the sentiments of His Majesty's Government, precisely in the terms I should have done, if no intimation had been made of the resolution of the Court of Directors of the 18th instant; and with that object I proceed to inform you that with regard to those points, to which the attention of the Committee of Correspondence has been chiefly directed at the conferences held at this Board, the principle uniformly maintained, as the basis of any arrangement for the renewal of the East India Company's Charter, viz. that the merchants of this country have as substantial claim to as much liberty of trade as they can enjoy, without injury to other important national interests, cannot be departed from.—It was in the hope that the opening of the export with India to the merchants of the City of London and of the outports, whilst the import was confined to the port of London, might not be found inconsistent with this principle, that a disposition was felt by the Government to propose an arrangement to that effect.—In consequence, however, of the promulgation of such an intention, several persons, interested in the commerce of the outports, represented in the strongest terms, that the proposed limitation of the import trade from India, rendered the extension of the export of no value to them; and they declared themselves prepared to maintain, that this ~~restriction~~ was not called for by any adequate motive of public interest.—They urged their claim to an equal participation in the general trade to India, and their conviction, that the ground upon which the exclusion in favour of the port of London was defended, viz. the additional danger of smuggling, could not be supported, and they were satisfied that the alleged danger might be obviated by revenue regulations. They also entered largely into the subject of the China trade, contending strenuously against the renewal of the Company's exclusive Charter, and stated their reasons for believing, that measures might be adopted by which that

trade could be opened, without injury to the revenue, and without hazarding the continuance of the intercourse with the Emperor of China's dominions.—The importance attached to these representations, induced His Majesty's Government to revise the arrangement which had been in contemplation; and although they did not see cause, under all the circumstances bearing upon this question, to alter the opinion they had entertained, of the propriety of continuing the existing restrictions upon the commercial intercourse with China, and of preserving to the Company the monopoly of the tea-trade, they nevertheless felt, that the merchants belonging to the ports had established a claim against an absolute restriction of the import trade to the port of London.—Under this impression, I addressed my letter to you on the 27th of April ultimo.—The observations made by the Committee of Correspondence, in their reply of the 29th of the same month, did not fail to engage the serious attention of His Majesty's Government, but after the best examination of those observations, aided by all the information they have obtained from the Boards of Customs and Excise, they are not enabled to concur in the opinion, that the proposed extension of the import trade from India would be productive of any great increase of smuggling, and certainly not to the extent stated by the Court of Directors.—It is conceived, that the apprehensions entertained on this account might be obviated by various regulations, such as confining the trade to those ports which are, or may be so circumstanced, as to afford security to the due collection of the revenue; by the limitation of it to vessels of four hundred tons burden; by attaching the forfeiture of the ship and cargo to the discovery of any illicit articles on board; by an extension of the manifest act; by regulations for checking the practice of smuggling in the ships of the Company; as well as by other provisions, too simple to be entered into at present, but which will, of course, be attended to, in discussing the details of the subject.—I am persuaded it will not escape your observation, that from obvious considerations, the English Channel must, at all times, especially in time of peace, afford facilities and inducements for smuggling, which do not occur elsewhere to the same extent, on account of the clandestine traffic already established, and the ready communication with the opposite shore.—But, with re-

spect to the whole of this part of the question, it is impossible to lose sight of the deep interest which the Government must feel in the prevention of smuggling. The interests of the Company are, no doubt, involved in it; but those of the Government are still more concerned; and it cannot be supposed that they would bring forward any proposition, which appeared to them likely to endanger a revenue of from three to four millions; or that, if a debilitation should unexpectedly arise, they would not immediately take measures for applying a remedy. The Company have, therefore, an ample ground of objection, not only in the disposition of Government, but in their effectual co-operation on those points, on which the Court of Directors appear to feel the greatest anxiety, and on which they urged their strongest objections to the proposed arrangements.—The several articles which may be imported from the countries within the limits of the Company's Charter, and which are charged with an *ad valorem* duty, although, with the exception of tea, they bear a very small proportion to the whole of the revenue collected from the Trade from India and China, are nevertheless of sufficient importance to demand the attention of Government, as the question may affect the interests of the East India Company, as well as those of the public revenue.—With this view, it will be necessary to consider whether, with respect to some of them, a rated duty might not be substituted, and whether regulations may not be made for the security of the duty *ad valorem* on those articles which shall continue to be so charged; and which, at the same time shall prevent their being purchased at a price likely to operate injuriously to the manufacturers of this country.—The justice of the observations respecting the additional number of Europeans that would find their way to India in consequence of the extension of the trade, must be admitted to a certain extent; but it is obvious, that this danger would arise from the extension of the export trade to India, and would scarcely be lessened by confining the import trade to the Port of London. Every individual, during his residence in India, would of course be subject to the existing regulations of the local Governments.—The situation of Lascars, who are occasionally employed in the navigation of ships from India to this country, would demand the humane interposition of the Legislature; and there can be no doubt that

essential provision for their maintenance while in England, and for their return to India, will be made.—Having gone through the principal points to which our recent conferences have related, it may be proper for me to apprise you, that His Majesty's Government are of opinion, that the establishment of King's troops, which may be requisite for the preservation of the peace and security of the British possessions in India, must depend upon circumstances that it would be difficult to anticipate; but as the financial situation of the Company may render it necessary, that the numbers to be maintained at their charge should be

(To be continued.)

OFFICIAL PAPERS.

Motives of the Senatus Consultum for putting 350,000 Men at the Disposal of the Minister of War.

(Continued from page 128.)

quished in every battle, was forced to abandon his capital to the victor, but he gave it to the flames, which almost reduced it to ashes. From thence the necessity of this glorious retreat, a retreat in which we have not been disheartened by the asperity of the climate, the early severity of the season, and the unusual excessive rigour.—The 29th Bulletin of the Grand Army at once astonished and re-assured France; the information of its losses unveiled to the nation with so much energetic simplicity, with such a noble confidence, awakened in all Frenchmen a feeling of the necessity of repairing them.—Meanwhile the Emperor, who his enemies must always fear, and whose arrival was wished for by his allies and his subjects, returned to his capital whilst he was believed to be still before Wilna, and causing an account to be rendered him of the resources of his arsenals, his magazines, his treasury, of the number of his troops—announced to France his intention of not making any demand of men nor of new contributions.—With the annual imposts and the soldiery already under arms, he can support all the wants of the campaign both in the South and in the North of Europe.—But, Senators, the facts of which the Minister for Foreign Affairs has just given you information by His Majesty's orders, must alter the first calculations of his wisdom, economical in the sacrifices of his people, and cause them to be succeeded by calculations

of foresight and necessity.—Already, Messieurs, I have seen in this assembly bursts of that indignation which all Europe will feel at the recital of a treason to which we would hesitate to give belief were it not avowed and written by its author himself.—The Prussian General, whose name must henceforth become infamous, betrayed at once his Sovereign, his honour, the duties of a citizen, and those of a soldier.—He shamefully separated himself from the army of which he formed a part of the corps with which he marched; he has given up those who were exposed, upon his faith, to the hazardous consequences of his base abandonment, of his unexpected desertion.—

—Informed of this crime, new in the history of modern wars, his Majesty the King of Prussia evinced a resentment worthy of his fidelity to his Allies. Joined in sentiments with the Monarch, his Cabinet has only shewn the wish of repairing—of punishing a political and military crime, which offends the Prussian nation, and outrages its Sovereign.—These facts, these assurances are contained in the letters of which the Minister for Foreign Affairs has given you a communication.—The guarantee that the heinousness of this event will not only be appreciated by the Government, but by the whole Prussian people. They will judge, and all the nations of the North will judge with them, of what misfortunes such a crime might be the source. Prussia will show her attachment to the Prince who governs her, by rallying at his example, and the voice of honour, and by the faithful observation of treaties.—Nevertheless, policy, attentive for many years to the cause of events, will necessarily pause respecting the causes which have effected what I have just spoken of to you, and these causes, Senators, do not appear improper to be rapidly traced here. We evidently find them in the manoeuvres and intrigues of England upon the Continent. Too weak to defend herself alone upon the sea against the French power, she has constantly and successively laboured to arm against us all European Cabinets. It is England who has brought and re-brought upon the fields of battle the armies which the Emperor has conquered and re-conquered during the last twelve years.—When enlightened Cabinets, by experience, wished for peace, the peace which rejoiced Europe made England groan. Then she scattered among the people, and particularly in large cities, by means of her numerous emissaries and active corruption, the seeds of

hated, the causes of division, the principles of disorganization, which separate subjects from their Princes, and people from their governments.—It was thus that numerous societies, under the name of Friends of the Truth, of Nature, &c. &c. or under other titles less ridiculous, have been formed, encouraged, and supported, preaching hatred, insurrection, and disobedience, against every Sovereign, the friend of France, of Peace, and the Continent.—Alas! it was in our France—now so peaceable, then so miserable and so agitated,—that the English Cabinet made, during several years, which were years of crimes and misfortunes, the trial of these fatal means of discord and civil troubles.—It was by these means that England acted in 1809 against the Cabinet of St. Petersburg, when it shewed friendly dispositions towards France. It was by her agents that England prepared in Russia the influence of the party hostile to France, and by it arose the hesitations, the variations, the hostile resolutions of the Cabinet; and in short, this last war, which has cost Russia the devastation of her finest provinces, the repose of Europe, the regrets of humanity.

—England has employed, without doubt, to prepare the eternal dishonour of General D'York, the same means, the same associations, by which in 1809 she brought regular corps into a rebellion, and (a thing before unheard of) to make war against the orders even of their Sovereign.—Thus England disunites and divides the countries over which she cannot domineer; she prepares the ruin of states which she cannot subject to her system.—In short, what means of destruction more inevitable for the throne the most strongly secured, than the desertion of an army; its opposition to the interests of its country; its disobedience to the orders of its Monarch; if all the Sovereigns interested in the suppression of such a crime, do not unite their vows to cause their efforts to ensure the punishment of it, it will not be in their power to prevent a recurrence of it.—Happily, Gentlemen, the attempts of our enemies to extend to France their fatal influence, their fatal successes, are impotent.—Our vast territory, our immense population, feel only the sacrifices inseparable from the state of war; but are far from suffering the misfortunes of the country which is its theatre.—Internally, tranquillity prevails; industry, the arts, the public works, pursue their course.—Externally, Austria and our other allies shew themselves affectionate and faith-

ful.—Our forces, our means, our military resources are immense.—Always at the moment when the first eruption of these destructive volcanos fired by England, is going to break out under those thrones which wish to rest independent of her politics, it is necessary to collect proportionable resources, even superior to the dangers which prudence discovers.—That which was yesterday sufficient for the security of Government, is to-day found to be deficient in foresight. New events have created new wants; unforeseen conjunctures require unexpected sacrifices.—An universal sentiment of devotion and fidelity unites itself in the French people to the feelings of their interest and of their glory, to direct their conduct, and determine their resolutions.

—His Majesty proposes to you, to put at the disposal of his Minister at War, a force sufficiently considerable to overawe all our enemies, to destroy all their hopes in all their suppositions; and you know, Messieurs, reflection and history has taught it you, that it is thus we must repulse danger, it is thus that success is guaranteed, that we ensure glory, and that we must prepare peace.—The number of men demanded by the minister at War, are to be divided into three classes:—The first is to be composed of those cohorts whose wishes have outstripped necessity, and who have solicited as a favour, to exchange the duty of defending the frontiers of France, for the honour of going to seek the enemy on the other side of the Siennas.—The second class consists of a levy among those men, who forming part of the four preceding Conscriptions are not comprised in the last.

—The levy has for its object, to keep up in the interior, until the moment when they shall have acquired a greater strength, a more decided aptitude for the military service: the third class, called by the *Senatus Consultum*, I would denominate the *Conscription of 1814*.—This is not to be immediately assembled; the Minister at War will judge at what moment it will be suitable to cause them to march. The efforts of the Islanders, founders of the Continental war, spectators of a war without end, create an imperious law on the part of France, of setting on foot formidable armaments. She has not forgotten either the victors under Louis 14th, nor the disgraceful treaties under Louis 15th; neither will she forget the triumphs which have effaced those humiliations, the necessity of preserving untainted the glory she has acquired, the utility of preparing for new successes;

the dignity of the crown, or the honour of the nation, and of the French arms."—The project of the *Senatus Consultum* was referred to a Special Committee, and the Senate adjourned until to-morrow.

Copy of a Letter from Count St. Marsen to the Minister for Foreign Affairs,

Berlin, Jan. 1.

"Monseigneur,—An Aid-de-Camp from the Duke of Tarente, dispatched by the Prince of Neufchatel, has reached me. He brought me the enclosed dispatch from the Major-General, with the letters which accompanied it. The whole arrived at the moment when I was in the house of Marshal the Duke of Castiglione, with the Chancellor Baron de Hardenberg, Count de Narbonne, and Prince de Hatzfeld. Baron Hardenberg appeared indignant; he immediately went to the King, who had just returned to the city. I am assured the King has determined to dismiss General D'York, cause him to be arrested, give the command to General Kleist, call upon the troops, although there is but very little probability that they can be withdrawn, and to enjoin them to place themselves under the orders of the King of Naples; to address all orders to this Prince; to publish to the French army at Poitzdam, in *Silesia*, in the *Gazettes*, an *Ordre du Jour* in consequence.—In short, I am assured, that on this occasion the King has again publicly manifested his attachment to the cause of his Imperial Majesty and King, and his indignation at what had just taken place.—I have the honour, &c."

(Signed) The Count de St. Marsen."

No. II.

Letter from the Duke of Tarente to the Prince Major-General.

Tilsit, Dec. 31.

"Monseigneur,—After four days of expectation, inquietude, and anguish, which one part of the Prussian corps has experienced respecting the fate of the rear-guard, which, from Mittau followed me at one march distant, I at last am informed, by a letter from General D'York, that he himself had decided the fate of the Prussian corps.—I here transmit a copy of this letter, upon which I will not allow myself to make any reflection; it will excite the indignation of every honourable man.—General Massenbach, who was here with me with two batteries, six battalions, and six squadrons, set out this morning without my or-

ders to repress the Nicotian. He is going to rejoin General D'York. He thus abandons us before the enemy.—Accept, &c."

(Signed) The Marshal Duke of Tarente."

No. III.

Letter from General D'York to the Duke of Tarente.

Tauroggen, Dec. 30.

"Monseigneur,—After very painful marches, it was not possible for me to continue them without being attacked on my flanks and rear; it was this that retarded my junction with your Excellency, and left me to choose between the alternative of losing the greater part of my troops, and all the materials which alone ensured my subsistence. On saving the whole, I have thought it my duty to conclude a convention, by which the assembling of the Prussian troops is to take place in Eastern Prussia, which, by the retreat of the French army, is in the power of the Russian army. The Prussian troops will form a neutral corps, and will not commit hostilities against either party. Subsequent events, the consequence of negotiations which are to take place between the Belligerent powers, will decide their future fate.—I hasten to inform your Excellency of a proceeding to which I have been forced by weighty circumstances.—Whatever be the judgment that the world may pass upon my conduct, I shall be very indifferent to it. Duty towards my troops, and the most mature deliberation dictated it; the most pure motives, whatever appearances may be, guided me. In making this declaration to you, Monseigneur, I acquit myself of obligation towards you, and beg of you to accept the assurances of the most profound respect, with which I am, &c."

(Signed) D'York."

A true copy. (Signed) The Marshal Duke of Tarente, MACKONALD.

No. II.

Letter from Lieut.-General de Massenbach, to Marshal the Duke of Tarente.

"General D'York's letter will already have informed your Excellency, that my last step was dictated to me, and that I could alter nothing, because the precautionary measures which your Excellency ordered to be taken this night, made me suspect, that perhaps you intended to detain me by force, or in the present case disarm my troops. It was, therefore, necessary for me to take the part I did, to

join my troops to the convention which the commanding General had signed, and of which he gave information and instruction this morning.—Your Excellency will pardon my not having personally informed you of the proceeding; it was to spare myself a sensation very painful to my heart, because the sentiments of respect and esteem for the person of your Excellency, which I shall preserve to the end of my life, would have prevented me from doing my duty.

(Signed) The Lt.-Gen. MASSENBACH.
A true copy, (Signed) Marshal the Duke of TARENTE.

Dec. 31, 1812.

LONDON GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY.
Sunday, Jan. 17.

Foreign Office, Jan. 17.—Dispatches, of which the following are copies, and an extract, have been received by Viscount Castlereagh, His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, from General Viscount Cathcart, K. T. His Majesty's Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary at the Court of St. Petersburg.

St. Petersburg, Dec. 12, 1812.

My Lord,—I now avail myself of a Swedish courier to forward translations of two Bulletins, viz. one from Major-General Kutousoff, Aid-de-Camp-General, of the 2d December, and one from General Count Wittgenstein, of the 4th December.—Your Lordship will perceive by these reports, that the passage of the Berezyna has cost the French upwards of twenty thousand men, killed, wounded, drowned, and prisoners, and that the remains of Buonaparte's army, with which he is still present, are endeavouring to proceed towards Veleika, while Gen. Wittgenstein's corps is moving upon its right, and with every expectation of getting before it; the Moldavian army upon the left, is moving upon Molodetchno, and the main army, under Count Tormazoff, is moving in a parallel direction to that of the Moldavian army, at no great distance from it, while Count Platoff, with a strong detachment of Cossacks, light cavalry, and light artillery, with the infantry, under General Ekmaloff, is understood to be in front of the French, in the very line they are pursuing.—The French force, as stated by the Admiral, is evidently much over-rated.—The last place named by Count Wittgenstein (Nemenchina) is one or two stages north from Wilna.—

The Russian patriotic levies continue to come forward with unabated zeal, and a new army of fifty thousand infantry and twenty thousand cavalry, from some of the southern provinces, is reported ready for service and assembled.—The French march at night, and halt during the day, in hollow squares; surrounded as they are by the Cossacks, their supplies must be very precarious, and numbers are said to be found dead of cold and famine on every ground: their army quits.—The Field Marshal is with the Moldavian army.—Marshal Macdonald is reported, by the Commandant at Riga, to occupy an arc, cutting off the angle formed by the Dwina with the Baltic; his right at Fredericksburg, his left at Tukuma, and his centre at Eskey.—He menaces Riga, but probably with intention to prevent interruption to the supplies he wishes to send to meet the French army.—I have the honour to be, &c.

CATHCART.

St. Petersburg, Dec. 17, 1812.

My Lord,—In my dispatch of the 12th inst. your Lordship would find Bulletins, containing reports of Major-General Kutousoff of the 21st December, and of Count Wittgenstein of the 4th December. These reports described Buonaparte, with the remains of his army, as marching from Zembin upon Wilna, through Veleika; the Admiral and General Count Wittgenstein moving upon the same point of Wilna, the former through Molodetchno, the latter by Narotch and Nemenchina.—In this part of the pursuit, the Russian corps have stuck very close to the enemy; but the light troops, which got before him, were not of sufficient force to stop him.—His course was altered in consequence of some of the flank attacks, and he arrived at Molodetchno instead of Veleika; and having gained some time by destroying the bridge, he continued his march through Smorgona to Wilna, which place he appears to have reached on the 10th Dec.—The advanced guards of the several Russian columns arrived in the immediate neighbourhood of Wilna nearly at the same time, and the retreating army was compelled to continue its retreat from that town, almost without a halt.—It is said, that an Aid-de-Camp of Marshal Davoust was sent to order the rear-guard to defend itself before Wilna as long as possible; but instead of the French rear-guard, this officer found the Russian advanced-guard, which made him prisoner, having already demolished, or sent to the

rear, the whole of the French rear-guard. —Thanksgiving and *Te Deum* will form part of the church-service to-morrow (being the festival of St. Nicholas) for the defeat of the French army, the capture of one hundred and fifty pieces of ordnance, and several General Officers, together with the occupation of Wilna. —I have the honour to enclose three Reports, being the journal of military operations from the 30th to the 26th of November old style; Marshal Prince Kutousoff's report of the 25th of November, from Badaschkewich, and his intermediate report of the occupation of Wilna, and continuation of the pursuit of the enemy. —The further report is not yet arrived, but I understand the magazines of all sorts to have been well stored, the quantity of ordnance to have been considerable, and that among the prisoners (not less than twenty thousand, many of whom are sick or wounded), there are several General Officers, or officers of distinction, who were under cure, and could not be moved. —Two General Officers were taken in activity. The one I understand to be General Le Fevré, who was a prisoner of war in England on parole, the other an old Polish General. —The apparent direction of the enemy's retreat is towards Kovno; perhaps a column may take the road of Olita. —From the state of the weather, it is possible the Niemen may not be passable, in consequence of floating ice. —The Commanding Officer at Riga reports on the 12th December, that Marshal Macdonald has made no variation in his position. —I am not sure that the number of pieces of ordnance, mentioned in the notification of the *Te Deum* to foreign Ministers, refers to what was taken at Wilna exclusively, or whether it does not include what has been taken since the last general statement that was published. —I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) GATHCART.

Continuation of the Journal of the Military Operations from 3d to 8th December.

Lieutenant-General Schapetoff reports, on the 2d December, that Count Goudovitch was marching with the militia under his orders, seventy thousand strong, upon Mohelaw. —Admiral Tchitschagoff reports, on the 1st December, that he was pursuing the enemy in the direction of Semihini and Viamen to Plestschentza, while the detachment which he had sent in advance to destroy the bridges, annoyed him

in flank. The enemy lost, on the 30th November, seven pieces of cannon, and on the 1st Dec. two pieces; besides a great many prisoners, which are hourly augmenting.

Head-quarters of the Army at Maewenitza, Dec. 3d. —Major-General Toutschakoff reports, on the 17th December, that he arrived on the 8th December, with his corps at Bobruisk. —General Count Platoff reports, on the 1st December, that in pursuing the enemy he had taken one cannon, and made three hundred prisoners, and some officers. —The Aid-de-Camp, General Count Oscharoffsky, was, on the 2d December, with his detachment at Logeiski. The General of Infantry arrived this day with the advanced guard at Kosino. —Admiral Tchitschagoff reports, on the 2d December, that Major-General Lanskoj, whom he had sent with a detachment by Jourieff to Plestschentza, on the 30th November, had fallen in with a detachment of the enemy, occupying quarters for the Emperor Napoleon, and had made prisoners General Kaminski, thirty officers belonging to the Staff, with others, and two hundred and seventeen soldiers. The approach of the enemy's columns compelled him to quit this spot, and to move to the left, in order to impede the enemy, and to put as many obstacles as he could to the continuation of their march. Admiral Tchitschagoff having surrounded the enemy on the 1st December, entered with him into Chotimitchi, took five pieces of cannon, seven officers, and above five hundred prisoners. The road by which the enemy is retreating is covered with the deadbodies of men and horses, and we have found there thirty artillery tumbrils and many waggons. —The main army halted at Ravenitza, December the 4th. Major-General Toutschakoff reports, on the 2d, that he arrived with his corps from Bobruisk on that day, at Golinki. General Field-Marshal Prince G. Kutousoff Smolensko, wishing to approach the army under Admiral Tchitschagoff, has removed to-day his head-quarters to Kosino.

December 5. —General Count Platoff reports, on the 1st, that he had joined the advanced guard of Admiral Tchitschagoff, and was at Chotimitchi. Having the same day pursued the enemy, he took one piece of cannon, and about one thousand prisoners. The French Officers who have been made prisoners, confirm, that, on the 28th of November, Generals Oudinot, Dombrowski, Sayontschick, and several

other Brigade Generals, were dangerously wounded.—Head-quarters at Beleroutschie.

Dec. 6.—Head-quarters at Modaschowtsch.

Dec. 7.—Admiral Tchitschagoff reports, on the 4th, that the advanced guard, while pursuing the enemy as far as Latigal, Major-General Orouka's detachment took from the Guards two pair of colours, one piece of cannon, and without reckoning the invalids and the wounded, made 1,500 prisoners, amongst whom were a great many Officers of all ranks, and General Preysiny. In this affair Count Platoff himself headed his regiment of Cossacks.—The Commander of a party, Colonel Sesslawin, reports, that having made a successful attack upon Sähress, he made General Dorgoussal prisoner, and eleven Officers of different ranks; and that he was marching direct upon Wilna, in order to overtake the enemy, upon his march, and attack him at the head of his columns.—General Count Platoff reports, on the 5th December, that during his pursuit of the enemy, and driving him from Molodetschna, he took six pieces of cannon and 500 prisoners; and that Colonel Kaysaroff, whom he had detached with a strong party, had attacked the enemy's cavalry of guards, who were escorting the baggage of Napoleon, killed about 500 of them, took one standard and a part of the baggage, together with some papers of great importance. The head-quarters is with the advanced guard of General Miloradowitch, in order to be near the centre of the military operations.—Colonel Koussiny reports, that he found at Minsk, besides a considerable quantity of bread, about 3,000 excellent French muskets, fabricated at Liege.

Report of the Commander-in-Chief of the Army, General Field-Marshal Prince Kutousoff Smolenske, to His Imperial Majesty, dated Head-quarters, at Radaschkawitsch, the 7th December, 1812.

The French army having passed the Beresyna, that of Admiral Tchitschagoff pursued it without intermission, and gained repeated advantages over the enemy, who retired by Pletschenitz, Molodetschno, and Smorgoni, to Wilna. Major-General Lanskoy, who had been sent on the 26th Nov. by Fourieff to Pletschenitz, after having gone 12 miles by cross-roads, on the morning of the 29th, fell upon the advanced-guard of the enemy at Pletschenitz, while it was preparing quarters for

the Emperor Napoleon. The fruits of this unexpected attack were the capture of General Kaminsky, two Colonels, two Lieutenant-Colonels, two Majors, 24 Officers of different ranks, and 217 soldiers. The advanced guard of Admiral Tchitschagoff, in vigorously pursuing the enemy to Chotinitschi, took from them five cannons, one Colonel, six Officers, and above 500 prisoners. Besides an inconsiderable loss of men on our side, Major-General Grakoff was slightly wounded by a ball in the head.—The enemy, still pursued by the advanced guard of Admiral Tchitschagoff, was, on the 3d of December, overtaken at Latigal, and vigorously attacked by Major-General Count Ozouka, when two Saxon standards were taken (which I have now the honour to lay at your Imperial Majesty's feet, by the hands of the Sub-Lieutenant of the Guards, Fentch), and one cannon, and more than 1,500 prisoners, among whom are several Officers, and one General, of whose name I have not yet been informed. The troops of General Count Platoff took a very active part in this affair.—The advanced guard of Admiral Tchitschagoff having approached Molodetschno on the 4th of December, found the bridge destroyed by the enemy; who, having quitted this place about midnight, continued his march to Smorgoni. Major-General Count Ozouka continued his pursuit, took 500 prisoners, and six cannon; besides which, two cannon were found at Molodetschno.—By the report of Admiral Tchitschagoff, of Lieutenant-General Sacken's engagement with the corps of General Regnier, which forms the rear-guard of Prince Schwartzenberg, the Austrian troops which were advancing to Slonim, are again returned to Isabeline, to reinforce General Regnier. This movement induced Lieutenant-General Sacken to retire upon Scheremoff, in order to be always in the rear of the enemy, in case this last should attempt to march towards Wilna. By this movement your Imperial Majesty will perceive, that the Prince of Schwartzenberg retires from, rather than approaches towards Wilna. However, in order to be quite certain of the direction which he takes, I have ordered the corps of Count Oscharoffsky to manœuvre on the side of Slonim.—I this instant received a report from Count Platoff, accompanied with a Polish standard, which I have the honour to send with this report to your Imperial Majesty.

Report of the Commander-in-Chief of the Russian Armies, Field-Marshal Prince Kutousoff Smolensko, to His Imperial Majesty, of the 18th of December, 1812.

After a slight resistance the enemy was obliged yesterday to abandon the city of Wilna, which the troops of your Imperial Majesty, under the command of Admiral Tchitchagoff, immediately took possession of. The enemy had not had time to destroy the considerable magazines which he had prepared there: we have taken from him a quantity of cannon. The advanced-guard, and all the army under Admiral Tchitchagoff, are in pursuit of him. I am myself at the distance of 20 wersts from Wilna; but I will not fail to transmit to your Imperial Majesty a detailed report, as soon as I shall arrive there.

Abstract of a Dispatch from General Foucault Gathcar, dated St. Petersburg, December 22, 1812.

I have the honour to transmit herewith translations of the continuation of the journal of military operations from the 8th to the 13th of December, and of Marshal Prince Kutousoff Smolensko's report, dated Dec. 14.

Continuation of the Journal of Military Operations, from the 8th to the 13th of December.

Dec. 8.—Admiral Tchitchagoff, in his first report of the 8th, states, that Major-General Count Orouzka had pursued the enemy to Molodetschno, taking 5,000 prisoners and eight pieces of cannon. By his second report of the 7th of December, it appears that his van-guard, under the orders of Major-General Tchablitz, had pressed so close on the enemy's rear, as to carry off his pipes; and subsequently ordered to destroy that corps near Smorgoni, at which place their main body halted, and were not a little surprised to see our Cosacks appear, when they immediately fled with such precipitation as to leave all their magazines. The enemy's loss on this occasion amounted to 25 pieces of cannon and 3,000 prisoners.

Head-quarters, Molodetschno, 9th of December.—The enemy was pursued

from this place on the 7th by Count Orouzka as far as Melini, with a loss of nine pieces of cannon and above 1,000 prisoners, a great number of tumbrils, and other carriages. In consequence of the extreme cold, and the great want of provisions, the number of persons perishing along the high roads have considerably increased, amongst whom are noticed many of Napoleon's guard. — *Aid-de-Camp General Count Ouchinskisky reports, under date Woloskano, 7th December,* that on that day he arrived there, and promptly following the Grand Army in a parallel line, endeavouring at the same time to cover its left flank, and to observe the movements of the corps under Prince Schwarzenberg. — *Admiral Tchitchagoff reports on the 8th,* that his van-guard, commanded by Major-General Tchablitz, continuing to pursue the enemy, and to press him closely, had compelled him to abandon 61 pieces of cannon. Colonel Mardessasse, *Aid-de-Camp General of the Staff,* the *Aid-de-Camp of Marshal Davout,* and 2,000 men, were made prisoners in this affair. The whole of the road from Smorgoni to Ouchiansky was so completely strewed with dead horses, and dead horses, and covered with artillery waggons, tumbrils, and carriages, that it was rendered almost impassable. — The dissatisfaction amongst Napoleon's troops has increased to such a pitch, that they with one voice charge him as the author of all their misery.

Head-quarters, Smorgoni, Dec. 10. — Colonel Knorring reports, under date of the 8th, that he detached some squadrons to watch the enemy's motions on the side of Novoswetskana and Stalbitsk. — General Count Wittgenstein states, that keeping with his corps to the right of Tchitchagoff's army, in a parallel line, he was on the 9th at Noutawischkach. His van-guard at Swiranke, and his cavalry under the command of *Aid-de-Camp General Kutousoff,* and Major-General Bornedien at Nementchine.

9th December.—The partisan, Colonel of the guard, Serbiavsky, reports, that having come up with the enemy's cavalry, he immediately attached them.—they were over-
(To be continued.)

Letter II.

TO THE THINKING PEOPLE OF ENGLAND,

ON THE AFFAIRS OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY.

THINKING PEOPLE,

Before we come to consider the arguments in support of that opposition, which the City of London, in its corporate capacity, is making to the intended measure of opening the trade to the East Indies, I think it right to offer you some further remarks upon what has been said relative to the *new power and influence, which such a measure must throw into the hands of the ministry at home.*

I noticed, in my last, an idea of Mr. Birch and of Mr. Favell, that the measure, by taking the government, and, of course, the army and revenue of India, out of the hands of the East India Company, the ministry would become possessed of so much power, that . . . that . . . that *God knows what they might do!* I will now cite a passage from the Morning Chronicle, which passage was published upon the first appearance of the correspondence inserted in my last Number.—“We this day lay before our readers the correspondence that has taken place between the Court of Directors and the President of the Board of Control. There never came before the public eye a correspondence pregnant with results so important and alarming; for the letter of Lord Buckinghamshire, in the most summary and cavalier style, gives the India Company only the alternative of the surrender of a material part of their rights, or the unconditional transfer of the whole management and power of India to Ministers. He will submit to no previous discussions. He bids them hunt for information among the Memorials and Petitions from the Out-ports; but demands the concurrence of the Company to the opening of the trade, before he will enter into an explanation of the rules by which it shall be regulated. The question of a partial opening of the India trade, or of

“the strict maintenance of the Charter, is of such magnitude as to demand the most grave and deliberate attention. He must have a very comprehensive mind indeed, that can, at a first view, decide on the national policy of the measure. We certainly do not feel ourselves competent to form such a judgment. But on the alternative, namely, that if the Company do not implicitly acquiesce in the principle of the measure without inquiry or explanation, the result may be the TRANSFER OF THE WHOLE TO GOVERNMENT, there can be but one opinion, viz. :—that it would be CONSTITUTIONAL RUIN. The dissolution of the India Company could not take place without bringing with it a national bankruptcy, and that must be followed by military despotism. A correspondence, therefore, of more dreadful import was never laid before the public, and we earnestly request our readers to give it the attention which it deserves.”

At the first blush there appears to be something so wild in this; there appears to be something so mad in the notion, that the constitution of England is to be destroyed; that a national bankruptcy is to be produced; that a military despotism is to be established, by the dissolution of a Company of merchants; there seems to be something so crazy, or, more politely speaking, so *delirious*; it seems to proceed from something so much like one of those “exacerbations,” vulgarly called fits; the thing seems to be so much of this character, that I should not have thought it worthy of notice, had it not issued through the chief organ of the Whig faction. What an opinion, however; what a contemptuous opinion must the writer have of the intellects of his readers, to put forth such extravagant notions! We are, indeed, in a pretty state, if what he says be true. A charter is granted to a company of merchants to trade to one of our colonies; the term of the charter is about to expire; and, we are told, that, if we do not renew the charter, we shall be placed under a *military despotism*. Verily a man must have screwed up

his nerves into a very tight state, before he could hazard such an assertion.

In *what way*, I should be glad to know, is the dissolution of the East India Company to produce this terrible effect? To point out this, was the duty of the *Morning Chronicle*; and not having done it, his assertion might be dismissed, without further notice, it being incumbent on no one to produce proof, or argument, in refutation of that, which has not been attempted to be proved. Nevertheless, as the matter is of great importance, I will put here a few questions to this writer. And in the first place, I ask him, whether it be likely, that a national bankruptcy will arise from the dissolution of a Company, the affairs of which Company are in such a state as to require the aid of the Government to keep the Company itself from becoming bankrupt? I ask whether this be likely? For some years past, the East India Company has been borrowing money, or rather bank-notes, from the national Government; it has come to the Government, and has got from it *accommodations*; the Government has lent it bank-notes to the amount of millions. I will not encumber my argument with the items in detail; but I state distinctly, that this East India Company has had bank-notes to the amount of millions of pounds, lent to it by the Government, in order to enable it to pay its *dividends*; for, Thinking People, this Company has its *National Debt*, and its *dividends*, in the same manner that the Government at Westminster has! Now, if the Company cannot pay its way without the assistance of the nation; if it be compelled to borrow money of the nation in order to pay its dividends; if this be the case (and the *Morning Chronicle* does not deny the fact), how is the dissolution of this Company to make the nation itself a bankrupt? I shall be told, perhaps, that, if the Company's Charter be not renewed, it will not be able to pay its debts, or the interest on its debts; and, that, the East India Stock-holders being thus ruined, an alarm will be spread amongst the stock-holders of the nation; that the funds will fall to a very low price, and that thus a national bankruptcy will be produced. But, how is this to happen? The Government would only have to guarantee the payment of the interest upon the India stock, in order to prevent any such alarm; and that, in fact, it now does, by the advances which it makes to the Company, in order to enable it to pay its dividends. The truth is, that, in case of a

dissolution of the Company, the Government must guarantee the payment of the interest upon its debts, or else, the whole of the funding fabric would be instantly blown into the air; but, no injury could arise from this; because, as I have before shown, the Government is, at this time, and long has been, surety for the payment of the interest on the Company's debts.

Another question that I should wish to put to this gentleman is, where he has made the discovery, that, what he calls a national bankruptcy "*must be followed by a military despotism*." But, perhaps, it will be best, first to ask him what it is that he means by a *military despotism*? Does he mean that state of things, where there is nothing existing in the name of *law*; where there are no tribunals, with people sitting in them, called judges; where there are none of those persons called peace-officers, police-officers, commissioners of taxes, surveyors of taxes, supervisors of taxes, assessors of taxes, collectors of taxes, ~~men~~, custom-house-officers, tide-waiters, &c. Does he mean a state of things, wherein all these are unknown, and where the taxes are collected and offenders against the Government are punished through the instrumentality of *soldiers only*? If he does, then I tell him that he means to describe a state of things which never existed in any nation in the world. If he means a state of things where the Government has the absolute command of so large a military force, as completely to preclude, or to render desperate, any attempt at resistance on the part of the people, let the acts of the Government be what they may; if he means this state of things, then I call upon him to show how the dissolution of the East India Company; I call upon him to show, how a national bankruptcy can possibly be big with the danger which he affects to anticipate.

By national bankruptcy, he means, doubtless, as others have meant, *a ceasing to pay at the Bank the interest of the national debt*. But, is he not deceived as to the course which things will naturally take in this respect? The Bank continues to pay the dividends on the debt, as promptly as it paid them before the stoppage in 1797. It pays, indeed, in *paper*, instead of hard money, and so it will continue to do, as long as the paper will pass current at all. There may come a time when the paper will be worth very little; or, in other words, when it will require a great deal of it to purchase the same quantity of goods

that may be purchased with a silver shilling; but still, the Bank will keep on paying the interest of the national debt, and as long as it does that, who can, with propriety, say, that a *national bankruptcy* has taken place?

However, suppose that there should come a time, when even the paper money cannot be made fast enough for the due discharge of the dividends. The supposition is quite beyond the compass of probability; but, let us, for argument's sake, adopt it. What then? Why, then there is a national bankruptcy. But, why should this be followed by a military despotism? In order to get rid of all dispute about the meaning of the words *military despotism*, we will take it for granted that the writer means a state of things, in which the Government would possess a more complete and absolute control over the purses and persons of the people than it now possesses. We will not stop to inquire what sort of control that must be; but we will take it for granted, for the sake of the argument, that the thing is possible, and then it remains for this writer to show us, how such a state of things is likely to be produced by the total discredit of bank-paper.

It is, I believe, universally acknowledged, that, without the aid of bank-paper, the Government, on its present system, could not have been carried on unto this day. It has been a hundred times asserted in the houses of parliament, that it is the bank-paper which has enabled the Government to engage in, and to prosecute, these long and destructive wars. In short, it is pure waste of time to attempt to show, that the Government, on its present system of great power, has derived its chief support from bank-paper, and that the system depends for its existence upon the bank-paper. How, then, is it possible, that the annihilation of that paper should give to the Government a more complete and absolute control over the purses and persons of the people than it now possesses? How is it possible, that additional strength should be produced by the total destruction of that, which, up to this moment, has been the principal source of strength?

I might stop here; for, until this question be answered, nothing more can be necessary in the way of refutation of the assertion before us. But, I will anticipate, that this writer means, that the destruction of the paper money must be followed by the destruction not only of the present system of away, but also of the whole form of the

government; and that, hence would necessarily ensue that state of things, whatever it may be, which he denominates a *military despotism*; and by which we must suppose that he means a Government possessing a more complete and absolute control over the purses and persons of the people than the Government, on its present system, possesses.

Now, upon *what grounds* does he presume, that the destruction of the paper-money must be followed by the destruction of the whole form of our government? When men are advancing assertions of such import, they ought to back them with proof, or, at least, with an attempt at proof, if they expect them to have any weight with men of sense. When a man was asserting, in terms so unqualified, that the King, Lords, Commons, courts of justice, laws, customs, and usages of the country; when he was asserting that the existence of all these hung upon the credit and durability of a paper-money, which he himself has a hundred times asserted to be in a state of rapid depreciation; that is to say, rapidly tending towards destruction; when he was making this assertion, he should not have contented himself; he should not have thought that he had done his duty until he had produced something, at least, in its support.

For my part, I think better of the government of England. In spite of all that has been done for the last thirty years, I am persuaded that there is still good stuff enough in this form of government to prevent its resting for support solely upon a paper-money; and I love to indulge this opinion, because I see the paper-money tending to total annihilation. If we consult experience, we find, that the fall of a paper system is not necessarily followed by the destruction of a constitution of government. This writer has in his eye the *example of France*; but why lose sight, at the same time, of the example of America? The latter presented itself with full as much prominence as the former, and I should have thought it much more applicable to our case. The destruction of a paper-money, by which a certain system of rule has long been supported, will naturally and inevitably produce a great change in that system. It will, in most cases, cause power, in some degree, to change hands; but, it does not necessarily produce a destruction of the form of government, as we see in the experience of America, and more recently in the experience of Austria. And

in no case, that I have ever heard of, has it tended to produce a military despotism, or to put into the hands of any government more power than it had before. It is not in the nature of things that the destruction of the paper-money in England should prove injurious to the real constitution of England. That constitution existed, kings reigned, freely chosen parliaments taxed the people; and justice was administered in mercy long before a paper-money was heard or thought of; and, I am yet to hear *reasoning*, before I shall believe, that these cannot be hereafter without the existence of a paper-money.

The assertion is again made by this writer, too, that the transfer of the whole government of India from the hands of the Company to the hands of the Ministers, would be ruinous to the *constitution*. It is very difficult to determine, or even to guess at, what the Morning Chronicle means by the *constitution*; but one may ask him, what new power it would give to the Ministers that could be injurious to us? Could it give them greater power of taxing us? After all, *that* is the principal point. Could it, I say, place our *purses* more completely at their command? If it could, then, indeed, I should say, that there was danger to us in the proposed measure; but, as long as I do not perceive, and cannot perceive, that that would be the case, I shall feel no alarm at the army and revenue of India being taken out of the hands of the Company.

But, what idle talk is this, about the danger to be apprehended from this new source of ministerial influence? What influence can a minister want more than that which he now possesses? He has now the distribution of nearly one hundred millions sterling, annually; he has an army of two hundred thousand men, including foreign troops; he has a thousand ships of war; and the tax-gatherers receive as their pay for collecting the taxes, several millions sterling every year. There is not a parish where he has not several persons in his pay as tax-gatherers, under one denomination or another; and, besides, is not the East India Company itself a body as much under his influence, and as powerful an instrument in his hands, as India itself could become in consequence of the proposed transfer? Can the Editor of the Morning Chronicle cite me an instance, when the East India Company, or when any individual East India Director, has appeared in opposition to the ministry of

the day? I can recollect no such instance. On the contrary, I have always observed, that, let who would be minister, he was sure of the support of that body. Therefore, I am not to be made to believe, that the political liberties of the country can possibly be endangered by the minister's possessing, with some degree of responsibility attached to it, all that influence, which he before possessed without even the show of responsibility.

We now come to a consideration of the arguments, if such they may be called, in support of that opposition which the city of London, in its corporate capacity, is making to the intended measure of the opening the trade to India. And here, it is to be observed, that this opposition stands upon a different ground from that on which the opposition of the Company rests. The latter dreads the loss of its monopoly; the former the loss of the advantages, as they are thought, from the importation of India goods being confined, as it now is, to the port of London. The latter would care but little about the extension of the importation to the out-ports; and the former would not care a pin for the opening of the trade to individual merchants, provided all the goods were still to be brought in to the port of London, and, provided all the establishments arising out of the commerce of India, were still to remain in London.

Mr. Alderman BRICK, in the debate before referred to, is reported to have said, that "millions had been expended by the Company on warehouses and other important concerns, and the seat of their Government was in the city of London. To borrow a figure from the East, the Company are to the City like the great Banyan tree, whose branches descended and took fresh roots, and which flourished again till it formed of itself a species of forest, full of bloom, and verdure, and fruit, under which thousands took shelter and sustenance. Now it was proposed to lay the axe almost to the root, or to plant new shoots that would wither as soon as they came up from the earth. (Hear.) Extend the trade, and they would weaken it. In practice, it was prosperity: in theory, it would be ruin. Experience was against experiment. Look at our proud River, with its immense forests of masts floating on its bosom, its innumerable vessels fraught with the merchandise of the globe: go down to the extent of the City's juris-

"diction, and hear the gladdening echoes
 "of cheerful labour resounding from shore
 "to shore; and then ask the question, how
 "much of this prosperity is owing,—how
 "many of these labourers earn their bread
 "from the East India Company?—(Hear,
 "hear.) Was that proud River to be
 "stripped of the ancient ensigns of her
 "dignity? Were they ready, step by
 "step, to make it flow at Wapping, as
 "clearly, and unencumbered, as it did at
 "Westminster? Let them stop in time
 "all attempts against the prosperity of
 "London.—(Hear.) Charters were most
 "important; and every attempt to disturb
 "them should be viewed with jealousy.
 "The renewals of the East India Charter
 "only strengthened the arguments on
 "which they stood. All the Indian com-
 "merce centered in London, and it was
 "its interest and duty to keep it there."

Mr. Birch seems to be a stout stickler for charters; but, what does he say to *Magna Charta*? I think I could point out instances, wherein that gentleman has been one of the loudest advocates of measures by which that charter was violated. I have never known any resolution proposed in the court of common council complaining of a violation of the people's rights, which was not opposed by Mr. Alderman Birch, who is now so zealous an advocate for the rights of the East India Company. It is astonishing to me that a man of sense, as Mr. Birch is, and a man of good manners too, should be able to muster up resolution enough to speak of the proposed measure as a violation of a charter; and, though I have before dwelt upon the point, I cannot help again observing on the perversion of words resorted to upon this occasion. What is this charter? It is a bargain, made between the nation and the company, and the terms of the bargain are to be found in an act of parliament passed in the 33d year of the present King's reign. According to that bargain, the Company were, upon certain conditions, to have a monopoly of the India Trade, and to have the sovereignty of the colony, for twenty years. As I have shewn before, the Company has not fulfilled its part of the bargain, it has paid only a twentieth part of what it was bound to pay as the price of the monopoly, and of the advantages of the sovereignty. But, if it had punctually fulfilled its covenants, the term of the bargain is expired, or about to expire. The twenty years are at an end; and, shall the nation, because it refuses to renew the bargain, because it re-

fuses to grant the monopoly, and to yield the sovereignty of its colony again; shall it for this cause, be accused of violating a charter? I am surprised that a man of sense should thus resort to a sounding word, for the sake of supplying the place of fact and argument.

But, we are told by Mr. Birch, in fine figurative language, that the Company is to the city like the great Banyan tree. Mr. Birch was not aware, perhaps, that figures of rhetoric should be cautiously used. The Banyan tree may, for aught I know, be possessed of the qualities that he describes. Its branches, like those of the laurel, and thousands of other shrubs and trees, may descend to the earth, take fresh root, and send up fresh trunks towards the skies. But, with the leave of Mr. Alderman Birch, he is labouring to prevent this species of propagation; for, he is endeavouring to confine the tree of which he is speaking to the port of London; whereas the ministers are for extending its branches to the out-ports, and, of course, for enlarging its capacity for affording shelter and sustenance. After his figure of the Banyan tree, the gentleman was extremely unfortunate in asserting, that the trade would be weakened by its extension!

After all, however, after all the talk about the Banyan tree, and the proud river Thames, and the gladdening echoes of cheerful labour; after all this talk, the opposition is, in plain English, founded upon this, that the measure proposed by the ministers will take part of the trade from the port of London and distribute it amongst the out-ports; that it will lessen the quantity of money expended in London; that it will diminish its population; and that, of course, it will draw something away from the gains of the owners of land and houses in London, and, generally, from persons keeping shops, public houses, and otherwise engaged in trade.

That all this is true, I allow; but, so far am I from regarding this as an evil, I have no hesitation in saying, that I look upon it as an unqualified good. I should have no wish to lessen the value of real property and of trade in the city of London, were it not from the consideration, that whatever is in this way taken from that city, must go to other parts of the kingdom. But, with respect to a lessening of the population of London, that is a positive good. There is no man, I am persuaded, who has reflected upon the matter, who does not lament the enormous

increase of that metropolis, which has already drawn to itself so large a part of the means of the whole kingdom. The “gladdening echoes of cheerful labour,” if such there be in the filthy stews of Wapping, are not more gladdening than they would be at Liverpool, at Glasgow, or at Dublin. Poets have written more beautifully than Mr. Birch can speak about the river Thames; but, in the eye of a statesman, such descriptions are of no consequence. In his eye, the Thames has no more pretensions to pride than any other river or stream in the kingdom, while he must be well convinced, that to make all the trade of the country centre in one port, is to prevent emulation, and, in fact, to contract the sphere of national exertion.

Mr. Birch speaks of the persons who earn their bread from the East India Company, as if they would be thrown out of employ and starved, if the monopoly were put an end to, and especially if the trade were divided amongst the out-ports. But, is it possible that Mr. Birch does not perceive, that the trade would still be carried on by other persons than the Company, and that it would still give employment to as many persons as it now employs? If not employed in London, these persons would be employed elsewhere; and if Mr. Birch will point me out a spot in the whole globe, where they could be employed with less chances of health and more chances of vice, than on the banks of the Thames, below London Bridge, I will at once, waving all other considerations, give up the argument.

There is, it seems, a body of persons, called the *shipping interest* in the port of London, who join in this opposition. And, I should be glad to know from these gentlemen, upon what it is, that they found their claim to a monopoly of the advantages of the trade to and from India. Do not the whole kingdom pay the taxes which are expended in the maintenance of the colonies in the East. Why should the counties of Lancaster, Somerset, or any other, be shut out any more than the county of Middlesex? In short, the grounds of this opposition appear to me to be so flagrantly unjust, that I will not believe any thing further to be necessary to expose them to public indignation.

Before I conclude, however, there is one reason, and that of great weight, which I shall state for my approbation of the proposed measure, or of any measure, the tendency of which is to diminish the

influence of the East India Company, and, indeed to break up that body. And this reason is, that such a measure will have a powerful tendency to destroy political corruption in the city of London and in the county of Middlesex. That Company has long been a powerful phalanx in opposition to the voice of public liberty. At all elections, whether for the city or the county, that Company, with its numerous dependents at its heels, have had a monstrous influence, and that influence has always been exerted to the utmost against the rights of the people. If we look back to the causes of this war, we shall find the East India Company acting a prominent part. The East India House and the Bank have been amongst the forwardest in support of all those measures which led to the enormous taxes now weighing us to the earth; and, who can have failed to be filled with disgust at seeing it stated, in the documents and speeches of the opponents of the present measure, that its adoption would tend to introduce light and liberty into the enslaved countries under their sway?

I am not certain, nor do I flatter myself, that it is intended to change the interior system of government of India; but, of this I am very sure, that it cannot be intended to establish there any system of government more hateful to me than that which now exists there under the Company. What do they mean when they express their alarm, *lest an additional number of Europeans should find their way to India*? What sort of government must that be, which feels uneasiness at the prospect of seeing its acts subjected to the observation of well-informed men? What sort of government must that be, which dreads the approach of men accustomed to ideas of law and liberty? And, I put it as a question to all those who have any pretensions to thinking, whether they think, that the treasure and the blood of Englishmen ought to be expended in maintaining the possession of a colony, the mode of governing which will not bear the inspection of free men, and trembles at the thought of a free communication with the natives of England? Whether this government will be put an end to, I know not; but that it may be, is the sincere wish of

WM. CORBETT.

Bolton, 3d February, 1813.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

MAJOR CARTWRIGHT.—The following paragraph, which I take from the Morning



Chronicle news-paper of the 2nd instant, is worthy of being preserved, and of being read all over Europe and in the United States of America. I therefore insert it, and shall do little more, as it speaks so plainly for itself.—“This veteran Reformer arrived at Huddersfield on Thursday evening, the 21st ult. in the course of his tour, for the purpose of procuring signatures to a Petition for Parliamentary Reform. He was visited at the George Inn by six or seven persons friendly to that cause. As they were on the point of departure, a MILITARY OFFICER, attended with constables, made his appearance, who stated, that it being rumoured the parties were holding a public meeting for political debate, he came with a desire to join in the discussion. He was immediately informed that the object of the company was merely to see ‘the good old Gentleman.’ In consequence of the rules of the POLICE the Major’s visitors were obliged to leave him. He was then given to understand, that certain sheets of large paper, rolled up and tied with red tape, had been pointed out as papers which ought to be examined. These papers, which, after repeated requests, the Major consented to have read, were the form of a petition to the House of Commons. After several observations on the composition, not at all calculated to gratify the Major’s feelings, one of these forms was requested from him, or permission to take a copy on the spot, certain intimations being at the same time given of the consequences which would ensue upon a refusal. Under these appearances of constraint he steadily refused to acquiesce, until at a very late hour one of the party served on the Major the warrant of a Magistrate for taking him before him. The Major, after a copy was taken of the Petition, was allowed to retire to his bed, about half past three o’clock in the morning. He was called on the next day about eleven o’clock in the forenoon, to attend the Magistrate, who resided at a distance of two miles. The Major then vindicated himself from the imputation which had been attempted to be cast on him, of keeping low company, by remarking that there were occasions when it was not unfit for gentlemen to show sympathy for, and attention to, the opinions of persons in the least opulent stations in life, and in-stanced elections as a case in point. It

afforded the Major a high degree of satisfaction on this occasion, to hear it expressly declared by the professional gentlemen who took the examinations, that Government had no desire to prevent the people from petitioning the Legislature for a Parliamentary Reform. He was then allowed to proceed on his journey; and after his departure the persons found in his company were summoned before the same Magistrate, and convicted on a charge of *tippling*, i. e. taking a glass of wine with the Apostle of Parliamentary Reform after nine o’clock at night.”

No commentary is wanted. The thing is quite complete. It forms a pretty little subject for cogitation; but, of a vast deal more importance to us than the campaign in Russia.

CATHOLIC QUESTION.—The ministers must be most unreasonable men, if they can desire any thing better than what is now going on throughout the country upon this subject. *Meetings and Debatings* about the Pope and the Devil are, if possible, better than the bonfires for Russian successes. How those who figure at these meetings must laugh in their sleeves at the gaping gulls who make up the mass of the assembly! The leaders on both sides are, doubtless, actuated by the same motive at bottom; namely, to amuse the people, the “most thinking people” in the world. If the speech-makers and the writers on both sides were hired for the express purpose, they could not act their part better. I cannot, for my part, imagine any thing better calculated to serve the purposes of those, who are against all reform of abuses, than this dispute about the Pope and the Devil. One side cries out, that the Church is in danger, and the other, that they are persecuted for righteousness sake. One side seems to dread the faggots in Smithfield, and the other to be in bodily fear of Satan himself. That such a question does at all occupy the minds of even the most ignorant part of the people, at this day, it is melancholy to think on; but, that there should be men of talents so lost to all sense of shame as to come forward publicly and carry on debates upon it, is truly shocking.—The war carried on upon the subject in the news-papers is still worse, if possible. The names of *intolerants* and *innovators*, which they deal out upon each other, are, to be sure, in jest. They never can be in earnest.—The Morning Chronicle of the 2nd instant has the fol-

lowing article upon the subject. "Is it not marvellous to see, in the year 1813, all the fanaticism of 1780 revived? or rather to see the cry of Demagogue taken up by the Government, and at the very moment when every nerve of the State ought to be strained in one great seasonable effort for the deliverance of Europe from political confusion, to see the people of Great Britain and Ireland roused into the most furious state of intestine warfare?—The streets are not merely placarded at an expense which no individual could sustain, but flags are hung out at public houses, and the ignorant are invited in to *swill liquor gratis*, to induce them to sign petitions which they do not even read. We trust that INDEPENDENT Members of Parliament on their arrival in town, will make it their business to inquire into this fact, and observe the base and dangerous practices now carrying on for the purpose of procuring Petitions from the lowest of the rabble. They will then be able justly to appreciate these proofs of the benignity, toleration, and policy of the Ministers of both our Church and State."—The thing is by no means marvellous, Mr. PERRY. It is just what one would expect; and the practices are not a bit more base and degenerate than is the practice of giving *importance* to the subject, and of thus drawing off the attention of the people from their real grievances and the real means of obtaining redress. "The people are roused to the most furious state of intestine warfare;" are they? And who rouses them? Who but those, who, after discussions of years, still urge on the vain dispute, when it is obvious to all the world, that the party complaining are just as inimical to public liberty as their opponents. I wish for all the disabilities of the Catholics to be removed; but, if they will not join the people in general, and seek a reform of Parliament as the means of procuring redress, I care nothing for their cause. I have watched their movements very narrowly, and I perceive no inclination on their part to make exertions in the cause of reform. They move solely as Catholics, and as such I care no more for them than I do for the Methodists. Nay, I have observed that the Catholics have, upon several recent occasions, by their toasts and speeches, taken special care to disclaim all views of meddling with political questions; and, as I am sure that I care nothing about the

Pope, I feel very little interest in what may become of their petitions.—The Morning Chronicle wants to unite us all for the deliverance of Europe, in which we have about as much interest as in the deliverance of the Pope. The deliverance of ourselves is what we should be united in; a deliverance, however, which the party of Whigs is just as much opposed to as any other party. A deliverance from the present weight of taxes is what we want more than any other sort of deliverance; but of this sort of deliverance the Chronicle and the Catholics never speak.—In short, the agitation of this Catholic Question serves, and can serve only to amuse the people, and to keep them divided. If I were to choose a people to hold in a state of complete subjection, it should be a people divided into several religious sects, each condemning the other to perdition. With such a people, furnished with a suitable set of priests, a government endued with barely common sense, might do just what it pleased. The Catholic leaders must know, and they do know, that, while the Parliament remains unreformed, they will never be admitted to a share of political power; and, their silence upon the subject of reform is, therefore, sufficient to make me doubt of the sincerity of their views. I say now, as I always did, that, what they ask for, is, of itself, nothing to the people; and, if they do not ask for more, their cause ought to be indifferent to the people.

WM. COBBETT.

Bolton, 4 Feb. 1813.

INDIA COMPANY.

(Continued from page 147.)

limited, there can be no objection to propose to Parliament, to specify that number by legislative enactment.—I have thus endeavoured to bring the sentiments of His Majesty's Government before you, with the same candour that has been evinced in our recent discussions; and I can venture confidently to assure you, that my colleagues, as well as myself, are most anxious to promote such an adjustment between the Public and the Court of Proprietors, as may be satisfactory to all parties.—The expediency of adhering to that system, by which the Government of India has been administered through the intervention of the Company, is strongly felt by His Majesty's Government; but it must not be supposed,

that there are no limits to that expediency, or that there are no advantages which might result from a different course.—It is for the Court of Proprietors to decide, whether their own interests, as well as those of the numerous persons depending upon them, both at home and abroad, can best be preserved by their rejection of, or acquiescence in, those conditions, upon which alone, consistent with their public duty, His Majesty's Government can submit a proposition to Parliament for the renewal of the Charter.—You, Gentlemen, must be aware, that from its approaching expiration, provision must be made, without delay, for the future Government of India; and that His Royal Highness the Prince Regent, in his speech at the opening of the present session, has called upon Parliament to make such provision.—I have the honour to be, Gentlemen, your most obedient and faithful humble servant,

BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.

No. LXXIII.

At a Secret Committee of Correspondence, the 30th December, 1812.—Draft of a letter to the President of the Board of Commissioners, in reply to his Lordship's letter of the 24th instant, was read and unanimously approved.

No. LXXII.

At a Secret Court of Directors, held on Wednesday, the 30th December, 1812.—Draft of a letter to the President of the Board of Commissioners, in reply to his Lordship's letter of the 24th instant, was read and unanimously approved.

No. LXIII.

Letter from the Chairman and Deputy Chairman to the Right Honourable the Earl of Buckinghamshire, noticed in the preceding Minutes.

East India House, 30th Dec. 1812.

My Lord,—We were honoured, on the 25th instant, with the letter which your Lordship was pleased to address to us on the preceding day, and have laid it before the Court of Directors. We are instructed by the Court to acquaint your Lordship, that a General Court of Proprietors of East India Stock has been summoned, for the special purpose of taking into consideration the important subjects treated of in your Lordship's letter, and we shall lose no time in submitting to your Lordship the result of the deliberations at that meeting.—In reference to the first paragraph of your Lordship's letter, in which the resolution passed by the Court, on the 18th instant,

is stated to have caused some surprise to His Majesty's Government, as appearing to have for its object an abrupt termination to all discussion, we are desired by the Court of Directors respectfully to offer the following explanation.—Your Lordship is aware, that at the commencement of the recent conferences on the subject of the Renewal of the Company's Charter, it was agreed between your Lordship and the Deputation from the Court, that no minutes should be taken of what passed in conversation. Accordingly, no particular communication was made, prior to the receipt of your Lordship's letter of the 24th inst. of the result of these conferences: but an earnest desire having been expressed by those Gentlemen in the Direction who are not Members of the Committee of Correspondence, to be informed, whether the differences of opinion, formerly known to exist, on some important points, between His Majesty's Government and the Court, were in a train of reconciliation, and the general answer which we thought ourselves bound in duty to give, not having tended to afford them the satisfaction they expected, they deemed it proper that the sense of the Court, respecting the question of the out-ports, should be formally notified to your Lordship, and in consequence the unanimous resolution of the 18th was transmitted. Had the Court perceived that that proceeding admitted of the interpretation which has been put upon it by His Majesty's Government, they would assuredly have taken pains more effectually to guard against so great a misconception of the real intention, which was no other than to mark their adherence to the opinions they have uniformly entertained on the disputed question, of extending the import trade from India to the out-ports of this kingdom, which had formed the principal subject of discussion between the Members of His Majesty's Government and the Committee of Correspondence. It was certainly desirable for the Members of that deputed Committee, and it was thought that it might not be unacceptable to your Lordship, to know that the sentiments which they had expressed in the course of discussion, were sanctioned by the unanimous concurrence of the Body by whom they were delegated. The mode in which the resolution was adopted was conformable to the usage of the Court of Directors on solemn occasions, namely, after a Report from a Committee of the whole Court, which always requires signatures, and which, in the present instance, was

subscribed by every Director.—We trust, my Lord, that this explanation of the measure alluded to, will prove satisfactory to your Lordship and the other Members of His Majesty's Government; and while we return our sincere acknowledgments for the attention with which our representations have been listened to, in the various interviews with which we have been honoured by your Lordship and His Majesty's Ministers who attended, we hope, at the same time, to stand perfectly acquitted of any design, either to prevent or embarrass a full and deliberate discussion of the great interests at stake.—It is matter of deep concern to us to find, that His Majesty's Ministers seem still to adhere to the principle of opening the out-ports of the United Kingdom to the importation of commodities from India. We have already, in our letters of the 15th and 29th April last, fully stated the dangers that must result to the Company, from so great an enlargement of the privilege in Eastern commerce to British merchants. We presume to think our objections to that enlargement have not been adequately answered; and we have to express the concern felt by the Court, that no communication has yet been made to them, of those representations which first led His Majesty's Ministers to entertain, and which induce them still to adhere to the opinion, that the public interest will be best consulted, by not confining the import trade from the East Indies to the port of London. It would occasion much satisfaction to the Court, should such a communication have the effect of obviating their objections, even in part, to a measure, which the most imperative considerations alone could have influenced them to oppose: and were it unfortunately to fail in producing this effect, it is nevertheless desirable, that the Court of Directors shall have an opportunity of reviewing the question with all the intelligence that can be brought to bear upon it. Your Lordship has, indeed, been pleased to favour us with a brief summary of some of the arguments used by the merchants on this subject—arguments, we must own, not in the least convincing to us: and we assure ourselves, that in adverting to them, your Lordship does not mean that the Company should be concluded, or their fate determined, by what those who oppose their interests choose to advance; although their representations appear to have so far influenced His Majesty's Ministers, as to lead them to think, that the merchants "have a claim to as much liberty of trade as

"they can enjoy, without injury to other important national interests." In those interests, we may presume, are comprehended both the consideration of the public revenue, and the maintenance of the East India Company. But what that extent of trade is, "which can be granted with safety to those interests," is still a question undetermined. We confess that the regulations contemplated by His Majesty's Ministers, so far as your Lordship has been pleased to explain them to us, appear by no means calculated to remove our fears. The comparative interest which the Public and the Company have in preventing the smuggling of tea, was described in our letter of the 29th April; and though it be true, as your Lordship observes, that the stake of the Public in this concern is numerically greater than that of the Company, yet the importance of the Company's inferior stake is, to them, infinitely greater, than would be to the Public the importance of the loss the revenue might sustain; because, as matters now stand, the Company have no certain dependence but the China trade, for resources essential to their subsistence. We do not the least question, that His Majesty's Ministers would be thoroughly disposed to frame additional regulations to prevent smuggling tea, should those now in contemplation be tried and be found insufficient. But, besides that we extremely distrust the practicability of preventing smuggling to a large extent, where the temptations would be so great, we must entreat your Lordship and His Majesty's Ministers seriously to consider, what would be the situation of the Company, if they obtained a charter upon no better terms than those now proposed, and upon trial it should be found that their commercial income failed, and that their dividend should be unprovided for or lowered:—their stock would immediately fall; their credit would be diminished; the currency of their affairs, in their payments particularly, would be impeded; general alarm and dissatisfaction in all parties connected with this great establishment would be felt; and there would be a necessity for going to Parliament again, when evils great, perhaps irretrievable, would have been experienced. It is the duty of the Executive Body of the Company to carry their views forward to such contingencies, and to seek provision against them; and we must beg leave to add, that whatever rights the merchants may claim, or the nation be pleased to bestow on them, it cannot be equitable to

make concessions to them which should destroy the Company who acquired the Indian empire, and who are as much the owners of the chief seats of European trade in that empire; as they are of their freeholds in London.—With respect to the resort of Europeans to India, if we do not misunderstand the scope of your Lordship's observation, it seems to imply, that their numbers might be in proportion to the export trade from this country. If, indeed, they were to be regulated by this scale, our apprehensions would be the less; but we have no difficulty in acknowledging, that in addition to all our other arguments against admitting importations to the out-ports, we think that the granting of this privilege would increase the spirit of rash speculation from Great Britain and Ireland, and thereby the number of adventurers in search of fortune in India; for it is to be remembered, that those adventurers would naturally seek for new establishments, even out of the Company's territories, and there endeavour to acquire real property.—But, my Lord, this is only one of many points which require particular regulations; and, at the stage at which we are now arrived in the negotiation, we cannot but state to your Lordship the anxious wish of the Court to be made acquainted with the whole plan which His Majesty's Government may have it in contemplation to recommend to Parliament for a renewal of the East India Company's Charter; including such amendments in the system of the Company's territorial government and administration, as past experience may have indicated; the regulations deemed necessary for promoting the discipline and efficiency of the Indian army; the amount of force which His Majesty may be empowered to maintain in India at the expense of the Company; and the provisions that may be thought requisite for settling the relative powers of the Board of Commissioners and the Court of Directors. Though these topics were specifically mentioned in the letters from Lord Melville to the Chairs, of the 30th September, 1808, and the 21st March, 1812, the Court are still, in great measure, uninformed of the arrangements, in regard to them, which His Majesty's Government may have in view to propose. And we entreat also, that your Lordship will enable us to lay before the Court of Directors, and ultimately the Proprietors, in any shape that you may judge fit, the information, additional to that of the merchants already solicited, on which the de-

termination of His Majesty's Ministers rests, as to the extension of the trade to the out-ports, and their intentions upon the other parts of the arrangement to which we have now adverted.—The requests we now make appear to us the more reasonable, from the weighty intimation conveyed in the concluding part of your Lordship's letter. It brings into view (to repeat an expression used in our letter of the 15th April), "*questions of the last importance to the safety of the British Empire in India, and of the British Constitution at home.*" This is a solemn subject for the country, as well as the Company. If, indeed, it should ever come under actual discussion, we have that confidence in the equity and wisdom of the nation, that notwithstanding all present clamours, they will wish to do the Company justice, and to guard all the other great interests which must come into question. But prepared as we shall be, if forced into this situation, to maintain the rights and claims of our constituents, we must yet express our hope, that the Company will not be reduced to the hard alternative, of thus having to contend for all that is dear to them, or to accept a Charter, on terms which will not enable them to execute the part hitherto assigned to them in the Indian system.—~~We have the honour to be,~~ my Lord, your Lordship's most obedient humble servants,
(Signed) HUGH INGLIS,
ROBERT THORNTON.

The Chairman then informed the Court, that the only other document to be read was the Letter of the President of the Board of Control, received late last night.—The letter was then read.—

India Board, Jan. 4, 1813.

GENTLEMEN,—I had the honour to receive your letter of the 30th ultimo, and proceed to convey to you the sentiments of His Majesty's Government, as far as it would seem advisable, under present circumstances, to continue the discussion.—With respect to your observation, that the representations which induced His Majesty's Government to form their opinions upon the subject of the extension of the Import Trade have been withheld from the Court of Directors, and that your objections to that extension have not been "*adequately answered*;" you must allow me to avail myself of this occasion to apprise you, that although His Majesty's Government has shewn a strong disposition to enter into the most frank and unreserved explanations with

the Court of Directors, they have not felt that it was within the range of their duty to engage in a controversy upon the points at issue: That duty has been sufficiently discharged, in stating, for the information of the Court of Proprietors, the condition upon which they were prepared to submit a proposition to Parliament for the renewal of the Charter, accompanied by such reasons as are conveyed in the communications they have authorized me to make.—I can, however, have no difficulty in acquainting you, that the claims of the Merchants connected with the out-ports have not been brought before Government by written documents, that they have been urged and discussed at personal conferences, with individuals interested in their success, and that you have already been informed of the grounds upon which they were supported; but that it does not appear to His Majesty's Government, that you can be warranted in expecting that they should give a more particular account of the arguments adduced at these conferences.—I may add, however, that as the Merchants and Manufacturers connected with the out-ports, considering themselves entitled, at the expiration of the Charter of the East India Company, to carry on that trade from which they had been excluded for a limited time, had entered into a statement of their case by Petitions presented to Parliament in the course of the last session, you may obtain from these records that further information which you appear desirous to possess.—With regard to those points to which you have alluded, as requiring particular regulation, the Ministers of His Royal Highness the Prince Regent having signified to you, that, consistently with their sense of public duty, they can submit no arrangement to Parliament that does not include an extension of the Import Trade, and the Court of Directors having, with the knowledge of their opinions upon that point, by their Resolution of the 18th ult. declined to recommend to the Court of Proprietors to agree to such an extension, it would seem premature to enter into details until that question shall have been finally determined.—You are apprized of the disposition of His Majesty's Government to adhere to the present system of Administration in India, and I am not aware, that if circumstances should admit of its continuance, it would be necessary to propose any material alteration in the existing provisions for carrying it into execution, except such as may arise, from the opening of the

trade.—The confidence you express in the wisdom and justice of Parliament, will, I am persuaded, not be disappointed; nor is it to be supposed, that in the consideration of this great question (to use your own words), "the safety of the British Empire in India, and the British Constitution at home," will be overlooked either by the Legislature or the Ministers of the Crown.—If the Government of India cannot be carried on with safety to the Constitution, except through the intervention of the Company, the propositions of the Court of Directors, whatever they may be, must unconditionally be admitted.—It will be for Parliament to determine whether the nation is in this respect without an alternative, or whether, if a change of system should be rendered necessary by the decisions of the East India Company, measures might not be taken for opening the trade, and at the same time providing such an Administration of the Government of India, as might be found compatible with the interests and security of the British Constitution.—I have the honour to be, Gentlemen, your obedient and faithful humble servant,

BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.

OFFICIAL PAPERS.

LONDON GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY:

Sunday, January 17.

(Continued from page 160.)

thrown, and he entered Wilna as it were on their very shoulders. In this attack he took six pieces of cannon and one eagle. Having afterwards joined the detachments under Major-General Landskoy, an attempt was made to carry the town itself; but finding themselves too weak for the enemy's infantry, dispersed throughout the houses, they were under the necessity of waiting the arrival of the advanced guard of Tchitchagoff's army.—Admiral Tchitchagoff reports, on the 16th of December, that Major-General Tschadler, regardless of all obstacles, and profiting of the disorderly flight of the enemy, had pursued them into Wilna, taking 34 pieces of cannon; and that the suburbs had been occupied, and picquets posted round the body of the town, under the orders of Major-Generals Oosourka and Laskine.

Head-quarters, Ochotinski, 11th Dec.—Major-General Ignatsoff detached, on the 6th of December, eight battalions from

Tobruisk to Minsk.—Admiral Tchitschagoff reports that Major-General Tschablitz dislodged the enemy from Wilna, on the 10th Dec. where they left a great number of cannon, and very considerable magazines, but time did not permit to furnish the details.

Head-quarters, Wilna, Dec. 12.—Count Wittgenstein reports, under date of the 10th of December, that having sent out several detachments of cavalry in pursuit, one of these, commanded by Aid-de-Camp General Kutousoff, had taken a corps of Bavarians prisoners, consisting of one hundred and twenty-six officers, and two thousand and twenty-four men, part of which consisted of an entire battalion, which having been surrounded by the able manoeuvres of Lieutenant-Colonel Tettenbach, had laid down their arms without firing a shot. The requisitions of every description, which the enemy had levied upon the inhabitants, were recovered, and with these all the means of subsistence for their troops. On the 9th, Lieutenant-Colonel Tettenbach entered the suburbs of Wilna, notwithstanding the enemy were in possession of the body of the place. Major-General Borosdin, who commanded the other detachment, made many prisoners at Nementchina, took also a considerable number of baggage-waggons.

December 11.—General Count Platoff reports, that in passing near Wilna, he had driven the enemy back five wersts, as they were defiling in column by Pogoizlanke; and having allowed the first column to pass (with which Count Orloff Denisoff had already been engaged), he had directed Major-General Nachmanoff and Count Orloff to attack the enemy with spirit from our right flank; and Prince Kasatkin Rosstofsky, with some regiments of hussars and dragoons, from our left. The column of the enemy was divided into two, and entirely destroyed. General Lanzan was made prisoner; thirty other officers, and upwards of one thousand men, and we took two pair of colours and two standards. The remainder of the enemy was pursued, by the horse artillery, to the mountains of Ponary, near which another column was nearly destroyed by the sabre and bayonet; twenty-eight pieces of cannon, as many umbrels, with their train complete, fell into our hands near this spot.

Head-quarters of Field Marshal Kutousoff, at Wilna.—On the evening of the 5th of December, the partisan Sesslavin penetrated into the town of Oschniani,

where the enemy, consisting of nine battalions of infantry, and above one thousand horse, were preparing quarters for that night. The infantry had already piled their arms, when the hussars of Achitirsky fell upon them, sword in hand, from all quarters. The whole of the Commandant's guard was cut to pieces, and he himself owed his safety to the darkness of the night. The magazines were at the same moment set on fire by shells: the enemy, dismayed and in confusion, fled to the outside of the town, where his infantry was drawn up in order of battle: but being pursued by our cavalry, they retired with the greatest precipitation to Tatarschki. The inhabitants of this town unanimously declare that Napoleon was there in person; but that having been informed of his danger by some of those who were devoted to him, he had changed his dress, and fled at full gallop towards Wilna.—The enemy has lost in prisoners within the space of five days, viz. from the 8th to the 13th of December, as follows, one General, 156 Officers, 9,574 soldiers, independent of wounded and sick, of whom great numbers were found in the villages near the high road; 168 pieces of cannon, two pair of colours, two standards, and an eagle, have likewise fallen into our hands.

Report of the Commander-in-Chief of the Armies, General Field Marshal Prince Kutousoff Smolensko, to His Imperial Majesty, Dec. 14, 1812.

At the time of the capture of Wilna by our troops on the 10th of December, the enemy defiled through the streets, whilst Count Platoff, in order to cut off his retreat by the road to Kowno, occupied it with all his Cossack regiments, as well as with those of the Hussars of Olviopole, and the Dragoons of Shitomir and Arsamas. Having let pass the first of the enemy's columns, Count Platoff ordered Count Orloff Denisoff to attack it with spirit, at the same time he himself attacked, with impetuosity, the other columns; the artillery under Colonel Printe Koudaschew kept up an incessant fire. Count Platoff afterwards ordered Count Orloff Denisoff to pass in the rear of the enemy, to post detachments on his flanks, and to prevent his arriving at the mountains of Ponary. The large columns were completely routed by the well directed fire of our artillery, and afterwards entirely destroyed. One General, 30 Officers, and more than 1,000 soldiers were made prisoners; 23 pieces

of cannon were taken, and a number of waggons and carriages. The loss on our side was very inconsiderable. Colonel Flowaisky, and Lieutenant-Colonel Bibikoff, were dangerously wounded. — After the capture of Wilna, I employed every possible means to re-establish order, and to inform myself of every thing: but the shortness of the time does not permit me to present to your Imperial Majesty with this report, a detailed inventory of all we have found here, especially as the quantity of provisions of every sort, as well as the number of prisoners is so great, that it will take a considerable time to make an exact account. — During my stay here, the Chief of the Staff, General Stawerkoff, and Major-General Besrodni, have collected from the different magazines of the town, 14,000 tschetwert of barley, five thousand tschetwert of biscuit and flour, an immense number of uniforms, muskets, pouches, saddles, great coats, and other articles of equipment. — We have made prisoners seven Generals, viz. Vivier, Gousse, Normand, Couliot, Le Fevre, Fwanofsky, and Sajontschik, 18 Staff Officers, 224 superior Officers, 9,517 soldiers, and 5,139 sick, were found in the hospitals. — A great number of prisoners continue to be made in the neighbourhood; and several magazines have been taken, which we have not had time to certify. As soon as the reports shall be drawn up, I shall have the happiness to submit them to your Imperial Majesty.

LONDON GAZETTE, Jan. 23.

Foreign Office, Jan. 20, 1813. — A Dispatch, of which the following is a copy, has been received by Viscount Castlereagh, his Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, from his Excellency General Viscount Cathcart, K. T. his Majesty's Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the Court of Russia, dated

St. Petersburg, Jan. 2, 1813.

My Lord — I have the honour herewith to transmit to your Lordship copies of two proclamations together with a nominal list of the General Officers who have been taken prisoners by the Russian armies, which I have just received from Wilna, but which have not yet been published here. — No farther official intelligence of military operations has been received here since my last. — Private letters of the 30th, from Liebau, mention, that the French troops stationed at that place marched, on

the 22d of December, for Memel; from which it appears impossible that they should not have been cut off, if they attempted Tilsit, which was occupied on the 11th by Count Wittgenstein, who was nearer to Konigsberg. I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) CATHCART.

DECLARATION.

At the moment of my ordering the armies under my command to pass the Prussian frontier, the Emperor, my master, directs me to declare, that this step is to be considered in no other light than as the inevitable consequence of the military operations. — Faithful to the principles which have actuated his conduct at all times, his Imperial Majesty is guided by no view of conquest. The sentiments of moderation which have ever characterized his policy, are still the same, after the decisive successes with which Divine Providence has blessed his legitimate efforts. Peace and independence shall be their result. — These his Majesty offers, together with his assistance, to every people, who, being at present obliged to oppose him, shall abandon the cause of Napoleon, in order to follow that of their real interest. I invite them to take advantage of the fortunate opening which the Russian armies have produced, and to unite themselves with them in the pursuit of an enemy whose precipitate flight has discovered its loss of power. It is to Prussia in particular to which this invitation is addressed. It is the intention of his Imperial Majesty to put an end to the calamities by which she is oppressed, to demonstrate to her King the friendship which he preserves for him, and to restore to the Monarchy of Frederic its éclat and its extent. He hopes that his Prussian Majesty, animated by sentiments which this frank Declaration ought to produce, will, under such circumstances, take that part alone which the wishes of his people and the interest of his states demand. — Under this conviction, the Emperor, my master, has sent me the most positive orders to avoid every thing that could betray a spirit of hostility between the two powers, and to endeavour, within the Prussian provinces, to soften, as far as a state of war will permit, the evils which for a short time, must result from their occupation.

(Signed) The Marshal Commander in Chief of the Armies,

PRINCE KOUTOUSOFF SMOLENSKO.

PROCLAMATION.

When the Emperor of All the Russias

was compelled, by a war of aggression, to take arms for the defence of his states, his Imperial Majesty, from the accuracy of his combinations was enabled to form an estimate of the important results which that war might produce with respect to the independence of Europe. The most heroic constancy, the greatest sacrifices, have led to a series of triumphs, and when the Commander in Chief, Prince Koutousoff Smolensko, led his victorious troops beyond the Niemen, the same principles still continued to animate the Sovereign. At no period has Russia been accustomed to practise that art, (too much resorted to in modern wars,) of exaggerating, by false statements, the success of her arms. But with whatever modesty her details might now be penned, they would appear incredible. Ocular witnesses are necessary to prove the facts to France, to Germany, and to Italy, before the slow progress of truth will fill those countries with mourning and consternation. Indeed it is difficult to conceive that in a campaign of only four months' duration, 130,000 prisoners should have been taken from the enemy, besides 900 pieces of cannon, 49 stand of colours, and all the waggon train and baggage of the army. A list of the names of all the Generals taken is *hereunto* annexed. It will be easy to form an estimate from that list of the number of superior and subaltern officers taken.

It is sufficient to say, that out of three hundred thousand men (exclusive of Austrians), who penetrated into the heart of Russia, not thirty thousand of them, even if they should be favoured by fortune, will ever revisit their country. The manner in which the Emperor Napoleon repassed the Russian frontiers can assuredly be no longer a secret to Europe. So much glory, and so many advantages, cannot, however, change the personal dispositions of his Majesty the Emperor of All the Russias. The grand principles of the independence of Europe have always formed the basis of his policy, for that policy is fixed in his heart. It is beneath his character to permit any endeavours to be made to induce the people to resist the oppression and throw off the yoke which has weighed them down for twenty years. It is their Governments whose eyes ought to be opened by the actual situation of France. Ages may elapse before an opportunity equally favourable again presents itself, and it would be an abuse of the goodness of Providence not to take advantage of this crisis to re-construct the great work of the equilibrium of Europe, and

thereby to ensure public tranquillity and individual happiness.—[Here follows a list of the names of 43 Generals taken from the enemy.]

LONDON GAZETTE, Feb. 2.

By His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, Regent of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in the name and on the behalf of His Majesty.

A PROCLAMATION.

GEORGE P. R.—Whereas, We have beheld, with the deepest regret, the daring outrages committed in those parts of England wherein some of the most important manufactures of the realm have been, for a long time, carried on; and being firmly persuaded that such outrages have been, in a great degree, occasioned by the wicked misrepresentations and artifices of ill-designing persons, who have deluded the ignorant and unwary, through the specious pretext of procuring additional employment and increased wages for the labouring manufacturers, by the destruction of various kinds of machinery, now most beneficially employed in the manufactures of this kingdom, and have thus seduced them to enter into unlawful associations, and to bind their consciences by oaths and engagements, ~~not less injurious to their own welfare than~~ destructive of the good order and happiness of society; and seeing that the extent and progress of the trade and manufactures of this country, which have been continually advanced by the invention and improvement of machinery, afford the best practical demonstration of the falsehood of all such pretexts: We, therefore, acting in the name and on the behalf of His Majesty, being anxious, by every means in our power, to bring back His Majesty's misguided subjects to a just sense of their own individual interests, as well as of their duty to His Majesty, and of the regard which they owe to the welfare of the community, have thought fit, by the advice of His Majesty's Privy Council, to issue this Proclamation; and We do, hereby, in the name and on the behalf of His Majesty, exhort all His Majesty's loving subjects strenuously to exert themselves in their several stations to prevent the recurrence of those atrocious combinations and crimes, by which the public peace has been so long disturbed, and the persons and property of individuals endangered and destroyed, and which have so justly drawn down upon the offenders the

severest penalties of the law. And We do more especially warn those who may be exposed to such seductions against the danger of binding themselves by illegal oaths and engagements, to obey the commands of secret directors, who, keeping themselves aloof, involve their deluded associates in all the guilt and peril of violence, robbery, and murder. And We do further, in the name and on the behalf of His Majesty, earnestly recommend and enjoin His Majesty's loving subjects, whenever it shall be found necessary, to have recourse to the salutary measures which the wisdom of Parliament has provided for the protection of persons and property.—And we do further exhort the proprietors of machinery not to be deterred from continuing the use and employment of the same, but vigilantly and strenuously to exert themselves in the maintenance and defence of their property, and in the prosecution of their lawful and meritorious callings, in the full persuasion that due watchfulness and resolution, exhibited in the first instance on their own part, will, as has been proved by recent experience, most effectually prevent or repel such unlawful aggressions: And We do further, in the name and on the behalf of His Majesty, charge and command all Sheriffs, Justices of the Peace, Mayors, Bailiffs, Constables, and other Civil Officers, to continue their utmost vigilance and activity for the preservation of peace and good order, the prevention of nightly and other unlawful meetings of ill-designing and wicked men, and for the defence of His Majesty's peaceable and industrious subjects from the secret machinations and open attacks of the violators of private property, and the disturbers of the public tranquillity; trusting, as We do, that by the constant and active exertions of all well-disposed men, the misguided may be reclaimed, and the mischievous kept in awe, without the necessity of recurring to the chastisements of the law, which it will be our duty, as guardian of the general peace and prosperity of the realm, strictly to enforce, if unhappily the renewal of such atrocities as We have lately had to deplore, should again call for the infliction of just and exemplary punishment.

Given at the Court at Carlton House, this 1st day of February, 1813, in the 53d year of His Majesty's reign.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

FRENCH PAPERS.

All the reports which have been circulated are false. There has not been a battle at Koningsberg; there has not been one at Elbing; no general-officer has been wounded; and we repeat it, that no affair has taken place since that of the Duke of Tarentum upon the Niemen. Germany has nothing to fear, either from the intrigues of England, or the irruption of the Barbarians, who only knew how to defend their country by devastating it, and their capital by burning it. In short, as soon as winter shall terminate, the Russians will be chased, and driven back,—the quicker in proportion as they may have the further advanced. We are authorized to make this Exposé, to tranquillize the good citizens of France and Germany; and we add, that they may be certain, that if any events happen, we will immediately make them known to the public, with the same truth and simplicity with which were made known the misfortunes of the army in the 29th Bulletin. We do not know why the English attach importance to inundating our coasts, and the Continent, with pamphlets filled with false accounts; in short, all the misfortunes which the army suffered are stated in the 29th Bulletin; but what the *Petersburgh Gazette* adds—that Eagles and cannon were taken from us in front of our banners (*bandieres*), is false, very false.—(*Moniteur*, Jan. 26).

Letter from Prince Eugene Napoleon, Viceroy of Italy, to the Minister at War.

Marienwerder, Jan. 6.

My Lord Duke,—The *St. Petersburg Gazette* has fallen into my hands, by which I perceive how unnatural and false are the relations which they contain of the events of November and December; I will stop only at what concerns my corps d'armée. It is stated in these papers, that on the 8th November, Platoff attacked me, and dispersed my corps, took from me 3,700 men, and my whole artillery.—These statements are false,—Platoff scarcely presented himself before my corps. He was repulsed in every part. If he has made some prisoners, he has not taken a single one with arms in his hands, but he may have picked up some single stragglers, who, during the night, to avoid the ex-

(To be continued.)

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

PRINCESS OF WALES.—I have very much wished to avoid taking any part in the discussions, which have, in the public prints, been for some time going on, relative to the Princess of Wales, her Royal Spouse, and their Daughter; but, I now find it impossible to keep silence upon the subject any longer, without abandoning what, as a public writer, I deem to be my duty.—It is well known, that, for many years, the Prince and Princess have not inhabited the same house. I shall not affect any feelings of lamentation upon this score. Not knowing the parties personally, it is impossible that I can have any feelings personally towards either. I view the matter with the eyes of a spectator, concerned merely as one of the King's subjects; and, at such, I might have my feelings of alarm for the public welfare as affected by this domestic circumstance. But, I do not know that this *bare* circumstance would be of any weight in a national point of view. The circumstance, however, is not a *bare* one. It is accompanied with others. We see the Princess not only excluded from her husband's dwelling-place, or, at least, living away from it; but, we also see her without the means of keeping her state as the consort of the Prince, her husband. We see her living in obscurity. We see her absent from Court. And, while we see all this, we hear the Prince's own Ministers distinctly declare, that there has been *nothing criminal in her conduct*.—Were we, under all these circumstances, to remain insensible to her situation, we should deserve the character of a cowardly, a dishonest, and even a base people.—I wish not to teach the propriety of prying into the domestic unhappiness of the Royal family; I wish not to be instrumental in widening a breach, which, seemingly, cannot be closed; but, I do wish to inculcate the justice of letting the Princess of Wales see, that we feel for her as men ought to feel for any woman similarly situated.—We saw, in the public prints, some time back, an account of her having been prevented from

visiting her daughter.—Whether this was really the case or not, it is no matter; the fact was *believed*, and, therefore, the effect was the same. That effect was; that effect must have been, injurious to the Royal Mother; for, on what ground can it have been, that a mother was shut out from access to her child?—Many fathers, and mothers have separated for life; but, what are the *causes*, which, whenever it is the case, produce a prohibition against the mother visiting her children? I am not aware of any *punishment* much more severe than this; and, yet, the Prince's own Ministers have solemnly declared, that the Princess is free from *crime*.—I shall now proceed to insert a paragraph from the Morning Chronicle of Monday last, from which it would appear, that Her Royal Highness has written a Letter to the Prince Regent, which he has refused to receive. I pretend not to possess any information upon the subject, except that which reaches me through the public prints. All my remarks, therefore, must be bottomed upon the articles which I shall cite; and I shall insert them as I find them, without the smallest change in any part.—The first (of the date before mentioned) is in the following words:—"The controversy into which we were drawn by the unconstitutional insinuations of a well-known Writer in *The Courier*, has drawn from other Journals animadversions and censures which we cannot suffer to pass unnoticed. We are accused in one Paper of striving to sow divisions between father and daughter, while another says that we prove ourselves to be utterly ignorant of the matter that so naturally interests the public. The first of these accusations is that alone upon which we feel it to be important to defend ourselves, because we do not conceive any conduct to be more base or detestable than an attempt to sow divisions in a house; and if this be true, even in the domestic circle of private society, how much more heinous would be the crime if perpetrated against that illustrious family with whose union and happiness the safety and wel-

"fare of the English people are so closely
 "connected? We are sure that the readers
 "of *The Morning Chronicle* will do us the
 "justice to say, that we have most care-
 "fully abstained from all reference to the
 "unhappy separation between their Royal
 "Highnesses the Prince Regent, and his
 "Princess, which has been the source of
 "so much grief to every well-disposed
 "heart, and that there will not be found
 "on the file of *The Morning Chronicle* the
 "trace of an opinion, or of a hint, as to
 "which of the parties was in the right and
 "which in the wrong. This forbearance
 "rose alone from the delicacy of the sub-
 "ject, and not from our total ignorance, as
 "alleged by one of our competitors, since
 "we have certainly had the opportunity of
 "forming a judgment on the case. Our
 "readers will agree with us, that circum-
 "stances may be known to the Editor of a
 "Journal that it would be highly improper
 "in him to divulge—and this is one upon
 "which we have entertained the fervent
 "hope that the good sense, the liberal
 "feeling, the natural interest, the indissol-
 "uble connexion of the parties, would be
 "the means of sinking it into oblivion.
 "For this every endearing sentiment of
 "private affection to the object of their
 "mutual tenderness, as well as every mo-
 "tive of public duty, must have strongly
 "impelled them—and happily against it
 "there could be no party influence, no fac-
 "tious counsel; for it is a subject upon
 "which no party in the State could be
 "hardy or base enough to interfere.—We
 "long, therefore, cherished the hope that
 "the delicate investigation, as it is called,
 "would never see the light; but we own,
 "that for the last two months we have
 "seen cause to lose our confidence in its
 "suppression—for so many hints and in-
 "nuendoes, advertisements and notices have
 "appeared in various ways, as to convince
 "us that there was a deliberate intention
 "somewhere to bring the whole case before
 "the public. A recent occurrence has
 "strengthened that conviction in our mind,
 "and which, we have no doubt, will bring
 "it immediately forth.—About the middle
 "of January last, the *Princess of Wales* ad-
 "dressed a sealed letter to the Prince Re-
 "gent. It was transmitted by Lady Char-
 "lotte Campbell to the Lord Chancellor
 "and the Earl of Liverpool (together with
 "an unsealed copy of its contents, for their
 "perusal), by command of Her Royal
 "Highness, and desiring that it might be
 "laid before the Prince Regent. This let-

"ter was sent back the next day by the
 "Earl of Liverpool to Lady Charlotte
 "Campbell, with an intimation, that as all
 "correspondence had ceased for some years,
 "it was His Royal Highness's determina-
 "tion not to renew it. The letter address-
 "ed to the Prince was therefore returned
 "with the seal unbroken. The letter was
 "returned by the Princess, with an intima-
 "tion that it contained matter of import-
 "ance to the State; but the letter was
 "again sent back unopened, and some fur-
 "ther correspondence took place on the
 "subject, but without any notification of
 "His Royal Highness's pleasure thereon.
 "—Copies of this letter of complaint and
 "remonstrance have found their way into
 "circulation in the upper ranks of society,
 "and this is the circumstance that gives us
 "reason to apprehend that all hopes of
 "further concealment of the whole pro-
 "ceedings in the Inquiry which took place
 "in 1806 and 1807 are now fled,—since it
 "relates both to the Princess of Wales her-
 "self, and the Princess Charlotte; and we
 "have no doubt, from the notoriety of the
 "fact, that it will be soon communicated
 "to the public."—The *Courier* hav-
 "ing, in its remarks upon this article, ac-
 "cused the *Chronicle* of endeavours to create
 "divisions in the Royal family, the latter, on
 "the next day, replied in the following
 "terms.—"It was quite in the order of
 "political candour, that *The Courier* should
 "ascribe to the Party what the Editor
 "knew to be our own individual act. He
 "little knows the sentiments or the feelings
 "of the great united body of Noblemen
 "and Gentlemen, who oppose a system of
 "ministerial policy which they think preg-
 "nant with national ruin, if he supposes
 "that they mix with that opposition any
 "thing like hostility to the Illustrious Fa-
 "mily on the throne—or that they would
 "countenance any measure that should tend
 "to sow division among its Members.
 "We have again and again asserted, that
 "those persons have kept themselves most
 "studiously apart from all interference in
 "the matter to which so much allusion has
 "been made. And if the Editor of *The*
 "*Courier* had taken time to consult his
 "Noble Familiar on the point, he might
 "have learnt that an Illustrious Personage
 "has much more right to expect interfer-
 "ence and protection from the Prince Re-
 "gent's actual Ministers, than from any
 "Member of the Opposition. And, in
 "fact, it could not be from them, or
 "through them, that we derived any infor-

"mation that we possess on the subject, since the *letter of complaint and remonstrance*, after an interval of several days without an answer, was sent, as we understand, to an *Honourable Baronet*, who makes it his boast that he belongs to no party.—The fact is, that the paper has for some time been the topic of universal conversation—that it is represented to be a document of a public character, and of national interest; and it is notorious, that copies of it are in circulation. When we know, therefore, that it was published as effectually as the libel against an exalted person, which paved the way for its author to the highest offices in the state instead of a prison, we felt it to be our duty to communicate the important circumstance to our readers; and this, upon every such occasion, we are bound in the discharge of that duty to do, safe as we know we shall find ourselves in the candour of the public from the misinterpretations of rivalry or malignity."—Now, *if it be true* (for I do not pretend to say that it is), that the Princess has sent a Letter, in the way here stated; and that the Letter was asserted by her to contain matter of importance to the state; and, further, that its contents were connected with the transactions of 1806 and 1807; if, I say, all this be true, the subject cannot receive too much of the serious attention of the public.—It must not be said, that the public is here called upon to pry into the private affairs of the Prince's family; it must not be said, that this is exciting an idle curiosity; for, if the matter of the Letter be of importance to the state, it must be of importance to the people, for whose benefit the state, and all the powers of the state, have been created and ought to exist.—We are, moreover, here told, that the matter of the Letter related to the *Princess Charlotte of Wales*, as well as to her Royal Mother; and this renders that matter of fearful importance to the people, who must not be told, that they have no business with it, because they have business with every thing appertaining to the royal succession.—It is possible, and, indeed, it is very likely, that Her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales may, as it is natural she should, wish to produce an inquiry into what was done in 1806 and 1807; for, after all the publications which have taken place as to her being refused permission to see her daughter, and after all the insinuations that low and base passions have circulated, it would argue an in-

difference to character in her, if she were to remain wholly silent. Conscious of her innocence, she now, apparently, is taking the means of making it clear to the whole world, and to produce some better voucher for it than the acknowledgment of the Prince's Ministers, though that, with me, was quite sufficient.—In addition to what is said in the above paragraphs, the *Courier* of the 9th instant states, that "it is rumoured, that *SIR FRANCIS BURNETT* means to propose, that, in case of the death of the Prince Regent before the Princess Charlotte attains her 18th year, the regency shall be vested in her Royal Mother, till she attains that age." Whether this be fact, or not, I pretend not to know. Indeed, I know no more about the fact than one of my sheep; but, this I know well, that the measure would be a very proper one, and I am very much deceived if it would not meet with an unanimity of approbation that scarcely any measure ever before met with.—The nation is naturally anxious upon this subject. To be truly loyal, it must feel such anxiety. Who can the nation see, after the Prince, so proper to hold the Regency as the Princess of Wales, her daughter not being of the constitutional age? Who is there to be named that can, in nature, be supposed so likely to take care of the interests of the Daughter as the Mother of that Daughter? Besides, in what school could that Daughter so well learn to govern? A mother, endowed with great talents, and especially the talent of making herself beloved by those who approach her; a mother, who, to great knowledge of the affairs of state, is, by all those who have the honour to know her personally, said to possess an union of dignity and conciliation of manners, far surpassing, very far indeed surpassing, any thing which any other person has been observed to possess. With a year or two of the example of such a mother before her, what might we not hope for in our future Queen?—And, as to the claim of the Princess, no man, I presume, will attempt to dispute that; or, at least, the doctrine of the Ministers, as to the Regency, gives her as fair a claim as she need to wish for.—Such a measure would put an end to all doubts and fears upon the subject of the Regency, the Princess being of an age and a constitution which promise us many years' duration of her life.—She is, too, perfectly free from all party connexions. Both the parties, as they call each other, stand, and ought to stand, upon a perfect level

with her. The treatment she has received from each is so nearly of a character to what she has received from the other, that she must be very able indeed, in her discriminating faculties, to be able to distinguish between their respective merits with regard to her.—She would, therefore, be, in this respect, what the ruler of a nation ought to be: she would look to the *people*, and not to a *faction*, for the support of her authority and her dignity.—I do not, after all, say, that this measure would be absolutely necessary; for, I see no reason why the Princess Charlotte herself, in case of the unfortunate event of her Royal Father's death during the King's life, should not, at once, become Regent. I know of nothing that stands in the way of this; but, if any intermediate Regent be necessary, then, I think, it is obvious, that the Mother of our future Queen ought to hold that exalted situation.—At any rate, if the proposition be made, and with *her privacy*, as the *COURIER* hints, it will amount to such proof of her conscious innocence, it will be so decided a challenge to her enemies, that, unless they speak, and speak out too, they must for ever after hold their calumnious tongues.—The reader will bear in mind, I am sure, that, at the time of establishing the present Regency, I expressed my surprise and my regret, that no establishment was made for the Princess Regent. The separation of dwelling-places was a fact well known; but it seemed unaccountable, that the Royal Wife should not have felt, in any degree, the effects of the Husband's exaltation. From *that time* the eyes of the nation, and of all Europe, have been fixed upon the Princess of Wales. It was not to be expected, that she would remain for ever silent; and, at last, after long and patient endurance, she appears, from the above publications, to have broken her silence.—If no declaration had been made from authority as to her innocence, her case would have been much less interesting; but, that innocence has been publicly and explicitly acknowledged by the Prince's own chosen minister, who, it is well known, was in possession of all the facts; and, after that acknowledgment, made in the House of Commons, and published to the whole world, who did not expect to see the Princess with an establishment suited to the new rank of Her Royal Spouse?—The Princess's conduct, it is well known, became the subject of investigation by four Commissioners, acting under the King's

warrant. The result of that investigation was a report to the King by the Commissioners, Lords *Erskine*, *Ellenborough*, *Grenville*, and *Spencer*. This report was, of course, recorded somewhere. It must, therefore, be now in existence. It must either *acquit* or *condemn* her Royal Highness. If the latter, can the reader believe, that it would have lain so long unread by the public; and, if the former, what ground can there be for her not having an establishment suited to her high rank? But, we know, that the Report of the Commissioners *did not* condemn her; for, immediately after it was made, she reappeared at Court; and, besides, *Perceval*, who had read and long considered that Report, declared, even after he was chosen minister by the Prince, that he knew of *nothing criminal* against her.—Now, need I, after the stating of these circumstances, appeal to the justice of the reader in behalf of her claim to all the marks of dignity and of honour that a nation can bestow?—If, after *Perceval's* declaration, any doubt could have remained with regard to her perfect innocence, that doubt must now be removed, if the above statement as to her *letter of complaint and remonstrance* be true. Guilty persons do not voluntarily come forward to complain of their treatment. They very carefully abstain from stirring the subject as to which they have been accused. Happy to have the whole affair forgotten, they feel grateful to the world if it will but hold its tongue. The conduct of the Princess, if the above statements be true, is the reverse of this; and, therefore, to believe the stories that have, by base tongues, been circulated against her, would be to set common sense as well as common justice at defiance.—For my part, I have never known, I have never had the slightest acquaintance with any person in the interest of the Princess of Wales. I judge, from what I read and what I hear of her, as I should judge of any other person. I have, too, anxiously wished to avoid saying a word upon the subject; but, when it is made to occupy so conspicuous a place in the other public prints; when it is thus forced upon the attention of the public, it would seem strange if I longer refrained from taking a part in the discussion. The subject does, too, become of vast importance when taken into view with the *succession to the Regency*, a matter in which the nation is vitally interested. His Majesty may, indeed, recover from his mar-

lady; and, in that case, there would be, probably, little reason for making the provision in question; but, while he remains in his present state, to provide for a due succession to the Regency is as necessary as to be provided for a due succession to the Throne.—I should here, for the present, put an end to my remarks upon this subject; but, a paragraph in the *Courier*, charging those who agitate the question with *disloyal* views, calls for some notice, and particularly as it censures the act of making the “*Letter of complaint and remonstrance*” public. — “Not having seen the Letter ourselves, we are unable to state whether the character given of it is a just one or not, but thinking, as we do, that it is quite impossible the illustrious Personage, who is thus indecorously attacked, should have directed copies of such a letter to be taken, and one to be sent to a political character, who had given notice of a motion relative to the presumptive heiress to the throne, we do hope that some method may be found of making it publicly known, that such a proceeding is not only without her sanction, but that it meets with her decided disapprobation.”

—And why? Why should she not cause copies of her Letter to be taken? No reason is given for this, and therefore the censure might pass unnoticed. But, was she, after her Letter (if such was the fact) had been twice sent to the Prince and twice returned unopened, not to be at liberty to show a copy of it to any one? This is the most unreasonable thing that I remember ever to have heard of. Was she not to show to any soul living the contents of a Letter written by herself! To what a state would this impudent man reduce her! It is as miserable a privilege as can be imagined to be allowed to show one's own Letters; but this, it seems, is too much to be allowed to the Princess of Wales. And, what a poor, spiritless creature must she be, if she waited for *permission* to show a copy of such a letter!—If her Letter had been received and the receipt of it acknowledged, she would have been at perfect liberty to show copies of it to whomsoever she pleased; but, when it was sent back unopened, and a second time too, was she still to be forbidden to show the contents of it to any one? There is but one step further for this man to go; and that is, to deny her the right of *opening her lips in the way of complaint*; after which he would easily come to a denial of her right to

breathe. But, breathe she will, I trust, and speak and write, and make her case known, whatever it may be, in spite of censures such as these. Besides, is it to do justice to the Prince himself, thus to complain, that she has made her feelings known? His Royal Highness is stated to have refused to open the Letter, in order to avoid renewing a painful correspondence; but, could he have entertained the expectation, or even the wish, that the Princess should tell no one what she had written? I cannot believe this without being wanting in respect for both the head and the heart of the Regent, and, therefore, I will not believe it.—This writer says, that the making of the contents of the Letter known was “*unnecessary and indelicate*,” and, why was it unnecessary? Why, “because he cannot see how the Letter can be made a subject of *Legislative interference*.” Marvellous reason! So, then, nothing ought to be made public because it cannot become a matter of legislative interference! A man may have subject of complaint against one neighbour, and may write to him upon it; but, he must not show his letter to another neighbour because it cannot become a subject of discussion in St. Stephen's! This is very hard, but it is still harder to be refused the privilege of making his complaint known, merely because the person to whom the Letter is sent *returns it unopened*. It is *indelicate*; indelicate to show the inside of a letter to any one else, because it has been sent back unopened by the person to whom it is addressed! This is *indelicate*!—But, indeed, such trumped-up accusations as these only tend to show the goodness of the Princess's cause. They only tend to show that nothing substantial can be alleged against her. Twenty advocates could not plead her cause so forcibly and effectually as one caviller like this. If *this* be the species of indelicacy of which her enemies have to accuse her; if such be to be called *charges*, well may she, as she is said to do, laugh her malevolent accusers to scorn.

CATHOLIC CLAIMS.—The question as to these Claims is, it seems, now again to be agitated in parliament. It has already been agitated in the country, and the result has been, in almost every instance, against the granting of the demands of the Catholics.—I am sorry for this, because I wish that all the restraints, that every thing like religious tests, were done away. But, it is clear, that the people of Eng-

land are decidedly against the Catholics. The reason is, they do not understand the question; they proceed upon old and very just opinions as applicable to former times; they have sucked in with their mother's milk an abhorrence of the Catholic religion, as a persecutor of their forefathers; and this is to be rooted out only by the light of *free discussion*, which we have not in a degree to be efficient for this purpose.—If the Claims were granted; if the act of repeal were passed, no one would raise his voice against the measure; but, those who have an interest in preventing the grant take care that the people shall be appealed to; and, the appeal being made, the opposition is certain.—If any man had been in doubt as to the sentiments of the people on this subject, the proceedings at the late Meetings, in different parts of the kingdom, must have removed that doubt.—I have, below, inserted Mr. Butler's able defence of the Claims of his brethren. It is complete. It, in my opinion, leaves nothing unanswered that has been advanced in opposition to the claims.—Following it, I shall insert the late proceedings in the County of KENT against the Claims, and also a Petition of certain PROTESTANTS IN IRELAND. When the reader has gone through all these, he will have seen what is to be said on both sides; or, rather, he will see, on the side of the Catholics, convincing reasons, and, on the other, the workings of craft upon ignorance.—But, the latter will continue to prevail as long as there are such weighty interests dictating the employment of that craft.—It is, in fact, not at all a question of *religion*. It is a question of interest. The protestants possess the benefits of the Church and the State, and, is it surprising that they do not desire to have *participants with them*? The Clergy are very active in their opposition, and some of them, perhaps, from a dread of the poor old PORE; but, the far greater part have, I am persuaded, the worldly wealth of the Church in their eye. Every admission, in favour of any sect, endangers, as they think, in some degree, this wealth; and, I do not undertake to say, that they are wholly in the wrong in their opinion, especially with regard to a sect so learned in its priesthood, and so ambitious, as that of the Catholics. The property of the Church (which is immense) is, in fact, the property of those who are able to give votes in parliament; and, is it not to be expected, that they will ever give any measure, which

contains in it the seeds of the most distant danger to that property? — It seems clear to me, that, in Ireland the *abolition of tithes* would speedily follow the granting of the Catholic Claims. I have said so before, and said that I would go that length. But, those who have the bestowing of those tithes are of a very different opinion.—The mass of the people act from ignorance in their opposition to the Claims. They suppose, that by *the Church being in danger* means that the *protestant religion* is in danger. They little dream that, by the *Church*, many of their leaders, mean merely the *tithes* and the *lands* of the Church.—It is curious to see how the sect, called *Methodists*, join in this cry. Led on by the bellowing hypocrites, or fools, whom they call their *ministers*, they seem to believe, that the Catholics are aspiring to the power of tying them to the stake; and thus they become, in this case, the allies of those, whom, upon all other occasions, they are condemning to eternal fire, as vessels formed for destruction! Their hair-brained teachers join most cordially with the Clergy of the establishment in expressing an abhorrence of popish principles, though the principles of the former are worse than the worst part of those taught by the rankest of papists.—In such a state of things how is it to be hoped, that any thing like liberality of sentiment should be brought into a discussion of this question? It cannot be; and, in my opinion, the Claims will never be granted, until such a change of system takes place as shall separate the property of the Church from the power of giving votes in parliament.

WM. COBBETT.

Bolton, 10th February, 1813.

CATHOLIC CLAIMS.

Meeting of the County of Kent against these Claims, held at Maidstone, on the 6th of Feb. 1813.

On Saturday last, pursuant to a requisition, a Meeting was held at Maidstone, of the Noblemen, Gentlemen, and Inhabitants of the County of Kent, "to consider the propriety of Petitioning Parliament against the present Claims of the Roman Catholics." Shortly after 12 o'clock, the High Sheriff went to the Town Hall, for the purpose of opening the business of the day; but in consequence of the number of persons present, the Meeting was adjourned

into the street, where the High Sheriff, from a waggon that had been placed to receive him and his friends, read the requisition.

COLONEL STRATFORD then addressed the persons present, and said, that having had the honour to originate the proceeding, by introducing it to the Noblemen and Gentlemen who signed the requisition (18 in number), he now took the liberty of suggesting the propriety of agreeing to a Petition to both Houses of Parliament, in opposition to the present Claims of the Roman Catholics, which, if conceded, would undoubtedly terminate in the subversion of our happy Constitution, since they were directly contrary to the Act of Settlement, wisely provided by our ancestors for the protection of the Protestant Establishment in Church and State. He then handed a Petition to the High Sheriff, which he recommended for adoption.

SIR HENRY HAWLEY heartily seconded the motion, as his opinion was completely coincident. If the Roman Catholics laboured under any religious disabilities, if one statute yet remained in our books controlling the exercise of their faith, he wished that it should be instantly expunged, but he never would consent to grant them political power, by breaking down the Test Act, and other wholesome barriers, raised to exclude them from it. He entertained a very high opinion of the Catholics, and did not believe that they had now an evil intention, but if once allowed what they demanded, who should say that, fifty years hence, the country would not be governed by a Catholic Administration, which probably would end in a Catholic King being placed upon the Throne. That such an event was to be avoided, no man would hesitate to admit.

After a few interlocutory remarks from **LORD THURLEY**, **Mr. CALCRAFT**, and the **HIGH SHERIFF**, the Petition proposed was read. It, in general terms, expressed that it was dangerous to grant any additional privileges to the Roman Catholics, and that it was impolitic in the legislature to take their claims into consideration.

THE EARL OF THURLEY then addressed the Assembly in the following terms;—Although it is true that the Petition proposed was read by the under Sheriff, in an audible voice, yet I cannot say that I was able, in this situation, to catch every word of it: having, however, seen the requisition by which we have been convened, and knowing that the same spirit that dictated that

requisition dictated the Address to both Houses of Parliament, I have no hesitation in saying that it meets with my complete disapprobation. I shall therefore feel it my duty to submit an Amendment of a very different tenour, calculated, as I conceive, to secure the integrity and tranquillity of the Empire. (*Applause.*) During a political life of some length, it has been my misfortune to be often in the minority, and having so frequently before experienced this predicament, I shall not be deterred from performing my duty, by the fear that I shall once more be in that situation. I have, by experience, learned to look at such a circumstance without apprehension, and the habit of being in the minority has almost converted it into a second nature. There is this consolation to be derived from being defeated, that it is a conscientious discharge of duty, and it often happens that much advantage results from a firm resistance, even though it prove ineffectual. It will not be disputed, when I say that the subject of Catholic Emancipation is a question upon which great prejudices prevail;—prejudices, in my opinion, unfounded; and, because I think that they will be gradually removed, I shall tell the Gentlemen calling this Meeting, that it will not be the last time when the matter is here discussed. People, at the first contemplation of what is new and grand, as this question certainly is to most of you, are struck by imaginary terror, that further inquiry will not justify. Whenever the Catholic Claims have been debated in Parliament, I acknowledge that I have always voted for the investigation of their principles, that we might know accurately the grievances of which they complain. I voted for some notice being taken of the Petitions of four millions of men, who were not listened to by many, merely because they were Irishmen, although the same blood flows in their veins as that which flows in our own. Certainly the speeches of the Mover and Seconder were not very well stocked with arguments; and as they seemed unwilling to name them, I shall feel myself at liberty to allude to two or three popular objections to the Claims of the Catholics. First, it is said that they keep no faith with Heretics; secondly, that they are so bound in allegiance to the Pope, that, on his command, they would be compelled to depose or murder their Sovereign. As to the former point, I can say with perfect confidence, that they abhor the position: they have declared their detestation, over and over again, of such an inhuman

and unsocial principle. Upon the bare statement, who can believe that any individuals in a civilized state could countenance such a diabolical principle: but the Catholics directly and positively deny it, and yet it is constantly thrown in their teeth: it is a false imputation cast upon them by their enemies, and this imputation is made their crime. (*Hear, hear!*) Besides this denial to remove the terrors of these alarmists, frightened at the very phantoms they had raised, Mr. Pitt proposed the question, with the utmost solemnity, to six of the principal Roman Catholic Universities.—This was one good action of a man possessing certainly great power, but of whom I must say that a more mischievous Minister this country never saw. (*Some disapprobation.*) I am not, and never will be afraid to speak my honest sentiments, the more necessary since I see that you are so much mistaken in him. These Universities, these depositories of the learning of the Catholics, were horror-struck at the imputation, that Catholics held no faith with Heretics. Let it be likewise remembered, that during the present King's reign several indulgences have already been granted to them; and if it be so dangerous to concede, it will not be denied that the Ministers who advised, and the King who passed such Acts, have done a serious injury to the Protestant religion. But this is weak in comparison with the oath which all Catholics take, and which, in terms as strong as language could afford, swear to the contrary. (The Noble Earl here read the Oath to which he referred.) With these views, I should ill discharge my duty if I did not propose an Amendment, not one drawn up in haste for this occasion, but sanctioned by the adoption of a most enlightened and respectable Meeting in the County of Wilts.—(Lord Thanes read his Amendment, omitting all the words of the original motion, and then continued.) Such a resolution is worthy of the proverbial liberality of the Men of Kent, and I am assured that none will impeach the honesty of my motives in suggesting it; its object is only to lead the Catholics not to despair. There are some shortsighted politicians who argue that when the general sense of the country, as it is called, is obtained by County Meetings, the Catholics will cease to torment the Legislature, having no hope of redress. The effect, I fear, will be far otherwise. It is not a pleasing task to predict disasters, and I hope that the good sense of the people of England will prevent them, because soon-

er or later, I am persuaded, liberality and justice must be triumphant. . . At any rate, let my proposal be rejected or adopted, I shall rest satisfied with having done all that lay in my power to secure the affection of our Irish brethren, and to preserve the tranquillity of the realm.

Mr. JOHN SMITH, M. P. with much energy, seconded the Amendment of the Noble Earl. He lamented that sometimes from artifice, and often from ignorance, this important subject had been misrepresented and misunderstood. The real question was, whether rights in themselves inalienable, and belonging to man as his birthright, were to be withheld from four millions of the King's subjects. Those who were acquainted with the internal state of Ireland, knew that blood and carnage, from religious animosities, had often deluged its plains, and those who manned our fleets and filled our armies owed their birth to a country where wretchedness and poverty were equalled only by the misery of the inhabitants. It was said that the Irish nation was dissatisfied. When a right was detained it was natural, it was fit that they should be dissatisfied. As to the dangers so much talked of, they were altogether chimerical: the Pope was a prisoner to Buonaparté: the Catholic hierarchy was destroyed, and monastic institutions subverted; the idea of Catholic agency was a mere bugbear, calculated to alarm and disturb the tranquillity of the nation, and if any attentions were due to authorities, the united opinions of Fox, Pitt, and Burke, might be quoted to prove that the fears indulged were fictitious and groundless. An Honourable Baronet had talked of Catholic Ministers and a Catholic King; the notion was ridiculous, since the Parliament would prevent both the one and the other. If history were examined, it would be found that the objections now urged against Catholics were adduced 200 years ago, without any regard to the change of circumstances. It was a remarkable fact that when guiltless men were executed for the Popish Plot, on the testimony of Titus Oates, they did not die maintaining their innocence, but insisting upon the falsity of the assertion, that the Pope could authorize the murder or deposition of a sovereign, and yet to this day was this absurd principle attributed to the Catholics. The Honourable Gentleman then went into a statement of the presumptuousness of this Meeting, in pretending to dictate to Parliament not to consider the subject, and concluded

by referring to the injury sustained by Christianity in all ages, from the prevalence of intolerance.

The EARL OF DARNLEY expressed his surprise, that neither of the Members of the County had yet spoken. The Honourable Baronet belonging to this district (Sir W. Geary) thought it sufficient to indicate his opinion by putting his name to the requisition. It was not without great astonishment that the Noble Lord found, if there knowing the liberal sentiments of the Honourable Baronet upon most political topics, especially when the question was not whether Catholics should be allowed to participate in all the privileges of Englishmen, but merely whether the House of Commons should follow up its resolution of June last, to investigate this important subject. If, indeed the county of Kent thought it necessary to dictate to the House of Commons what was its duty, it would be the strongest argument in favour of parliamentary reform that had been ever heard. It did not appear quite decent that this Meeting would not allow the Legislature to decide upon a former part of its proceedings. It was requiring Parliament to shut its ears against the reiterated appeals of four millions, who were distinguished for patriotism and loyalty, and for the discharge of every domestic and social duty. After many years of patient inquiry, his Lordship was convinced of the propriety of these concessions, resisted only by ignorance and prejudices. In the time of Charles II. (whose reign was the most profligate and abandoned in our annals) when these disabilities were imposed, it should not be forgotten that the monarch was a concealed Catholic; the heir presumptive who afterwards succeeded as James II. was a known papist, and almost succeeded in overthrowing both church and state: the Catholic religion was at that time identified with arbitrary power, and those restraints were to prevent the total annihilation of our constitution. Was such any thing like the state of affairs now? There was not even a head to the Romish Church, and those who talked about the fears inspired by the Pope were the only true Papists, since it was they that created what would otherwise be a nonentity. The Pope had not been heard of till within these few days, when he was found among Buonaparte's other wild beasts at Fontainebleau. It would be imagined by those who only heard one side that the Catholics asked for some mighty power in the state: they only asked to be eligible to office, but the

choice was to be made by a protestant king, under a protestant government. Could four Catholic Peers, and less than ten Catholic Commoners, control both Houses of Parliament, they only consisting of 658 members? Was it likely that they should overbalance all the weight and property of the kingdom? his Lordship asked any man to make it appear morally possible.—Were the Catholics of Ireland so much worse than the Catholics of Kent, that they were to be dreaded like wild beasts?—What advantages might we not derive from Catholics being placed at the heads of our fleets and armies. Had Lord Wellington's parents been unfortunately Catholics, our victories in Spain might have been dreamt of, but never realized. If too the Pope was such a powerful agent, why did not Buonaparte employ him against us in those most bigoted countries of the Peninsula? The truth would turn out to be, that the grant of the claims of the Roman Catholics would strengthen instead of weakening the establishment; and that it wanted support, at this period, few men, who had duly inquired, would deny.

SIR W. GEARY admitted, that it had been his intention to have remained silent, because the publication of the requisition throughout the county was sufficient evidence of his opinions.—Called upon, however, by the personal allusions of the Noble Lord, he should endeavour to point out the real question, which had been completely misrepresented. The Noble Lord had maintained that the county had no right to state its opinion to the legislature upon this subject, because it precluded inquiry, which both the Houses had determined upon. Sir William denied that the Petition to-day proposed had for its object to prevent inquiry, and he pledged himself to support any claims of the Catholics short of those at present insisted upon. Was the Noble Lord really so ignorant of facts as not to know that the Board daily sitting in Dublin had positively declared, that it would be an imputation upon the principles of the whole Catholic body to accept any thing short of what the blood of Englishmen had flowed to resist, (Hear, hear; bravo!) : that it was below the generous ambition of Irishmen to accept of any thing but unconditional emancipation? Men might assert what they pleased, but every day's experience shewed more and more clearly, that it was only a few men of disappointed and restless ambition that kept alive this turbulent spirit of the Catholics of Ireland, who

would otherwise rest tranquil and contented with the many important privileges they enjoyed that were not partaken by their ancestors. These ambitious individuals wished to become the counsellors of the King; and the Catholic Board, as the superiors, were first, it was to be presumed, to be accommodated with places near the throne. (Disapprobation and applause). They were to overturn that glorious Constitution for which Russel (a name he could scarcely mention without tears), had died to maintain. The Honourable Baronet pledged himself to follow that splendid example; and as long as resistance to Catholic ascendancy could be made, he would give it his strenuous opposition. Admiring the noble principle of toleration, he would go a great length to produce unanimity; but imminent dangers were to be contemplated, and it was the duty of all not only to provide against present, but against future mischief. What was there to prevent a Catholic Sovereign from ascending the throne, or to prevent him from choosing Catholic Ministers at some distant period? (Hear, hear.) We might be reduced to the shocking predicament of having a Catholic Ministry and a Catholic King. The country had once witnessed the misery of a Catholic King, and such an event might again occur. Jesuits might insinuate themselves into the bosom of the Monarch, and block up all the avenues to the throne. The imprisonment of the Pope by Buonaparté had been referred to. Did not this shew how completely the Pontiff was under the control of the bitter enemy of England? And what use might not be made of him to influence the uninformed minds of the Irish people? Buonaparté knew how valuable was such a sanction to his tyrannical usurpations, and had employed him at his own coronation.

LORD DARNLEY explained as to a misrepresentation by the Honourable Baronet, of what he said regarding the impossibility of the nation being governed by a Catholic King. He reminded him that the greater portion of the Popery code was not adopted until long after the Revolution, in the reign of Queen Anne.

SIR WM. GEARY, in addition, called the attention of the Noble Earl to the reign of James the 2d., who had been governed by a Jesuit, and asked him if he could possibly secure the nation against a similar occurrence?

SIR EDWD. KNATCHBULL solicited the pardon of the Noble Earl, lest, in the

course of the remarks he was compelled by personal allusions to make, any thing disrespectful fell from him. The Noble Earl appeared to know very little of the duty of a Member of Parliament; he had commenced by expressing his surprise that neither of the Representatives for the county had spoken; he required that they should first give their opinion; but the Noble Lord ought to be informed, that it became the Member for such a county as Kent, first to learn the wishes and opinions of his constituents, before he obtruded his own. When the Representatives were acquainted with the general sentiment, they were to draw their conclusions: the Member was not to dictate, but as far as he could, with a due regard to his conscience, to obey. The question of Catholic Claims had often been debated in Parliament, and he (Sir Edward Knatchbull) had always voted to the best of his honest judgment, and what had been his conduct in the past, should be his conduct in the future (applauses). Holding the situation he had so long filled, and with the connexions he had made, he should be happy to grant any favour or boon that could in reason be demanded, and which was consistent with the safety of the Constitution, but hitherto he had foreseen dangers, which had induced him to give his vote in opposition to those who sought to remove their disabilities: if at the present moment any adequate security could be afforded for the grant, he would pledge himself to maintain the claim of the Catholics; but if such security was not given, his vote should continue on the same side that it had hitherto been given, when the question was debated in a higher tribunal. The petition met with his entire approbation, and he should, he said, be happy to do his utmost in support of it, when it was presented to Parliament.

Mr. CALCRAFT advanced to the front of the Hustings, and addressed the High Sheriff. He said that he was as warm an admirer as the Honourable Baronet (Geary) of the Revolution of 1688; and although the conclusion he should come to would be different, he thought he could shew that he has fully acted up to its spirit. He was as anxious as any man for the preservation of the Protestant Establishment; but he believed that ample security could be given, by which all dangers would be removed. He begged to read to the Meeting the Resolution passed by the House of Commons, in June last, declaring that the Roman Catholic claims should be considered; and

having voted in its favour, he could not approve of a Petition, the object of which went to render it nugatory. The proposal made by Col. Stratford unfairly prejudged the question: It told Parliament, you have acted imprudently, and without examination decided that which ought not to be determined without the most minute inquiry. The Revolution, it was true, was a Protestant Revolution; but how different were the circumstances of the times. Besides a Popish Sovereign, there was soon afterwards a Popish Pretender; and the Sovereign Pontiff was almost in the zenith of his power. Now the Protestant succession had been long settled; there was no Pretender, and the Pope was a prisoner, an incumbrance to Buonaparté, who could not employ him to advantage in any country of Europe. In Canada we had a splendid instance of Catholic loyalty: Catholic establishments were there countenanced, and the Catholics had resisted the Pope, Buonaparté, and the Americans, his allies. One Hon. Baronet trembled at the name of a Jesuit. Where they were now to be found Mr. Calcraft was ignorant; but if he should want one, would apply to his worthy Friend, who probably had a few in petto, that he kept and exhibited like wild beasts. A Pope King was also much dreaded by him; but until the Act of Settlement were repealed, he could not sit upon the British Throne. As to a Popish Parliament, it was ridiculous to entertain such an idea. The elective franchise had already been granted, and all the influence they could have they exercised through Protestants. Was it possible that five millions of Catholics should destroy and annihilate twenty millions of Protestants? What would ten Catholic Members do against 650 Protestant Representatives, even were the former aided by a Popish King and a Jesuit adviser? The great authorities of Pitt, Fox, and Burke had been quoted; but Mr. Calcraft could aid the names of five succeeding Lords Lieutenant of Ireland, who all concurred in the necessity of concession to the Catholics: they were, Earl Fitzwilliam, Earl Camden, Marquis Cornwallis, Earl Hardwicke, and the Duke of Bedford. Earls Camden and Hardwicke became proselytes in favour of the Papists, although they were sent out by Administrations who were founded upon opposition to their claims. He was as firmly persuaded that the concession to the Catholics would give additional security in Church and State, as he was of his exist-

ence. The Noble Earl (Thanet) had read to the meeting one Oath which the Catholics took to the Sovereign to secure their allegiance, but many others might be adduced in the wording equally strong, imposed by the Legislature for various purposes. Those prescribed by the 13th, 14th, and 28th of the King were always subscribed, and no man could say that they were not inviolably observed. Of the faith and loyalty of the natives of Ireland, no man entertained a doubt; if great and brilliant achievements were performed by our troops, or by any particular regiment, it would almost invariably be found that Roman Catholics formed no inconsiderable proportion of the force that so distinguished itself. It could not be said that they did not respect their oaths, because oaths only kept them out of all the offices of the state; if they would condescend to subscribe the oaths of Supremacy and Transubstantiation, no objection could be made to their eligibility to Parliament, or to any of the dignities of the State; but their adherence to their faith, the respect they shewed to the sacred obligation, kept in the hands of the Protestants all temporal power, and the Catholic, who for gain would sacrifice his conscientious scruples, was below contempt. Allusions had been made to the Catholic Board of Dublin, but the Legislature was not to attend to the inconsiderate nonsense of a few individuals; and if the Catholics did not chuse to accept the boon offered, on the terms Parliament should fix, it must be rejected; but Parliament, and not the Catholics, nor the Board at Dublin, were to dictate what should or should not be the securities to be given. The apprehensions, therefore, expressed respecting the proceedings or the threats of a noisy set of bar-risters, were wholly groundless.

SIR W. GEARY in explanation observed, that he did not intend to be understood as asserting that Jesuits were now to be found in Europe; the only remnant, he believed, was in South America. Of the ascendancy and power of the Priests in Ireland, he could adduce a melancholy instance, of the 68 respectable persons, taken prisoners at Wexford during the rebellion.

MR. CALCRAFT objected to the Hon. Baronet going into new matter in explanation.

SIR W. GEARY dropt that point, and proceeded to advert to the Catholic Board, which he insisted was composed of Delegates from the general body.

MR. CALCRAFT said that they were not delegates.

SIR W. GEARY added, that it was difficult to know what to call them but ambitious Catholics. Sometimes they went by one name, and sometimes by another, as if they were afraid to call themselves by their real character. They were appointed by one great mass of the Catholics of Ireland, and he considered them as the greatest enemies to their country and to their religion. If concessions were made to the Papists, by abrogating the test acts, it would be the most grievous injustice, if the act of settlement were not also repealed, so as to allow the Sovereign, if he chose it, to become a Catholic without danger of being deposed.

MR. LARKIN, of Rochester, after a considerable struggle, during which he insisted vehemently upon his right to speak, obtained a hearing. He was a man of Kent, and would not be intimidated by Kentish men. His principal object, he said, was to call the attention of the Meeting to the real question, not whether emancipation should or should not be granted, but merely whether the propriety of making any concessions should or should not be examined. It was inconsistent with the liberality of the inhabitants of the County, by adopting the Petition proposed to-day, to put a stop to inquiry. The Meetings against the claims of the Catholics were generally convened by the Clergy of the Establishment.—(Cries of no, no, and applause.)—He repeated the assertion, and added, that when they could find none to sign it but themselves, they were compelled to put down their own signatures alone, as was the case of the Chapter noticed the other day in the House of Lords, by the Duke of Norfolk, where seven names only could be procured. He recommended that the Established Clergy should attend to their duty, and not interfere in politics: they should endeavour to heal, instead of exciting animosities; they should practise as well as preach the word of peace. (Loud applause.)

SIR EDWARD KNATCHBULL interposed to speak to order, but was not successful.

MR. LARKIN proceeded: he knew many excellent Members of the Church of England, but he should respect the general body more, if they were content to labour in their vocation. He went on to notice the singular scrupulousness of Sir Edward Knatchbull, who to-day, for a wonder, had talked of obeying the instructions of his constituents; when had he not acted in opposition to the wishes of five-sixths of the Electors?

THE HIGH SHERIFF spoke to order.

MR. LARKIN complained that he was the only person called to order. Sir Edward Knatchbull had been allowed to proceed at length without saying one syllable to the question. He concluded by calling upon the Meeting to recollect, that in voting for the Petition they shut the door upon all inquiry, and that in supporting the Amendment they pledged themselves to grant nothing if such grant were found upon investigation to be inexpedient.

After some slight altercation between Lord Thanet, Sir W. Geary, and Lord Darnley, the Petition and Amendment were severally read. The question was put upon the Amendment, which, on the shew of hands, was negatived. The question was then put upon the Petition.

THE SHERIFF on the shew of hands said, that the majority was *decidedly* in favour of the Petition.

THE EARL OF THANET interrupted him, and objected to the word *decidedly*. He called on the Sheriff to look around him, and before the question was finally decided, to correct his expression. The Sheriff did so, and with great candour declared that the numbers were more nearly equal than he had supposed; but upon the whole, he must say, that the majority was in favour of the original Petition.

COLONEL STRATFORD moved, that the Petition be left at the Bell Inn for signatures, and that it be presented to the Lords by the Marquis Camden, and to the Commons by the Members for the county.—The motions were severally put and carried.

SIR W. GEARY moved the thanks of the Meeting to the High Sheriff, but from some neglect the question was not put.

THE EARL OF THANET observed, that another opportunity should be afforded, although perhaps not this year, of ascertaining the real sense of the county, when the clouds of prejudice which had been purposely spread had been cleared away. The notice of the present Meeting had been too short.

MR. WELLS stated that the Meeting had been twice advertised at a week's distance, and as much time as possible had been allowed.

THE EARL OF THANET explained.

LORD DARNLEY said, that several of his friends had never heard of the meeting until he wrote to them. He pledged himself to give the County an opportunity of fairly deciding upon this important subject.

SIR EDWARD KNATCHBULL combated

the insinuation that the real sense of the county had not been to-day ascertained. He contended that no future decision could subvert the regular proceeding just witnessed, in which truth had obtained a signal triumph.

The Meeting was then dissolved by the High Sheriff.

CATHOLIC CLAIMS.

Irish Petition against them.

PETITION of the Protestant Freeholders and Inhabitants of the COUNTY of SLIGO. To the Honourable the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled.—The Humble Petition of the Inhabitants and Freeholders of the County of Sligo, in the Kingdom of Ireland, professing the Protestant Religion,

Sheweth,—That we your Petitioners have observed with anxious alarm, the renewed Claims of the Roman Catholics of this Kingdom, for the unqualified repeal of those Laws, which are the securities of our civil and religious liberties. These Claims, made under the name and pretext of religious freedom and toleration, have been advanced in a tone of requisition and menace. To the wisdom and dignity of Parliament, we confidently submit the consequences of yielding to menace, and suffering (as heretofore has happened) the concessions of goodwill or justice, to be attributed to so unworthy and degrading a motive.—The complaint of want of religious freedom and toleration, we solemnly assert to be as unfounded in fact, as in law. The laws support those sacred principles to all,—and if they did not—we trust we possess too much of the genuine principles of Christianity, as taught in the Established Church, to be in any way instrumental in infringing on either.—We are conscious, and the Roman Catholics are so too, that they possess both—not only in a degree never yet permitted to Protestants in a Roman Catholic State, but in the fullest manner in which they are capable of being enjoyed. Those Laws, so sought to be repealed; are termed a Penal Code.—A Statement of them, and their immediate and consequential operation, has been adopted at the Aggregate and County Meetings of the Roman Catholics as their Case. Under that adoption it assumes importance. Much argument and inference in the late Parliament has been founded both on the Name and the Statement. We

therefore feel authorized to protest against both. Against the Name as misapplied and delusive. Against the Statement as containing the most dangerous species of actual and argumentative falsehood. That in which falsehood stands in some places, boldly glaring and alone. In others, so artfully intermixed with truth, as in effect to make it only its instrument and support. It over-rates the population of the Country, and their proportion of it, in an excessive degree, as far as can be collected from any Census hitherto taken. In a greater degree it over-rates the comparative property of that sect, real and personal. It exaggerates consequential disadvantages; and alleges injuries, which we have never known to exist, and never before heard complained of. The Name we are led to notice, not only as misapplied but delusive; to suit the clamour of grievance, it is adopted and applied, indiscriminately to those laws, constitutional and fundamental, which exclude Catholics from the Throne, the Government, and the Legislature; as well as to those, which affected their persons, properties, and religious worship. These latter Statutes (not enacted until after the Revolution, and which were entitled Acts to prevent the further growth of Popery;) were those alone distinguished by the name of Penal Code, all of which have been long since repealed. We cordially concur in the repeal. We owe it, however, to the memory of those who enacted them to say, That if they were severe and cruel, they were but retaliatory of still greater cruelty, not enacted merely, but unrelentingly inflicted, with and without law, during the entire Reign of James II. We wish to consign both cause and effect to eternal oblivion: But deem it as unjust, as unnatural in us, to suffer the odium and regret, which are due to both, to fall on one side only. Let us be suffered to forget them altogether; and let not their memory be revived by partial statement, still less by re-introducing the cause from whence they arose—Religious Party struggling for Political Power. It was that contention, and the crimes and miseries which grew out of it, which caused the enactment of those laws that remain; and are now complained of, as a Roman Catholic grievance. By those laws, which are not penal, but constitutional and fundamental, it has been provided; That the Government, the Legislature, the King, shall be Protestant—Protestantism is the essence of the Constitution. Its first and most vital principles are interwoven with

it; and when our civil rights, founded on those principles, were fixed at the Revolution; Protestantism was the sacred bond within which they were enveloped and enshrined. The whole was secured and sanctified by oaths and religious tests.—The great and wise men whose work this was, left to their posterity the trial of its effects. They have had above a century of proof, and the result has been,—to Great Britain it has proved a period of the greatest external glory and internal prosperity, that any empire was ever known to possess. To Ireland it was the only period of internal peace to be found in the annals of her history. With this double proof before our eyes, of what these nations were without the system, and what they have been under it; we are called on to destroy and reverse it. We humbly hope and pray, that the destructive delusion of theory, may not be suffered to destroy the solid foundations of experience. If, as now only is sought, exclusion only is to be removed from the Legislature and Government, and to continue annexed to the Crown, we know not on what theoretical principles of the Constitution it can be supported; that religious fetters shall be imposed upon the conscience of the Sovereign, and not on those of the Members of the Legislature, or of the great officers of State. The converse would be more consistent—for the constitutional principle which removes the responsibility of Government from the Sovereign to his Ministers, gives the greater importance to the political character of their faith. In consistency then, it must be removed from all, if from any, and if the Sovereign should become Roman Catholic, with Popish Ministers, and a mixed Parliament, (too likely under such circumstances to assimilate) under no pretence, still less principle, could the Church establishment continue Protestant. It would not, or could not be permitted to do so.—This would be Revolution, and the struggle it would probably cause, would be convulsive Revolution, and after all the miseries and desolations of such a State, the best result would be, to begin again where our ancestors took up the question. Practical theory then, as well as experience, pronounces against it.—We acknowledge a zealous and conscientious attachment to Protestantism. We are attached to it religiously as a faith. We are attached to it politically as the safeguard and deposit of our civil and religious liberties; and as the principle and condition by which the illus-

trious House of Brunswick acquired, and holds its title to the throne of these realms. We can see no reason for departing from it. Every principle which caused its adoption remains in full force, and experience has established the necessity for its permanence.—But the public safety and the public peace are said to demand the concession of it. We deprecate the discussion of such questions; for we know the mischiefs and dangers attendant on it.—But suggested, and advanced, and argued on, as they are; we deny that the first is in danger, or that the latter can be promoted by such concession. The proud state of prosperity, which the case adopted by the Roman Catholics boasts of, gives sufficient security in their good sense, if we could suppose it wanting in their loyalty. To apprehend the danger, we must deny confidence in the oaths which they have so repeatedly taken, and must believe them capable of committing treason as well as perjury, in resistance of a settlement; which, within twenty years, was accepted by them as final, and satisfactory of their wishes as well as claims.—That it would conduce permanently to public peace we still more confidently deny. We conceive it would have the opposite effect. It would give increased incitement, and energy, and interest, to party spirit. We had hoped party spirit would subside; but the events of the last two years, all we see and hear about us, and above all, the insatiable claims, and inextinguishable party-spirit, manifested in the adopted case we have mentioned, have torn from us that flattering expectation.—In every view we take of this subject and its consequences, the more we reflect upon it; the more we see cause to deprecate any fundamental change. We firmly believe, that if any such shall be effected, it will in its certain consequences, prove subversive of the English settlement of this country; and not remotely, of the connexion between the two kingdoms.—We therefore humbly Pray, that no alteration shall be suffered to take place, in the fundamental laws of our happy constitution, as established at the enlightened period of the Revolution. We further Pray, that that constitution so established, may be secured against all future assaults or encroachments; and that a period may be put to the continual and injurious agitations of this subject, by giving such additional force to the oaths and tests which secure it, as may finally close the question against all future danger, doubt, or discussion.

CATHOLIC CLAIMS.

Address to the Protestants of Great Britain and Ireland, by CHARLES BUTLER, Esq. of Lincoln's Inn.

In the last Sessions of Parliament, the House of Commons came to a resolution, that "the House would early in the next Session take into its most serious consideration the laws affecting His Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects in Great Britain and Ireland, with a view to such final, conciliatory adjustment, as might be conducive to the peace of the United Kingdom, the stability of the Protestant establishment, and the general satisfaction and concord of all classes of His Majesty's subjects."

Encouraged by this resolution, the Roman Catholics of Great Britain and Ireland intend presenting immediately separate Petitions to each House of Parliament, "for a repeal of the penal and disabling statutes, which still remain in force against them."

In the mean time they observe with great concern and surprise, that attempts are made to prejudice the legislature against their application. Many erroneous, artful, and inflammatory publications of this tendency, have been actively and extensively circulated. The charges brought in them against the Roman Catholics, are of the most serious nature. The object of this address to you, is to answer these charges, and to state to you, succinctly, the grounds of the intended application of the English Roman Catholics to the legislature for relief. The greatest part of what is intended to be said in the address will apply, in a great measure, as much to the situation of the Irish and Scottish, as to the situation of the English Roman Catholics: but as the penal codes of Ireland, Scotland, and England, in respect to Roman Catholics, are very different, it has been thought advisable to confine the present address to the case of the English Roman Catholics only.

I.

It is generally represented in the publications of which we complain, that the English Roman Catholics labour under no real grievance; and that, if all the remaining penal laws against them were repealed, the number of those, who would be really benefited by the repeal, would be too insignificant to make their relief an object of legislative concern.

But this representation is altogether erroneous—the English Catholics labour

under many severe penalties and disabilities: their whole body is affected by them, and would be essentially benefited by their removal.

1st. By the 13th Charles 2d, commonly called the Corporation Act, their whole body is excluded from offices in cities and corporations.

2d. By the 25th Charles 2d, commonly called the Test Act, their whole body is excluded from civil and military offices.

How injurious these acts are, both to the public and to the individuals on whom they operate, appeared in 1795, in which year, during the then great national alarm of invasion, Lord Petre, the grandfather of the present Lord, having, with the express leave and encouragement of Government, raised, equipped, and trained, at his own expense, a corps of 260 men for His Majesty's service, requested that his son might be appointed to the command of them. His son's religion was objected, his appointment was refused, and another person was appointed to the command of the corps. You cannot but feel how such a conduct tended to discourage the Catholics from exertions of zeal and loyalty; but the noble family had too much real love of their country to resist from her service; even under these circumstances. His Lordship delivered over the corps, completely equipped and completely trained, into the hand of Government, and his son served in the ranks. Surely you cannot think that laws, which thus tend to alienate the hearts, and paralyze the exertions of those who, in the hour of her danger, thus wished to serve their country, are either just or wise.

3d. By the 7th and 8th of William 3d, ch. 27, Roman Catholics are liable to be prevented from voting at elections.

4th. By the 30th Car. 2d, s. 2. c. 1. Roman Catholic Peers are prevented from filling their hereditary seats in Parliament.

5th. By the same statute Roman Catholics are prevented from sitting in the House of Commons.

6th. By several statutes Roman Catholics are disabled from presenting to advowsons, a legal incident of property, which the law allows even to the Jew.

7th. Though a considerable proportion of His Majesty's fleets and armies is Roman Catholic, not only no provision is made for the religious comforts and duties of Roman Catholic soldiers and sailors, but, by the articles of war, they are liable to the very heaviest pains and penalties for refusing to join in those acts of outward conformity to

the religious rites of the established church, which a Roman Catholic considers to amount to a dereliction of her faith. By the Articles of War, sect. 1, a soldier absenting himself from divine service and sermon, is liable, for the first offence, to forfeit 12d., and for the second, and every other offence, to forfeit 12d., and to be put in irons. By the same Articles, sect. 2. art. 5. "If he shall disobey any lawful command of his superior" (and, of course, if he shall disobey any lawful commands of his superior officer to attend divine service and sermon,) "he shall suffer death, or such other punishment as by a general Court Martial shall be awarded."

In the last Parliament, it was shewn that a meritorious private, for refusing (which he did in the most respectful manner) to attend divine service and sermon, according to the rites of the established church, was confined nine days in a dungeon on bread and water.

The Roman Catholics acknowledge with gratitude, not only the virtual suspension of these laws, in consequence of the orders recently issued by his Royal Highness the present Commander in Chief, and the facilities which they afford for enabling the Roman Catholic soldiers to attend their own religious worship; but they beg leave to observe, that these humane regulations still want the firm sanction of law, and therefore, to a certain extent are still precarious.

8th. In common with the rest of His Majesty's subjects, Roman Catholics contribute to the religious establishment of the country: they have also to support their own religious functionaries; and thus, have a double religious establishment to defray. Of this, however, they do not complain; but they think it a serious grievance, that their own religious endowments are not legalized like those of the Protestant Dissenters.

In hospitals, workhouses, and other public institutions, the attendance of the ministers of their own communion is sometimes denied to the poor of the Roman Catholic Religion, and the children of the Roman Catholic poor are sometimes forced into Protestant schools under the eyes of their parents.

II.

Such, fellow-subjects, is the particular

operation of the principal laws still remaining in force against your English Catholic brethren. The general effect of them is, to depress every member of the body below his legitimate level in society.

Even in the very lowest order of the community, some situations conferring comfort, emolument, or distinction, are open to the individuals of that class; and in proportion as the several classes of society rise into importance, these situations are multiplied. From all of them the law excludes the English Catholic. This effectively places him below his Protestant brethren of the same class, and makes the whole body in the estimation of the community, a depressed and isolated cast.

This the Roman Catholics severely feel, but it is not by its substantial effects alone that they feel their depression. Some avenues of wealth are still open to them, none to honours or distinctions. Thus, thousands of those possibilities, the prospect and hope of which, constitute a large proportion of the general stock of human happiness, are peremptorily denied to the Roman Catholics. No hope of provision, of preferment, of honours, or dignity, cheers their souls or excites their exertions. A Roman Catholic scarce steps into life when he is made to feel that nothing, which confers them, is open to him; and however successful his career may have been, it seldom happens that his success has not been on more than one occasion, either lessened or retarded by the circumstance of his having been a Roman Catholic.

Here then our Protestant countrymen are called upon to place themselves in our situation; and to reflect, what their own feelings would be, if, from a conscientious adherence to their religious principles, they belonged to a class thus legally degraded. How often would they substantially feel the effects of this degradation? How many of their hopes would it destroy?—how many of their projects would it ruin? Surely a petition to the Legislature, from any portion of His Majesty's subjects, for the removal of such a woe, is entitled to the sympathy and aid of every other portion of the community.

III.

We are sometimes told, that however the repeal of the laws complained of by the
(To be continued.)

PRINCESS OF WALES.

It is now more than a year since I ventured to assert, that the BOOK would come out. Recent events seem to be fast pressing on the day of its appearance; and, really, there does not appear to me to be any good reason, why the performances of PERCEVAL and his like should not be made matter of animadversion as well as the performances of other people.—The PRINCESS OF WALES's LETTER to her Husband, which Letter will be found below, challenges a full public disclosure of every thing connected with the INVESTIGATION of 1806. It challenges this disclosure; and, besides this, it contains matter that seems to render further suppression wholly incompatible with preservation of character in her accusers.—She asserts, that she was *completely acquitted*; she asserts also, that the evidence against her was PROCURED BY SUBORNATION; she asserts, that these suborned witnesses were PERJURED!—Now, if these assertions be true, of what a character must have been the conduct of those, who set on foot, and urged on, the proceedings against her? And is it not just, is it not necessary, that the people of England should be rightly informed who those persons were?—It was my intention to enter, in this Number, upon a full discussion of the divers points relating to this matter, which have been mooted in the public prints. But, some AUTHENTIC AND IMPORTANT DOCUMENTS, appertaining to the subject, having been transmitted to me since the publication of the last Register; documents which have given

me an insight into many things, with regard to which I was before wholly in the dark; this being the case, I think it prudent, in a matter of such vast importance, to take another week to examine and to reflect, before I proceed to my intended discussion, which discussion, however, I will by no means *blink*, or *slur over*.—Indeed, from the very nature of the subject, it is impossible that it should remain undiscussed. From one stage to another the public prints have proceeded, till, at last, they explicitly state, that the Princess of Wales was, upon oath, accused of HAVING BEEN DELIVERED OF A MALE CHILD, and that the said child, under the name of "BILLY FAWCETT," is NOW ALIVE!—Reader, do you not see the importance, the fearful import, of such statements?—It has been *disproved*, they tell us. The accusation, they say, has been *proved to be false*; and, that, upon such proof, the Princess has been *acquitted*. Acquitted! How acquitted? Before *what tribunal*? What court of justice was she tried in? Who had the power to try her? Who had the legal authority to pronounce an *acquittal*? Was she *confronted* with her accusers? And *where* was this done? If such an accusation was preferred against her, an accusation amounting to a charge of high treason, if coupled with that of the child *not being the child of her husband*; if such an accusation was preferred, it ought to have been made before some *magistrate*, some magistrate known to the laws; and it could be *legally entertained* by no other person or persons.—But, I am departing from my intention. I will wait with all the patience I am master of till

next week. In the meanwhile I beg my readers to believe, that I shall state nothing from myself of the truth of which I am not quite certain.

Copy of a Letter from Her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, to His Royal Highness the Prince Regent:—

"SIR,—It is with great reluctance that I presume to obtrude myself upon your Royal Highness, and to solicit your attention to matters which may, at first, appear rather of a personal than a public nature. If I could think them so—if they related merely to myself—I should abstain from a proceeding which might give uneasiness, or interrupt the more weighty occupations of your Royal Highness's time. I should continue, in silence and retirement, to lead the life which has been prescribed to me, and console myself for the loss of that society and those domestic comforts to which I have so long been a stranger, by the reflection that it has been deemed proper I should be afflicted without any fault of my own—and that your Royal Highness knows it.

"But, Sir, there are considerations of a higher nature than any regard to my own happiness, which render this address a duty both to Myself and my Daughter. May I venture to say—a duty also to my Husband, and the people committed to his care? There is a point beyond which a guiltless woman cannot with safety carry her forbearance. If her honour is invaded, the defence of her reputation is no longer a matter of choice; and it signifies not whether the attack be made openly, manfully, and directly—or by secret insinuation, and by holding such conduct towards her as countenances all the suspicions that malice can suggest. If these ought to be the feelings of every woman in England who is conscious that she deserves no reproach, your Royal Highness has too sound a judgment, and too nice a sense of honour, not to perceive, how much more justly they belong to the Mother of your Daughter—the Mother of her who is destined, I trust, at a very distant period, to reign over the British Empire.

"It may be known to your Royal Highness, that during the continuance of the restrictions upon your royal authority, I purposely refrained from making any representations which might then augment the painful difficulties of your exalted sta-

tion. At the expiration of the restrictions I still was inclined to delay taking this step, in the hope that I might owe the address I sought to your gracious and unsolicited condescension. I have waited, in the fond indulgence of this expectation, until, to my inexpressible mortification, I find that my unwillingness to complain, has only produced fresh grounds of complaint; and I am at length compelled, either to abandon all regard for the two dearest objects which I possess on earth,—mine own honour, and my beloved Child; or to throw myself at the feet of your Royal Highness, the natural protector of both.

"I presume, Sir, to represent to your Royal Highness, that the separation, which every succeeding month is making wider, of the Mother and the Daughter, is equally injurious to my character, and to her education. I say nothing of the deep wounds which so cruel an arrangement inflicts upon my feelings, although I would fain hope that few persons will be found of a disposition to think lightly of these. To set myself cut off from one of the very few domestic enjoyments left me—certainly the only one upon which I set any value, the society of my Child—involves me in such misery, as I well know your Royal Highness could never inflict upon me, if you were aware of its bitterness. Our intercourse has been gradually diminished. A single interview weekly seemed sufficiently hard allowance for a Mother's affections. That, however, was reduced to my meeting once a fortnight; and I now learn, that even this most rigorous interdiction is to be still more rigidly enforced.

"But while I do not venture to intrude my feelings as a Mother upon your Royal Highness's notice, I must be allowed to say, that in the eyes of an observing and jealous world, this separation of a Daughter from her Mother will only admit of one construction, a construction fatal to the Mother's reputation. Your Royal Highness will also pardon me for adding, that there is no less inconsistency than injustice in this treatment. He who dares advise your Royal Highness to overlook the evidence of my innocence, and disregard the sentence of complete acquittal which it produced,—or is wicked and false enough still to whisper suspicions in your ear,—betrays his duty to you, Sir, to your Daughter, and to your People, if he counsels you to permit a day to pass without a further investigation of my conduct. I know that no such calumniator will venture to recom-

mend a measure which must speedily end in his utter confusion. Then let me implore you to reflect on the situation in which I am placed; without the shadow of a charge against me—without even an accuser—after an Inquiry that led to my ample vindication—yet treated as if I were still more culpable than the perjuries of my suborned traducers represented me, and held up to the world as a Mother who may not enjoy the society of her only Child.

"The feelings, Sir, which are natural to my unexampled situation, might justify me in the gracious judgment of your Royal Highness, had I no other motives for addressing you but such as relate to myself: but I will not disguise from your Royal Highness what I cannot for a moment conceal from myself,—that the serious, and it soon may be, the irreparable injury which my Daughter sustains from the plan at present pursued, has done more in overcoming my reluctance to intrude upon your Royal Highness, than any sufferings of my own could accomplish: and if, for her sake, I presume to call away your Royal Highness's attention from the other cares of your exalted station, I feel confident I am not claiming it for a matter of inferior importance either to yourself or your people.

"The powers with which the Constitution of these realms vests your Royal Highness in the regulation of the Royal Family, I know, because I am so advised, are ample and unquestionable. My appeal, Sir, is made to your excellent sense and liberality of mind in the exercise of those powers; and I willingly hope, that your own parental feelings will lead you to excuse the anxiety of mine, for impelling me to represent the unhappy consequences which the present system must entail upon our beloved Child.

"Is it possible, Sir, that any one can have attempted to persuade your Royal Highness, that her character will not be injured by the perpetual violence offered to her strongest affections—the studied care taken to estrange her from my society, and even to interrupt all communication between us? That her love for me, with whom, by His Majesty's wise and gracious arrangements, she passed the years of her infancy and childhood, never can be extinguished, I well know; and the knowledge of it forms the greatest blessing of my existence. But let me implore your Royal Highness to reflect, how inevitably all attempts to abate this attachment, by forcibly separating us, if they succeed, must

injure my Child's principles—if they fail, must destroy her happiness.

"The plan of excluding my Daughter from all intercourse with the world, appears to my humble judgment peculiarly unfortunate. She who is destined to be the Sovereign of this great country, enjoys none of those advantages of society which are deemed necessary for imparting a knowledge of mankind to persons who have infinitely less occasion to learn that important lesson; and it may so happen, by a chance which I trust is very remote, that she should be called upon to exercise the powers of the Crown, with an experience of the world more confined than that of the most private individual. To the extraordinary talents with which she is blessed, and which accompany a disposition as singularly amiable, frank, and decided, I willingly trust much: but beyond a certain point the greatest natural endowments cannot struggle against the disadvantages of circumstances and situation. It is my earnest prayer, for her own sake, as well as her country's, that your Royal Highness may be induced to pause before this point be reached.

"Those who have advised you, Sir, to delay so long the period of my Daughter's commencing her intercourse with the world, and for that purpose to make Windsor her residence, appear not to have regarded the interruptions to her education which this arrangement occasions; both by the impossibility of obtaining the attendance of proper teachers, and the time unavoidably consumed in the frequent journeys to town which she must make, unless she is to be secluded from all intercourse, even with your Royal Highness and the rest of the Royal Family. To the same unfortunate counsels I ascribe a circumstance in every way so distressing both to my parental and religious feelings, that my Daughter has never yet enjoyed the benefit of Confirmation, although above a year older than the age at which all the other branches of the Royal Family have partaken of that solemnity. May I earnestly conjure you, Sir, to hear my entreaties upon this serious matter, even if you should listen to other advisers on things of less near concernment to the welfare of our Child?

"The pain with which I have at length formed the resolution of addressing myself to your Royal Highness is such as I should in vain attempt to express. If I could adequately describe it, you might be enabled, Sir, to estimate the strength of the motives

which have made me submit to it: they are the most powerful feelings of affection, and the deepest impressions of duty towards your Royal Highness, my beloved Guild, and the country, which I devoutly hope she may be preserved to govern, and to shew by a new example the liberal affection of a free and generous people to a virtuous and Constitutional Monarch.

"I am, Sir, with profound respect, and an attachment which nothing can alter, your Royal Highness's most devoted and most affectionate Consort, Cousin, and Subject,

(Signed) "CAROLINE LOUISE."

"*Montaguë-house, 14th of Jan. 1815.*"

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

AMERICAN WAR.—It will be useless, perhaps, but I cannot refrain from calling the attention of the public once more to the gross delusions practised upon it by the hired prints, with regard to this war.—At first they said, that there would be no war; that war was the cry of the mere rabble; and that though Mr. Madison was himself corrupted by France, the Congress were not. When the Congress met, they, however, actually declared war. Then our hirelings told us, that the *people* were enraged with both President and Congress, and that, as the election of President was approaching, they would turn Mr. Madison out, and that thus the war would be put an end to.—That election has now terminated; but, until the termination, or, rather, the result, was known, we heard of nothing but the certain defeat of Mr. Madison. He was *sure* to lose his election; and, indeed, several successive arrivals brought us the news of his having actually lost it. To which was added, that his rival, Mr. Clinton, had pledged himself to make peace with England.—At last, however, comes the news, *that Mr. Madison was re-elected!* After this one would have supposed that the hireling press would, at least, have kept *silence* upon the subject; but, no. It had still a falsehood left; and, it is now telling the people, the "*thinking people*" of England, that, *next year*, there will be a re-election of the *Senate*, when Mr. Madison will have a majority of ten against him in that body, and that, in consequence of such change, he will be compelled to make peace with us.—What a people must this be to be thus deceived! And still to listen to such publications; aye, and to rely upon them too as implicitly as they had always spoken

the truth!—Nothing can, however, be more flattering to the Americans than these statements, which show how uneasy this country is under the war with them; how sorely we feel the effects of it; and how anxious we are to get out of it.—There is a coxcomb, who publishes in the Times news-paper, under the signature of VETUS, who would fain make us believe, that the people of America, or, at least, the *agricultural* part of the population, are a sort of *half-savages*. If Vetus had to write to them, he would not find many fools enough to tolerate his sublimated trash. He imputes their dislike to English politics to their *ignorance*. He does not know, perhaps, that they, to a man (if natives) are as well acquainted with all our laws as we are ourselves; that they know all about our Excise taxes, and Custom-house taxes, and Assessed taxes, and Property taxes, full as well as we do; and, that they know all about our law of libel, our sinecures, and our paupers. If he were to go amongst them, and to have the impudence to tell them, that these are *proofs of civilization*, they would, or, at least, I hope so, make him remember the assertion as long as he had life in his carcase.—The Americans have always had their eyes fixed upon us; and, does this foolish man imagine, that they do not know how to set a proper value upon our system of government?—When they come to England, as some of them do, they sometimes reach London by the way of *Blackwater*, where, while they behold immense places for the education of officers of the army, they see ragged, or, rather, naked, children tumbling along the road by the side of their chaise, crying as they go, "*Pray bestow your charity; pray bestow your charity!*" The Americans know how to estimate these things. They are at no less to draw the proper inferences from such facts; and it is not the trash of Vetus about *civilization* that will cloud their reasoning.—The American farmers are great *readers*. There are absolutely *none* of them who do not read much. They know, that we pay more in poor-rates only than double the amount of the whole of their revenue! That fact alone is enough for them. With that fact before their eyes, they will be in no haste to attain what this set calls a high state of *civilization*.—Besides, as to the *fact*: all those who know America will say, that the farmers there are a class of men beyond all belief superior in understanding to those of England, or of any country in Europe.

They have *plenty*; they have no dread of the *tax-gatherer*; their minds are never haunted with the *fear of want*; they have, therefore, *leisure* to think and to read. And, as to what he says about their being absolved in the *love of gain*, the fact is the reverse. They have no motive to acquire great wealth, other than the mere vulgar love of money, seeing that no sum of money will purchase them *distinction*, seeing that millions would not obtain them a bow from even a negro. That is a country where the servant will not pull his hat off to his employer, and where no man will condescend to call another man his *master*.

—Hence it is that the American farmer makes no very great exertions to become rich. Riches beyond his plain wants are of no use to him. They cannot elevate him; they cannot purchase him *seals*; they cannot get him *titles*; they cannot obtain *commissions* or *church benefices* for his sons; they can do nothing for him but add to his acres, which are already, in most cases, but too abundant. —He has, from these causes, much *leisure*, and that naturally produces reading, particularly when the residence is in the country. So that the *half-wild* man, whose picture has been drawn by Vetus is wholly foreign from the reality of the American farmer.

—The American farmer does not hate *England*. He hates a taxing-system, and he hates the English system; but, he does not want war with England. He wants to have *nothing to do with her*; and, though he hates war, he is more afraid of a connexion with her than with a war against her. He wishes to see all those, who will be connected with her, expelled from his country; and, therefore, he is pleased to see the makers of knives and of coats rise up in his own country. —To bring about this, to create manufactures in America was the policy of Mr. Jefferson; an object which has been now attained, through the means of our hostility and of the revolution in Spain. —The continuation of the war for about three years longer will for ever put an end to English connexion; and thus, the grand object of Mr. Jefferson's policy will have been secured during his probable life-time. —This silly fellow, Vetus, seems to be wholly ignorant of the subject. He knows nothing either of the character or interests of the American people. He senselessly urges on the war without at all perceiving the consequences to which it leads. He does not perceive, that it will effectually deprive our govern-

ment of the power of again taxing the coat or the candlestick of the American farmer. He does not perceive, that it will stop from our treasury many millions a year. When he is talking of the *folly* of introducing manufactures into America, he does not perceive, that that is the most deadly blow that the Americans can give to our taxing system. —From the empty verbiage of this writer, who has been well termed an *old battered hack*, I come to something of more importance; namely, the debate of the 18th instant, in the House of Commons, upon the subject of the war with America. I, perhaps, should not call it a *debate*, where, as to the only point at issue, all the speakers seem to have been of one mind and sentiment. But, be it what it may, it is of great importance to the liberties of mankind; and, as such, I shall notice it somewhat in detail. —

LORD CASTLEREAGH (aye, that is the man, Americans!) opened the discussion in the character of Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. This man's name is well known to the world. This is now the man, who, after Perceval, is to maintain the justice and necessity of a war against America. —The Papers, relating to the negotiation between the two countries, had been laid before the House; and, in consequence of this, Lord Castlereagh, on the 18th, brought forward a motion for “an Address to the Prince Regent, expressing the regret of Parliament for the failure of the negotiation, and pledging themselves to a zealous and cordial co-operation with His Royal Highness in the prosecution of the war, in support of the rights and interests of Great Britain, and the honour of His Majesty's Crown.” —

This motion was carried with an unanimous voice, just as similar motions used to be during the former American war, when about forty of such addresses were carried up to the King. —I shall now proceed to notice such parts of the speeches as seem to me worthy of particular attention. —Lord Castlereagh set out with relating what had passed in regard to the *Orders in Council*, and, after having referred to the time and manner of their repeal, and to the pledges of support of the war given in case that repeal should fail of producing peace with America, he said, as it is stated in the report in the Morning Herald, that, “he, therefore, should support the war against her. He, therefore, now flattered himself, that Government would meet with that support which had been so liberally pro-

"mised. If this was really found to be the case—if every attempt had been made, that justice or forbearance could suggest, to conciliate America, and if, notwithstanding, she had issued a declaration of war, and persisted in carrying it on, after the concessions that had been made, where was the man that could refuse his assent to carry on the war with vigour adequate to our means? America would thus see the united efforts of the Country, and the unanimity of the House, that had been called forth by the line of policy that she had pursued. If they looked at the documents that had been published by the American Government as the grounds of the war, they should look at peace as an object very distant, because the American Government placed the war on such extensive grounds as could not be removed by this Country."—It is very true, that there were people in the House of Commons to promise to support the war if the repeal of the Orders in Council failed to satisfy the Americans; but, *I made no such promises*; and, therefore, I, though a fly amongst eagles, am at liberty to express my disapprobation of the war.—Nay, I most distinctly said, at the time, that the repeal of the Orders in Council would not satisfy the American People. I had, indeed, said so many months before: and I had said it upon a *knowledge of the fact*. I had all along said, that, unless we ceased to impress persons out of American ships upon the *high seas*, we should have war; and, therefore, when the ministry were, by Mr. Brougham, reduced to the necessity of repealing the Orders in Council, I, in an address to the Prince Regent, prayed him to add a relinquishment of the practice of impressment, with which, I positively asserted, that the other measure would fail of its desired effect.—Nevertheless Mr. Ponsonby (as the leader of the Whigs) did promise support to the war, if the repeal of the Orders failed to satisfy America; and Mr. Brougham did the same.—The country was thus misled, and was prepared for a justification of this war. The manufacturers, some of whom came to see me in Newgate, where I had been imprisoned for two years, and sentenced to pay a fine of a thousand pounds to the king, which I have since paid to his son in his behalf, for having written and published upon the subject of the flogging of some Local Militiamen, in the town of Ely, in England, who had been first

quelled by German Troops; here, I say, in this prison, I saw some of the manufacturers, who, after the success of Mr. Brougham's motion, were preparing to return home, full of joy in the assurance of a renewed and uninterrupted intercourse with America, and I told them, that they ought to moderate their joy; for, that Mr. Brougham's success would not produce the effect they expected, but that, on the contrary, his pledge to support a war, if that measure failed to ensure peace, might be attended hereafter with infinite mischief.—They did not absolutely laugh in my face, but I could clearly perceive, that they did not believe a word that I said, and that they attributed my gloomy predictions to a feeling, which, though I might have been excused for possessing it, really was a stranger, as far as that subject went, to my breast.—The truth is, that they saw no importance in any thing but commerce; they saw nothing in *impressments* to make a nation go to war; they regarded it as madness to suppose, that a nation would suspend its commercial gains for a single hour for the sake of a few thousands of men impressed by a foreign power. I, however, knew the disposition of the free people of America better; I had heard the declaration of the Congress on the subject; I knew that that body, whose seats are not bought and sold, spoke the voice of the people; and, upon this ground, together with other ground that I need not be particular in naming, I founded my assurances to the manufacturers, that the repeal of the Orders in Council would not answer the end they expected from it; and I could not help, I must confess, feeling some slight degree of anger against the manufacturing bodies, when I saw them meeting to vote thanks to Mr. Brougham, without taking the smallest notice of my incessant efforts to prevent that destruction of their hopes, which I saw would speedily tread upon the heels of their exultation.—However, this feeling has long been extinguished in my breast, and I only regret that I am without the power of affording any portion of assistance to the poor suffering wretches in the manufacturing districts.—To return now to the debate; Lord Castlereagh talks of concessions made to America in the repeal of the Orders in Council. I have often shown, that there was, according to the settled laws and usages of nations, no concession at all. Nay, there was, according to our own doctrine; according to our own part of the correspondence, no concession

made to America.—The thing is shown, as clear as day-light, in two words.—We all along avowed, that, in *themselves* considered, our Orders in Council were a violation of the neutral rights of America; but, we asserted, that they were justified by the violation of those same rights committed by Napoleon; and we declared that we would cease our violation, the moment France ceased her's.—France did cease; we had, according to our own declaration, proof that France had ceased before we made the repeal. We then ceased; but, I put it to the common sense of the reader, whether this cessation ought to be called a CONCESSION.—Thus, according to our own doctrine; according to our own diplomatic correspondence; according to our own more solemn acts, the Orders *themselves* and the Declaration of repeal, according to all these, we made NO CONCESSION at all to America.—Why, then, talk about concessions? It may have an effect here; but, assuredly, it will have none in America, where the government (a government chosen by and resting upon the free and unbought voice of the people) have constantly protested against our Orders in Council as an open and gross violation of the known and acknowledged rights of America, and as receiving not a shadow of justification from the violent and unjust conduct of France.—To talk, therefore, of concessions seems to me to be something intolerable; but, to expect, that the people of America would, after the solemn declaration of Congress to the contrary; to expect that they would *disarm* upon our ceasing to violate one of their rights, while a still more grave subject of complaint existed; to entertain such an expectation as this, appears unaccountable upon any supposition than that of our ministers and members of parliament being wholly deficient in knowledge relative to the opinions and feelings of the American people, and the means of the American government.—Besides, there was another consideration connected with the repeal of the Orders in Council; and that was, that, by the repeal we merely announced our intention to *cease to violate a right*. We said nothing about compensation for the past. This was very material; for, it was impossible that it should be overlooked by the American government, without an abandonment of all the principles upon which it had resisted the Orders in Council. I also pointed this out at the time, for which I was treated as a fool and

a friend of France by a Scotch newspaper. The manufacturers of Paisley will, by this time, have discovered, that I was a better friend of England than their impudent countryman, and that I foresaw an obstacle to peace which had escaped the eyes of both the parties in parliament; for, Lord Castlereagh now tells us, that such compensation was demanded as a preliminary to a cessation of hostilities. "The Orders in Council," he said, "were now wholly out of the question, by the overture for an armistice on both sides: but even on the ground of the repeal of the Orders in Council, the American Government had pressed the matter so far, and in such a temper, as to admit of no amicable arrangement. Mr. Russel had put in claims to have indemnity for all captures made by our cruisers under the Orders in Council since 1806. He did not say that this might not have been given up, but, as the question stood, it evidently appeared that America had shewn no disposition to be satisfied with the forbearance of this country."—Well, if this might have been given up on our side, why not give it up at first, and see what it would do? However, the demand was made, we see, and I said it would be made. Indeed, it was manifest that it *must* be made. The American government could not avoid making it, without exposing itself to the detestation of the people, as a base abandoner of their rights; rights so long contended for, and sought to be redressed by means of so many and such large sacrifices.—Now, our ministers and Mr. Ponsonby and Mr. Brougham ought to have foreseen that this demand would be made. In not foreseeing it they shewed a want of knowledge upon the subject, and also a want of knowledge as to the circumstances in which America stood with regard to France, from whom she was, and still is, demanding indemnity upon exactly the same principle that she makes the demand on us.—The reader cannot be too often reminded of the *origin and nature* of the Orders in Council: They arose, as we allege, out of the French decrees of *Berlin* and *Milan*, the two places at which the Emperor was when he signed them. These decrees violated neutral rights on the seas; but, it was declared in the preambles to them, that this violation was rendered necessary by certain Orders in Council of England which enforced a greater violation of neutral rights.—We, upon the appearance of these Decrees, issued other Orders in Council,

enforcing other violations of neutral rights. —Both parties were complained of by America. Both parties call their measures *retaliatory*. Both parties *allowed* that their measures *violated neutral rights*. Both parties said they regretted that the measures had been *forced* upon them. Each party declared, over and over again, in the most solemn manner, that the moment the other *removed* or *relaxed* his measures he should find a joyful imitator in the party declaring. —America protested against the conduct of both. She said to us, that we had no right to violate her rights because they were violated by France; and to France she said, that she had no right to violate her rights because they were violated by us. —At last, to put the sincerity of the two parties to the test, she passes a law, which says, that if, before the 1st of November 1810, both parties have repealed their Decrees, their commercial and friendly intercourse with her shall continue; that, if one party does repeal and the other does not repeal by that day, then her ports shall be shut against the non-repealing power in February 1811. —Napoleon, in the month of August, 1810, issued a Decree by which his violating Decrees stood repealed on the 1st of the following November. This new decree was communicated to our ministers by the American minister in London, who expressed his hope, that, agreeably to our many solemn declarations, we should hasten to follow the example of France. Our ministers answered in a sort of vague way; but, at any rate, *they did not repeal*; and, in February, 1811, the law went into effect against us. Our goods and our vessels were shut out of the American ports, while those of France were admitted. We asserted, that Napoleon *had not repealed his decrees*. America asserted that he had, but we would not believe her. We insisted, that she did not know the fact nearly so well as we did. In short, we continued to refuse to repeal. —At last, the great distresses and consequent complaints of the manufacturers led to an inquiry, at the bar of the House of Commons, into the effects of the Orders in Council, when such a mass of evidence was produced by Mr. Brougham in support of the proposition, that the non-importation law of America was the principal cause of those distresses, that the ministers, Perceval being dead, gave way: and the Orders were *repealed*. —This is the plain and true history of the matter; and

I particularly wish the reader to bear in mind, that our Orders had, up to the moment of Napoleon's repeal of his Decrees, *always been acknowledged* by us to contain a violation of the known rights of neutrals; but, in our justification, we said, that it was *forced upon us* by the Decrees of the enemy. —This was our language up to the moment of Napoleon's repeal. But, what says Lord Castlereagh now? So far from acknowledging, that the Orders in Council enforced a violation of any known neutral right, he contends (if the report of his speech be correct) that they were founded on our known primitive rights. The words, as they stand in the report, are these:—"The Orders in Council had been "a point on which considerable difference "of opinion in this Country had prevailed, "but they had been abandoned, *not so much on the ground of this Country not "having THE RIGHT, as with a view to "commercial expediency*. He rather wished, however, to wave the renewal of that branch of the question, now that the whole proceedings of Government were before the House. With respect to the main principles of that system, Ministers were still unaltered in their opinion, when the conservation of the Country rendered it necessary to resort to it. At the time the measure was adopted such a system was necessary, *not only as it respected France, but as connected with the soundest policy for the general interests of the British Empire*. Had it not been for the mainly resistance given by that measure to the power of France, France now would have been as triumphant, in a commercial point of view, as she was with respect to the Continent. He begged he might always be considered as an admirer of "that system."—Now, I state, that the Orders of Council themselves, and the papers of our diplomatic agents, and the Speeches of Sir William Scott, almost explicitly acknowledge, that the measure was to be justified only on the ground of its being a *retaliation on France*; and that, in the two former, is expressed, His Majesty's earnest desire to imitate France in doing away those obnoxious measures. —This was our language up to the moment when the repeal of the French Decrees was announced to us. —Our language has, indeed, since changed; and, it was, during the debates upon Mr. Brougham's motions, coolly argued, that the repeal of the Orders would make the Americans the carriers of the commerce of the world. But, though we have changed

our language, it does not follow that America should change hers. She always contended that by the Orders of Council her rights were violated; she always contended, that all the seizure we made under these Orders were unjust; and, of course, she demands indemnity for those immense seizures.—But, is it really so; can it be possible; can the thing be, that a Secretary of State has asserted, in open Parliament, that, without any reference to the conduct of France, and that though the Decrees of Napoleon did not exist, we had a right to do what was done, towards neutrals, under the Orders in Council; and, that, whenever we think proper, we have a right to do the same again? If this be so; if this assertion was made by the Minister for Foreign Affairs, and if it be meant to be maintained, then, certainly, the war with America will be long indeed.—Reader, what was it that was done in virtue of these Orders in Council?—I will give you an instance.—An American-built ship, owned by a native American, manned by native Americans, laden with flour, or any thing else the growth of America, and bound from America to France, or to any other country named in the Orders in Council, was seized on the high seas by any of our vessels of war, carried into any of our ports, the ship and cargo condemned, and the master and his crew turned on shore to beg or starve, or live and find their way home as they could.—This was what was done in virtue of the Orders in Council; and, if the Report be correct, this is what we have a right to do towards neutrals again, “whenever the *“conservation of the country”* calls for it; that is to say, whenever our government thinks proper to cause it to be done!—Now, I will not waste my time and that of the reader by any discussion upon maritime and neutral rights; but will just ask him this one question: if we have a right to act thus towards America, whenever we think proper, she being at peace with us, what can she lose in the way of trade, what can she risk, in changing that state of peace for a state of war?—In my next I shall discuss the other points brought forward in this debate.

WM. COBBETT.

CATHOLIC CLAIMS.

Address to the Protestants of Great Britain, &c.—(continued from page 224.)

Roman Catholics would benefit them, II

would confer no real benefit on the State; and that, as no alteration of law should take place, unless it promotes the general welfare of the State, the laws complained of should remain in force.

But we beg leave to submit to the consideration of our countrymen, that the whole kingdom would be essentially served by the repeal of the penal laws remaining in force against His Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects. On this head, the writer of these columns requests your particular attention.

Two-thirds of the population of Ireland, and no inconsiderable proportion of the population of England, is composed of Roman Catholics. It is obvious that the feelings of this large proportion of the community are wounded, in the highest degree, by the penal and disabling laws to which they are subject; and that they consider themselves highly injured, insulted, and degraded by them. Now, must it not be beneficial to the State, that this extensive feeling of insult, injury, and degradation should be healed? Do not wisdom and sound policy make it the interest of the State, that every circumstance which leads this injured, insulted, and degraded, but numerous portion of the community, to think that any new order of things must end their injury, insult, and degradation, and is, therefore, desirable, should be removed as soon as possible? Surely the removal of it must be as advantageous to the State, as it will be advantageous and gratifying to the persons individually benefited by it.

But this is not the only circumstance which would make the repeal of the penal laws a general benefit to the State. Again we request you to consider the immense number of His Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects, and the great proportion which it bears to the rest of the community.—What a proportion of genius, of talent, of energy, of every thing else, by which individuals are enabled to distinguish themselves, and benefit and elevate their country, must fall to their share:—But all this, for the present, is lost to you, in consequence of the penal codes. Is the subtraction of this prodigious mass of probable genius, talent, and wisdom, from the general stock, no detriment to the State?—Surely it is a national loss. Thus while the penal code harasses the individual object of its infliction, it contracts and paralyzes, to an amazing degree, the strength, powers, and energies of the whole community.

IV.

It is alleged, that the Roman Catholics

of this kingdom enjoy the most full and liberal Toleration; and that Toleration is the utmost favour to which any non-conformist to the religion established by law can reasonably aspire.

To this, we beg leave to answer, that toleration, rightly understood, is all we ask for by our Petition. But what is toleration, when the word is rightly understood? If, after a Government has adopted a particular religion, decreed its mode of worship to be observed in its churches, and provided for its functionaries, from the funds of the State, it leaves the non-conformist in complete possession of all their civil rights and liberties, the non-conformist enjoys a full and complete Toleration. But whenever the government of a country represses other forms of religion, by subjecting those who profess them, to any deprivation or abridgment of civil right or liberty, Toleration is at an end, and Persecution begins.

This is too plain a position to admit of contradiction; the only question, therefore, is, whether the pains and penalties to which the Roman Catholics are still subject by the laws in force against them, deprive them of any civil right or liberty.

To meet this question fully, I shall consider, how far the Corporation Act, which excludes us from Corporations, and the Test Act, which excludes us from Civil and Military Offices, can be justly said to deprive us of a civil right. I prefer placing the question on these acts, because, by their own confession, it is the strongest hold of our adversaries, and because, in the discussion of that question, thus propounded, I shall advocate the cause of the Protestant Dissenters as much as our own.

Our common adversaries contend, that the exclusion of non-conformists, by the Test and Corporation Acts, from honourable lucrative offices, is not a punishment, and, therefore, is not intolerance.

But before the enactment of those statutes, were not all the subjects of this realm equally eligible, by the common law of the land, to every honourable and every lucrative office which the State could confer? Is not eligibility to office a civil right? Does it not, therefore, necessarily follow, that every statute which deprived non-conformists of their right of eligibility to office, deprived them of a civil right, and was therefore penal? If Roman Catholics had been in possession of these offices, and deprived of them in consequence of their adherence to their religion by the statutes

in question; some persons might have contended for the wisdom of the statutes, but none could have contended that they were not highly penal. But whatever difference there may be in the degree of penal infliction, there is none in the penal quality of those statutes, which deprive persons of offices, and those which deprive them of the prior legal eligibility to them. The right of possessing an office, the right of succeeding to it, and the right of eligibility to it, are equally civil rights. There is no difference in this respect between offices and landed property—the right to possess an estate, to succeed to it, and to acquire it, are equally civil rights. The justice or policy of these laws is not now under our consideration—the simple question before us is, whether eligibility to offices and election into corporations, were not by the common law the civil right of every Englishman, and whether his being deprived of it was not a penal infliction. It is impossible to deny it. This infliction reaches every description of non-conformists to the established Church: their religion, therefore, is not tolerated—it is persecuted. On the policy, the justice, or degree of that persecution, there may be a difference of opinion; but that, in some degree at least, it is a persecution it seems impossible to deny. Thus we seem to arrive at this questionable conclusion, that, in point of fact, all non-conformists are persecuted. The difference between Roman Catholics and other non-conformists, is, that Roman Catholics are subject to pains and disabilities which do not affect any other description of non-conformists. The Roman Catholics, therefore, are the most persecuted of all.

Here, then, we close with our adversaries; we seek not to interfere with the established Church, with her hierarchy, with her endowments, with her tithes, with any thing else that contributes to her honour, her comfort, or her security. Give us but toleration in the true sense of that much abused word, and we claim no more. By the oath prescribed to the Roman Catholics of Ireland, by the 33d of His present Majesty, the Roman Catholic swears—"That he will defend to the utmost of his power, the settlement and arrangement of property in that country, as established by the laws now in being; and he thereby disclaims, disavows, and solemnly abjures any intention to subvert the present Church establishment, for the purpose of substituting a Catholic establishment."

"blishment in its stead; and he solemnly swears, that he will not exercise any privilege to which he is or may be entitled, to disturb or weaken the Protestant religion, and Protestant government in that kingdom."

V.

But it is suggested, that though it should be conceded, that all other non-conformists to the Church of England ought to be admitted to a free and complete toleration, the Roman Catholics should be excluded from it on account of their acknowledgment of the Supremacy of the Pope.

This admits of a very easy answer. The Roman Catholics certainly acknowledge the spiritual supremacy of the Pope; but they deny his temporal authority; they acknowledge no right either in the Pope, or in any Council, to interfere in any manner in temporal concerns, or to interfere, by any mode of temporal power, in concerns of a spiritual nature. By the oath prescribed to the English Roman Catholics, by the 31st of His present Majesty, we swear, that "we do not believe that the Pope of Rome, or any other foreign prince, prelate, state, or potentate hath, or ought to have, any temporal or civil jurisdiction, power, superiority, or pre-eminence, directly, or indirectly, within the realm."

The Irish and Scottish Roman Catholic subjects of His Majesty take a similar oath. The answers given by the foreign universities to the questions proposed to them by the direction of Mr. Pitt, the doctrines laid down in all our catechisms, and other standard books of authority, express the same belief. In the oath taken by the Irish Roman Catholics they swear, that "it is not an article of the Catholic faith, and that they are not thereby bound to believe or profess, that the Pope is infallible; or that they are not bound to obey any order, in its own nature immoral, though the Pope or any ecclesiastical power should issue or direct such an order; but that, on the contrary, they hold it sinful in them to pay any regard to such an order."

It is said, that the Popes on several occasions have claimed and exercised the right of temporal power. We acknowledge it, and we lament it. But the fact is of little consequence; no Roman Catholic now believes, that either Pope or Council, or both Pope and Council acting together, have, or ought to have, any right to interfere by any form or mode, either of temporal or spiritual power, in civil concerns; or to inter-

fere by any form or mode of temporal power, in spiritual concerns. This the Irish, Scottish, and English Roman Catholics have sworn, and they act up to their oaths.

VI.

I proceed to another charge:—*It is asserted to be a tenet of our faith, or, at least, a received opinion among us, that the Pope or the Church has a right to absolve subjects from their allegiance to their Sovereign.*

But this doctrine has been most solemnly abjured by us, in the oaths which we have taken to Government. It is disclaimed by the opinions of the foreign universities, and Pope Pius the VIth proscribed it, by his rescript of the 17th of June, 1791.

VII.

The same may be said of the charge brought against us of holding it lawful to kill any Sovereign or any private person under excommunication. This doctrine also is disclaimed by us, in our oaths, as "unchristian and impious;" it is disclaimed in terms, equally strong, in the answers of the foreign Universities, and Pope Pius the VIth, in his rescript of 1791, solemnly declares such a murder "to be a horrid and detestable crime."

VIII.

The same answer may also be given to the charge, of its being a tenet of our church, that it is lawful to break faith with heretics. In our oaths, we disclaim that doctrine also, "as impious and unchristian," and the terms in which it is disclaimed in the answers of the foreign Universities, are equally strong. But, without entering further on the subject of this charge, we make this solemn appeal upon it, to the feelings and common sense of every reader of these columns:—Does not the single circumstance, of our being, after the lapse of 200 years, petitioners to Parliament for the repeal of the penal and disabling laws to which we are subject, in consequence of our not taking oaths, the taking of which would, at once, have delivered us from all these penalties and disabilities, prove, beyond all exception and argument, that we do not believe the existence of any power which can dispense with the obligation of an oath. On this head I beg leave to add my own testimony—having, in almost every stage of life, lived in habits of acquaintance or intimacy with all descriptions of Roman Catholics; the young, the old, the literate, the illiterate, foreigners and natives, ecclesiastic and secular, I never knew one who did not hear the charge in question with indignation, and treat it as an execrable calumny.

But it is said that the Council of Lateran assumed a right to temporal power, and that the Council of Constance authorized the violation of the safe conduct granted to John Huss. Both of those facts are positively denied by the Roman Catholics. This is not a place for discussing the point—but, what does it signify?—If the Council of Lateran claimed for the Pope, or itself, a right to temporal power, it did wrong; if the Council of Constance authorized the violation of the safe conduct, it did infamous, and there's an end on't.

IX.

Having had frequent occasion to mention in these columns the *answers of the Foreign Universities to certain questions proposed to them by the direction of Mr. Pitt*, the reader will probably wish to be better informed of the circumstances attending the transaction.

In the year 1788, the Committee of the English Catholics waited on Mr. Pitt, respecting their application for a repeal of the penal laws. He requested to be furnished with authentic evidence of the opinions of the Roman Catholic Clergy, and the Roman Catholic Universities abroad, "on the existence and extent of the Pope's dispensing power." Three questions were accordingly framed, and submitted to his approbation. As soon as it was obtained, they were sent to the Universities of Paris, Louvain, Alcalá, Douay, Salamanca, and Valladolid, for their opinions. The questions proposed to them were—

1. Has the Pope, or Cardinals, or any Body of Men, or any Individual of the Church of Rome, any Civil Authority, Power, Jurisdiction, or Pre-eminence whatsoever, within the Realm of England?
2. Can the Pope, or Cardinals, or any Body of Men, or any Individual of the Church of Rome, absolve or dispense with His Majesty's Subjects from their Oath of Allegiance, upon any pretext whatsoever?
3. Is there any Principle in the Tenets of the Catholic Faith, by which Catholics are justified in not keeping Faith with Heretics, or other Persons differing from them in Religious Opinions, in any Transaction, either of a public or a private Nature?

The Universities answered unanimously,

1. That the Pope, or Cardinals, or any Body of Men, or any Individual of the Church of Rome, has NOT any Civil Authority, Power, Jurisdiction, or Pre-eminence whatsoever, within the Realm of England.

2. That the Pope, or Cardinals, or any Body of Men, or any Individual of the Church of Rome, CANNOT absolve or dispense with His Majesty's Subjects from their Oath of Allegiance, upon any pretext whatsoever.

3. That there is no Principle in the Tenets of the Catholic Faith, by which Catholics are justified in not keeping Faith with Heretics, or other Persons differing from them in Religious Opinions, in any Transactions either of a public or a private Nature.

Nothing can be more explicit than the answers of the Foreign Universities—some of them express perfect wonder, that such questions should be proposed to them by a nation that glories in her learning and discernment.

As soon as the opinions of the Foreign Universities were received, they were transmitted to Mr. Pitt. But the Roman Catholics wish it to be most distinctly understood, that it was for *his* satisfaction, not *their's*, that these opinions were taken. Assuredly, His Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects did not want the wisdom of Foreign Universities to inform them, that His Majesty is the lawful Sovereign of all his Roman Catholic Subjects, and that by every divine and human law, his Roman Catholic subjects owe him true, dutiful, active, and unreserved allegiance.

The originals of these questions and of the answers to them, with the notarial authentications of them, have been produced in the House of Commons by Sir John Cock Hippiusley. They are in the custody of the writer of these columns, and are open to the inspection of every person who wishes to inspect them.

X.

It is also objected to the Roman Catholics, that it is an *article of their faith*, or, at least, that they consider it to be *lawful to persecute Heretics for their religious opinions*. All this the Roman Catholics most explicitly deny, and they consider it is completely denied in the solemn disclaimers made by them in all their oaths, of the direct or indirect right of the Pope or the church to temporal power; as without temporal power persecution cannot subsist.

They admit that many persons of their communion, both ecclesiastic and secular, have, at different times, been guilty of the crime of religious persecution; but they blame the conduct of those persons as severely as it is blamed by their Protestant brethren.

They also plead a tremendous set off. The massacre at Paris, on St. Bartholomew's day, was most horrid; but it had been preceded by the atrocities, full as horrid, of the Anabaptist Protestants at Munster. To the burnings in the reign of Queen Mary the Roman Catholics oppose the executions of Priests in the reigns of Queen Elizabeth, and the four Princes of the House of Stuart: they apprehend, that more cannot be said against the revocation of the edict of Nantes than against the deprivation of 2,000 Presbyterian Ministers of their livings, by the Act of Uniformity. They also bring into account Oates's plot; the sentence of death passed on Servitus for errors against the Trinity, through the influence of Calvin, his execution, and the justification of it by two of the principal pillars of the reformed Church, Melancthon and Beza. Between these enormities, it is not easy, in all events, to strike a balance; but the Roman Catholic may justly ask, by what principle of justice, or by what fair course of reasoning, the Protestant is authorized to ascribe the instances of persecution, which he proves on Roman Catholics, to a principle of the Roman Catholic creed, unless he allows, at the same time, that the instances of persecution which the Catholic proves in the Protestant Church are equally attributable to some principle of the Protestant creed. "Brother, Brother (say two known characters on the stage), we have both been in 'the wrong.'"—Let us learn wisdom from them; let us no more upbraid one another with our common failings; let us forget and forgive, bury all past animosities in oblivion, shake hands, and be friends. This is the only rational mode of closing this—by far the most disgusting and disgraceful part of all our controversies.

XI.

Another charge is brought against us by our adversaries, in consequence of the *Doctrines imputed to us respecting Sacerdotal Absolution*. We are said to believe that the mere absolution of a Priest, without any thing on our part, is a full remission of sin. In answer to this we shall only transcribe the following passage from the Book of Prayers for the use of Catholics serving in fleets and armies. "You know, from 'the Catechism you have learnt, and the 'Books of Catholic instruction you have 'read, that the absolution of a Priest can 'be of no benefit to you, unless you be 'duly disposed to a reconciliation with 'your offended God by true faith, by a 'sincere sorrow for all your sins, by a firm

"resolution never to commit them again, 'and by a willingness to satisfy God and 'your Neighbour also, as far as justice requires. Without those dispositions on 'your part, the act of the Priest would not 'be ratified in Heaven; you would be 'guilty of the profanation of the sacrament 'of penance, and provoke the indignation 'of the Almighty instead of obtaining his 'mercy."

It is not a little remarkable, that a canon of the English church, in 1608, enjoining the Priest not to make known to any one what had been revealed to him, bears such a similitude to the Roman Catholic doctrine on this head, that when it was produced in the House of Commons, Mr. Wilberforce interrupted him by saying, that it was a canon, not of the English but the Romish church, and expressed his astonishment when Sir John Hippisley shewed it to be one of the most recent canons which had been formed for the government of the established church.

XII.

One of the objections most strongly urged against the Roman Catholics, is *the tent imputed to them, that none are saved out of their communion*.

I beg leave not to enter into a discussion of this objection, as it cannot be urged to us by a Protestant of the established church of England, as the Athanasian Creed forms a part of her liturgy, and he swears that our doctrine of transubstantiation is damnable; or by a Protestant of the established church of Scotland, as the Protestants of that church, in their Profession of Faith of 1568, say, that "out of the church there "is neither life nor everlasting happiness;" or by a Protestant of the French Huguenot church, as in their Catechism, on the 10th article of the Creed, they profess, that "out of the church there is nothing but "death and damnation."

XIII.

This leads us to observe, that passages are often cited from the works of Roman Catholic writers, which express, that the Roman Catholic religion has always been the same; and that those who say, that the modern Roman Catholics differ in one iota from their predecessors, either deceive themselves or wish to deceive others. These passages have been cited to prove that, whatever doctrine any Pope or any ecclesiastical body, or any writer of approved authority, maintained or sanctioned by those practices in former times, is universally approved of by the modern Catholic

but this is a very unjust perversion of the meaning of the writers from whose writings the passages which we have cited, or passages of a similar import, are cited. Not one of them approves of any act of temporal power which the Pope or any body of churchmen have ever claimed in right of their spiritual character. In the cited passages the writers mean to assert no more than that the faith and essential discipline of Roman Catholics have always been what they now are. But they admit, that the resort of the Popes, or of any other ecclesiastics to temporal power, for effecting the object of their spiritual commission, was not only no part of the faith or essential discipline of the Church, but was diametrically opposite to its faith and discipline. The passages, therefore, to which we allude, can never be brought to prove the position for which they are quoted. To urge them for such a purpose, is evidently a gross perversion of their meaning.

XIV.

Such, then, being the charges brought against the Roman Catholics by their adversaries, and such being the Defence made by the Roman Catholics to them, will not every candid Protestant admit, that the unfavourable opinion, which some still entertain of the civil and religious principles of Roman Catholics, is owing, in a great measure, to prejudice.

But we have the satisfaction to find, that the prejudice against us decreases rapidly. With the mildness and good sense which distinguishes his respectable character, the Earl of Liverpool thus expressed himself, in his speech in the debate of the House of Lords, on the Petition presented by the Irish Catholics in 1810.—“*I have heard allusions made this night, to doctrines, which I do hope no man now believes the Catholics to entertain: nor, is there any ground for an opinion that the question is opposed under any such pretence. The explanations which have been given on this head, so far as I know, are completely satisfactory, and the question, as it now stands, is much more narrowed than it was on a former discussion.*” (See his Lordship's Speech, printed and published by Keating and Booker.) How very little beyond this declaration, and a Legislative enactment in consequence of it, do the Roman Catholics solicit!

CHARLES BUTLER.

Lincoln's Inn, February 5, 1813.

OFFICIAL PAPERS.

FRENCH PAPERS.

(Continued from page 192.)

tremity of the cold, had sneaked into the villages. With regard to the cannon, they have not carried off a single piece, although it is true, that I was obliged, by the loss of my horses, which perished through the excessive cold, to abandon the greater part of my artillery, after having dismounted and broken it. I know that the Russian statements are quite false; the extent of the country, and the extreme ignorance of the greater part of its population, give the Russian Government great liberty in this respect, and they take good care to profit by it, in causing the most nonsensical reports to be spread about. We were at the gates of Moscow, when that people believed us to be beaten.

(Signed) EUGENE NAPOLEON.

*Letter from the Marshal Prince of Eckmühl to the Major-General.**Thorn, Jan. 8.*

My Lord,—I read with astonishment, in the St. Petersburg papers, that on the day of the 16th November, the enemy took 12,000 prisoners from my corps d'armée, and that they had scattered the remains of that army in the neighbouring woods, in such manner, that it was entirely destroyed. It would be difficult to push impudence and falsehood farther, if all the Russian statements since the commencement of the campaign, and in the preceding ones, were not already known. Did they not sing *Te Deum* at Petersburg; and were not ribands distributed there for the battle of Austerlitz? Did they not say that they had taken 100 pieces of cannon from us at the battle of the Moskwa; and did they not again, on that occasion, chant the *Te Deum* which filled England with joy? How many difficulties did they not raise in acknowledging the taking of Moscow? Did they not likewise proclaim themselves conquerors at the battle of Maloyaroslavetz, where we pursued them for the space of 40 wersts?—The fact is, that his Majesty, knowing that the Russian army from Volhynia was marching towards the Beresina, was obliged to set out from Smolensk, notwithstanding the rigour of the season. By a sudden change in the temperature, the cold, which was but six degrees, advanced to 20; and even for a moment to 25, according to some of our engineer officers,

who had a thermometer. All our horses, and our train of artillery, perished. His Majesty no longer wished to come to an engagement with the enemy; he no longer even wished to allow himself to be amused by petty affairs, desiring to gain with all speed the Beresina. When His Majesty passed through Krasnoy, he had to drive back the enemy, who placed himself between the guard and my corps d'armée. As soon as my corps had rejoined the army, his Majesty continued his march, and my corps was to follow, without employing itself in maintaining a contest in which the enemy would have the advantage of a numerous cavalry and artillery. But my corps never met the enemy that it did not beat him. It has suffered very heavy losses, from fatigues, cold, and that fatality which caused all the cavalry and artillery horses to perish. A great number of my men dispersed, to seek refuge against the rigour of the cold, and many were taken.—Your Excellency knows that I do not dissemble my losses; they are undoubtedly considerable, and fill me with grief; but the glory of his Majesty's arms has not for a moment been compromised.

(Signed) The Marshal Duke of AUERSTADT,
Prince of ECKMÜHL.

*Letter from the Marshal Duke of Elchingen
to the Major-General.*

Elbing, Jan. 10.

Monsieur,—I have read in the Petersburg Gazette, that on the 17th of Nov. at midnight, my corps, 12,000 strong, sent a flag of truce and laid down their arms; that I saved myself alone and wounded, by passing the Borysthènes over the ice. I cannot believe that the General of the Russian army could, in his reports, have given place to such untruth; and although I knew the little confidence which in Europe is paid to these reports from Russian Gazettes, constantly discredited by the absurdity of their tales, I nevertheless take the liberty of writing to your Excellency, and I entreat you to have my letter printed, to give a formal contradiction to the statement, that my corps laid down its arms, and that I alone passed beyond the Dnieper. Very far from that, on the 17th of November, I alone sustained all the enemy's efforts. I had at that moment but 8,000 men under my orders, and in consequence of the unfortunate circumstances in which we were, I had no artillery. The enemy had a numerous one. I halted all day. I then discovered that it was not the

same infantry, for they several times attacked me, and notwithstanding their great superiority of number, could make no impression. At 10 P. M. a Colonel, with a flag of truce, was sent to propose I should surrender; to this impertinence I replied, by making the officer prisoner, and carrying him to the other side of the Dnieper, to which I made my troops repass, and I the next day conducted him to the headquarters of his Majesty, at Orcha; when I arrived there with my corps, I scarcely wanted 500 men, who were killed in the battle of the preceding day.—All the Russian reports are romances. There is nothing true in what they say, excepting the loss of my artillery; and your Highness knows that it was not in human power to bring it away in the midst of frosts, and over the ice, all my horses having fallen under the fatal mortality occasioned by the rigour of the cold. During the whole course of the campaign the Russians have not taken, either from me or my comrades, a single piece of cannon in the face of their enemy; although it is true, that when our draft-horses fell dead with the cold, we were obliged to break our artillery, and leave it behind us. To hear these reports from St. Petersburg, it must appear that we were all cowards, who could not choose but fly before the terrible Russian legions! It is true, that, according to their statement, we likewise fled at the battle of Moscow, and that they pushed us to the distance of 16 wersts from the field of battle; consequently it must have been in our flight that we occupied Moscow.—The Spring will do us justice for all these vain-glorious boastings. The Russians will every where find the men of Austerlitz, of Eylau, of Friedland, of Witepsk, of Smolenko, of the Meskwa, and of the Beresina.

(Signed) The Marshal Duke of
ELCHINGEN.

FRENCH DYNASTY.

Conservative Senate, Sitting of Feb. 2.

The sitting was opened at two o'clock, P. M. under the Presidency of His Serene Highness the Prince Arch-Chancellor of the Empire. Their Excellencies Counts Regnaud de St. Jean d'Angely and Desmon, Ministers of State and Counsellors of State were introduced.—His Serene Highness the Prince Archchancellor spoke as follows;—

GENTLEMEN,—His Imperial and Royal

Majesty has ordained that you should present him with a projet relative to the Regency.——This part of our institution not having yet been able to obtain such a degree of perfection, as the laws received by time, it has appeared useful to add more extended dispositions to those already existing, and at the same time the necessity has been felt of reviving the usages in our constitutional annals, founded on the ancient manners of the nation. Thus, the plan which is submitted to you, will re-establish in its full latitude the uncontested right of the Sovereign to settle the Regency.——At all events it will prevent an excess of precaution, by arbitrarily restraining the powers of this said Regency from denaturalizing the issue of the Monarchical Government.——If the Emperor had not manifested his will, the Regency would, by course of right, appertain to the Empress.——Whatever the heart and understanding can suggest in such matter, with regard to private families, ought to apply to the great family of the state. None can have a greater degree of zeal than the Empress Mother, for preserving the authority of her charge free from all attempts. No one can, like her, present to the imagination of the people the imposing and proper remembrances, so as to render obedience noble and easy.——A system of exclusion would constrain the choice of the Monarch. Prohibitory laws, by the restraint which they impose, frequently contain the seeds of discord.——In defect of the Empress, there is an order established, so that there can be no uncertainty concerning the choice of a Regent. In this matter the law, in respecting hereditary rights, has been obliged to enter into all the details of foresight, and to adopt every wise precaution.——The least interruption in the exercise of the Sovereign Power, would become a great calamity to the people.——This power, during the minority of the Emperor, is to be exercised in his name, and in his sole behalf, by the Empress Regent, or by the Regent.——After them the Council of Regency will concur in the decision of matters of great importance, and fortify their authority with all the weight of public opinion.——The other articles of the Projet are either drawn from those which I have just announced, or relate to them.——In a

matter so very serious, you will judge, Monsieur, that it will not be sufficient to weigh a few principles. The Legislature extends its views still further, and without aspiring to say every thing, it is a part of its duty to banish at first a number of doubts, and to suffer but few questions to subsist.——Whatever, Gentlemen, may be the utility of the dispositions on which we call for your suffrages, yet it is pleasing to hope, that according to the order of nature, their application will not occur until a period of time distant and uncertain.——Happy France, if all the Princes of this august Dynasty should not come to the throne until matured by age, animated by glorious examples, and long nourished by the lessons of wisdom!

After this discourse of his Serene Highness Messieurs, the Counsellors of State, presented a Projet of organized *Senatus Consultum*, and M. Count Regnaud de Saint Jean d'Angely explained its motives.

Motives of the Senatus Consultum on the Regency of the Empire, the Coronation of the Empress, and the Coronation of the Prince Imperial of Rome.

MONSIEUR SENATORS;—To add new guarantees of stability to our institutions, to ensure in every case which experience can indicate, or prudence conceive, the uninterrupted action of government; to look forward with calm reflection on the absence of every interest, in the silence of all the passions, in banishing all sorrows, to the difficulties which embarrass a minority; this is the principal object of the important act which is prescribed to your deliberation.——The motives which have dictated these dispositions, Gentlemen, are founded in the experience of nations, in the lessons of history, in the traditions of the French Monarchy, in the examples offered in its annals.——It will consequently suffice rather to indicate than develop these motives, and in the hasty picture which I am going to make, I shall follow the methodical manner traced out by the *Senatus Consultum*.

TITLE I.

Of the Regency.

A Regency of the State has never been
(*To be continued.*)

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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TO JAMES PAUL,

OF BURLINGTON, IN LOWER DUBLIN TOWNSHIP, IN PHILADELPHIA COUNTY, IN THE STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA; ON MATTERS RELATING TO HER ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCESS OF WALES.

Letter I.

My dear Friend,

The excellent effect which attended my letter to you, has made me resolve to discuss the present subject in the form of letters to you; a form, which, for various reasons, I have a great liking to, and which has always this strong recommendation, that it affords me an opportunity of proving to you that your friendship and that of your brother and children is always alive in my recollection. At this time, however, another motive has had some weight with me. I understand, that our Government has issued orders for causing all letters for your country to pass through its hands, or, which is the same thing, the hands of its agents; and, as I am resolved, that they shall never have the fingering of a letter of mine to America, I will put what I have to say into print, and then it can no more be impeded in its progress than can the clouds, or the rays of the sun.

In the case above alluded to, my letter did, I understand, settle all men's minds at once, as far as it went; and, as it was republished in America, it gives me great satisfaction to reflect on the extent of its influence. Nor was it without its uses here, where the people, at a distance from London, must, of course, know almost as little about the local circumstances of the case as the people in Pennsylvania themselves. Indeed the publication of that letter soon convinced me, that one ought not to take it for granted, that the mass of the people know much about particulars as to any sort of public matter; and that to suppose one's readers to be on the other side of the Atlantic is no bad way of making any case that one discusses quite clear to the people of England; nay, even to nine-tenths of those who walk in decent clothes, about the streets of London itself.

It is, therefore, in the full conviction that I shall communicate information to a great portion of the people here as well as to the eight millions of people who inhabit the United States, that I now renew my correspondence with you, leaving my promised communication, about the mode of keeping large quantities of sheep upon your farm, till the return of peace, lest, by fulfilling that promise at this time, I should subject myself to the charge of conveying comfort and giving assistance to the enemies of my Sovereign, than which, assuredly, nothing can be further from my heart.

The subject, upon which I now address you, is one of very great interest and of very great importance. It is interesting, as involving the reputation of persons of high rank; and it is important, as being capable of raising questions as to rights of most fearful magnitude.

You will have seen, in your own newspapers, copious extracts from our English daily papers upon the subject of Her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales; but, these extracts you will find so confused, so dark, so contradictory, so unintelligible upon the whole, so topless and tail-less, that you will from them be able to draw no rational conclusion. You will see Her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales abused by these journalists; you will see all sorts of charges by them preferred against her; you will hear one insinuation following another, till, at last, the ear sickens with the sound; but, you will find no where any clear statement of her case. Even her own Letter, which I shall, though for a second time, insert below for your perusal, does not go far enough back to produce that view of her case which ought to be exhibited, in order to a defence of her against the base insinuations which have, for a long while, been in circulation. In short, all that will reach your country, through the channel of these corrupt London Journalists, can only serve to mislead you as to the real merits of the case; and, even I, with a most earnest desire to lay before the world the means of forming a correct judgment, should fail of my object, were I not to revert to the earliest period of

that connexion between the Princess and the Prince, which has, unhappily, been, for some years, interrupted.

It is generally well known, but not improper to state here, that the Princess of Wales is the Daughter of the late Duke of Brunswick, and that her mother is a sister of our present King. Of course she is a first cousin of the Prince her husband. They were married on the 8th of April, 1795, the Prince being then 32 years of age, and the Princess being 26 years of age; the former will be 51 the 12th day of next August, and the latter will be 45 on the 17th of next May. On the 7th of January, 1796, that is to say, precisely nine months from the day of their marriage, was born the Princess Charlotte of Wales, who, being their only child, is the heiress to the Throne, and who, of course, has now completed her 17th year.

Here you have an account of who the parties most concerned are, and of the how and the when of their connexion. But, there were some circumstances, connected with the marriage of the Prince and Princess, to which it will be necessary to go back, in order to have a fair view of the matter.

The Prince, at the time when he was about to be married; in 1793, was *greatly in debt*. He had an annual allowance from the nation, besides the amount of certain revenues in the county of Cornwall belonging to him as Duke of that county. But, these proving insufficient to meet his expenses, he was found, in 1795, to have contracted debts to the amount of £639,890. 4s. 4d.; for we are very particular, in this country, in stating the fractions of sums in our public accounts. You will, perhaps, stare at this sum; but, you may depend upon my correctness in stating it, as I copy it from the documents laid before Parliament.

When the Prince was married, a proposition was made to Parliament for the payment of this sum of debt, which, indeed, seems to have been stipulated for before the marriage; for, in the report of the debate upon the subject of the debts, the Duke of Clarence is stated to have said, "that, when the marriage of the Prince of Wales was agreed upon, there was a stipulation that he should be exonerated from his debts." Much and long opposition was, however, made to the proposed payment by the country, and those who made this opposition contended, that, after having paid his debts, to a great amount,

in 1787, upon a clear understanding, that no more debts should be contracted on his account, the nation ought not to be called on again, and that the King ought to pay the debts out of his annual allowance, which we here call the *Civil List*, and which amounts to nearly half as much as your whole American revenue, though there are eight millions of you on whom to raise that revenue. See how rich a nation we must be!

The proposition was, however, at last agreed to; but, it ought to be borne in mind, that, through the whole of the discussions, the ground upon which this new call upon the public purse rested, was the *Prince's marriage*. The debts were not paid off in a ready sum; but, were to be liquidated by certain yearly deductions to come out of an additional yearly allowance to be made to the Prince; and, in case of the death of the King or of the Prince before the debts were all paid, the payment of the remainder was to fall upon the public revenues. So that it amounted to exactly the same thing in effect as if a simple vote had been given for the payment of the debts, at once, out of the year's taxes.

The King, in his message to the Houses, in about twenty days after the marriage took place, asked for an establishment to be settled upon the Prince "and his *august spouse*," and, at the same time, told them, that the benefit of any such settlement could not be effectually secured to the Prince, "till he was *relieved from his present encumbrances to a large amount*." Upon this ground the Prince's annual allowance from the nation was augmented. It was raised, at once, from £60,000 a year to £125,000 a year; and, of this sum, £25,000 a year were set apart for the discharge of his debts. To this was added a sum of £27,000 for preparations for the marriage; £28,000 for jewels and plate; and £26,000 for finishing Carleton House, the residence of the Prince.

It was necessary to enter into this statement, in order to show you what were the circumstances under which the Prince and Princess came together, and to make you acquainted with the fact, that Her Royal Highness did really bring to her Royal Spouse one of the greatest blessings on earth; namely, a relief from heavy pecuniary encumbrances, which encumbrances would, it is manifest, have continued to weigh upon His Royal Highness had his marriage not taken place.

But, Her Royal Highness also brought

with her other claims to love and gratitude. She was represented at the time, and with truth, I believe, as a person of great beauty, but not greater than her sweetness of manners, her acquired accomplishments; and her strength and greatness of mind. She was received in England with transports of joy; addresses of admiration and gratitude poured in upon her from all quarters, and her husband was congratulated as the happiest of men. A similar torrent of addresses came in upon the birth of the Princess Charlotte of Wales. In short, no events seem ever to have caused such unmixed joy in this country as the marriage of this illustrious Lady and the birth of her child.

What a contrast, alas! is presented in the occurrences of the present day! What short-sighted mortals we are! Who, though the most far-seeing of men, could, in 1796, while addresses of congratulation were succeeding each other to the Prince and Princess upon the birth of their child; who, at that day, could have anticipated, that the time was to come, when the mother would have to complain, aye, and to make public her complaints, of being *debarred a free communication with that child!*

This leads us to a consideration of the Princess's Letter; but, I ought, in the first place, to remind you, that it was not, as was stated at the time in print, many months after the Princess Charlotte was born before her royal Mother had a place of residence separate from that of the Prince. Now, this *might* happen without ground of blame on *either* side. There are so many ways in which misunderstandings in families are created; there are so many causes from which the society of man and wife become disagreeable; and these causes may be founded in so many incidents having nothing of crime or blame belonging to them, that, when separations of this sort take place, it is a harsh judgment that will insist upon affixing blame to one party or the other. Therefore, I, for my part, have always been willing to content myself with expressing merely regret upon this subject, in which respect, I am satisfied, that I did no more than follow the example of the great mass of the community. Had things continued in this state; had the parties, though living at a distance from each other, suffered the world to hear nothing from them in the way of complaint against each other, all would yet have been well. Unhappily this has not been the case; accusa-

tions of a very serious nature are, in the public prints, now stated to have taken place in private, and, at last, the consequence has been the writing and the publication of that Letter of the Princess, which I am now about to make a subject of most respectful consideration and remark.

This, however, I shall defer till my next Number, for reasons, which, when that Number shall appear, will, I imagine, be obvious to all my readers.

WM. COBBETT.

London, 24th Feb. 1813.

Copy of a Letter from Her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, to His Royal Highness the Prince Regent:—

"SIR,—It is with great reluctance that I presume to obtrude myself upon your Royal Highness, and to solicit your attention to matters which may, at first, appear rather of a personal than a public nature. If I could think them so—if they related merely to myself—I should abstain from a proceeding which might give uneasiness, or interrupt the more weighty occupations of your Royal Highness's time. I should continue, in silence and retirement, to lead the life which has been prescribed to me, and console myself for the loss of that society and those domestic comforts to which I have so long been a stranger, by the reflection that it has been deemed proper I should be afflicted without any fault of my own—and that your Royal Highness knows it.

"But, Sir, there are considerations of a higher nature than any regard to my own happiness, which render this address a duty both to Myself and my Daughter. May I venture to say—a duty also to my Husband, and the people committed to his care? There is a point beyond which a guiltless woman cannot with safety carry her forbearance. If her honour is invaded, the defence of her reputation is no longer a matter of choice; and it signifies not whether the attack be made openly, manfully, and directly—or by secret insinuation, and by holding such conduct towards her as countenances all the suspicions that malice can suggest. If these ought to be the feelings of every woman in England who is conscious that she deserves no reproach, your Royal Highness has too sound a judgment, and too nice a sense of honour, not to perceive, how much more justly they belong to the Mother of your Daughter

—the Mother of her who is destined, I trust, at a very distant period, to reign over the British Empire.

"It may be known to your Royal Highness, that during the continuance of the restrictions upon your royal authority, I purposely refrained from making any representations which might then augment the painful difficulties of your exalted station. At the expiration of the restrictions I still was inclined to delay taking this step, in the hope that I might owe the redress I sought to your gracious and unsolicited condescension. I have waited, in the fond indulgence of this expectation, until, to my inexpressible mortification, I find that my unwillingness to complain, has only produced fresh grounds of complaint; and I am at length compelled, either to abandon all regard for the two dearest objects which I possess on earth,—mine own honour, and my beloved Child; or to throw myself at the feet of your Royal Highness, the natural protector of both.

"I presume, Sir, to represent to your Royal Highness, that the separation, which every succeeding month is making wider, of the Mother and the Daughter, is equally injurious to my character, and to her education. I say nothing of the deep wounds which so cruel an arrangement inflicts upon my feelings, although I would fain hope that few persons will be found of a disposition to think lightly of these. To see myself cut off from one of the very few domestic enjoyments left me—certainly the only one upon which I set any value, the society of my Child—involves me in such misery, as I well know your Royal Highness could never inflict upon me, if you were aware of its bitterness. Our intercourse has been gradually diminished. A single interview weekly seemed sufficiently hard allowance for a Mother's affections. That, however, was reduced to our meeting once a fortnight; and I now learn, that even this most rigorous interdiction is to be still more rigidly enforced.

"But while I do not venture to intrude my feelings as a Mother upon your Royal Highness's notice, I must be allowed to say, that in the eyes of an observing and jealous world, this separation of a Daughter from her Mother will only admit of one construction, a construction fatal to the Mother's reputation. Your Royal Highness will also pardon me for adding, that there is no less inconsistency than injustice in this treatment. He who dares advise your Royal Highness to overlook the evi-

dence of my innocence, and disregard the sentence of complete acquittal which it produced,—or is wicked and false enough still to whisper suspicions in your ear,—betrays his duty to you, Sir, to your Daughter, and to your People, if he counsels you to permit a day to pass without a further investigation of my conduct. I know that no such calumniator will venture to recommend a measure which must speedily end in his utter confusion. Then let me implore you to reflect on the situation in which I am placed; without the shadow of a charge against me—without even an accuser—after an Inquiry that led to my ample vindication—yet treated as if I were still more culpable than the perjuries of my suborned traducers represented me, and held up to the world as a Mother who may not enjoy the society of her only Child.

"The feelings, Sir, which are natural to my wretched situation, might justify me in the gracious judgment of your Royal Highness, had I no other motives for addressing you but such as relate to myself: but I will not disguise from your Royal Highness what I cannot for a moment conceal from myself,—that the serious, and it soon may be, the irreparable injury which my Daughter sustains from the plan at present pursued, has done more in overcoming my reluctance to intrude upon your Royal Highness, than any sufferings of my own could accomplish: and if, for her sake, I presume to call away your Royal Highness's attention from the other cares of your exalted station, I feel confident I am not claiming it for a matter of inferior importance either to yourself or your people.

"The powers with which the Constitution of these realms vests your Royal Highness in the regulation of the Royal Family, I know, because I am so advised, are ample and unquestionable. My appeal, Sir, is made to your excellent sense and liberality of mind in the exercise of those powers; and I willingly hope, that your own parental feelings will lead you to exonerate the anxiety of mine, for impelling me to represent the unhappy consequences which the present system must entail upon our beloved Child.

"Is it possible, Sir, that any one can have attempted to persuade your Royal Highness, that her character will not be injured by the perpetual violence offered to her strongest affections—the studied care taken to estrange her from my society, and even to interrupt all communication between us? That her love for me, with

whom, by His Majesty's wise and gracious arrangements, she passed the years of her infancy and childhood, never can be extinguished, I well know; and the knowledge of it forms the greatest blessing of my existence. But let me implore your Royal Highness to reflect, how inevitably all attempts to abate this attachment, by forcibly separating us, if they succeed, must injure my Child's principles—if they fail, must destroy her happiness.

"The plan of excluding my Daughter from all intercourse with the world, appears to my humble judgment peculiarly unfortunate. She who is destined to be the Sovereign of this great country, enjoys none of those advantages of society which are deemed necessary for imparting a knowledge of mankind to persons who have infinitely less occasion to learn that important lesson; and it may so happen, by a chance which I trust is very remote, that she should be called upon to exercise the powers of the Crown, with an experience of the world more confined than that of the most private individual. To the extraordinary talents with which she is blessed, and which accompany a disposition as singularly amiable, frank, and decided, I willingly trust much: but beyond a certain point the greatest natural endowments cannot struggle against the disadvantages of circumstances and situation. It is my earnest prayer, for her own sake, as well as her country's, that your Royal Highness may be induced to pause before this point be reached.

"Those who have advised you, Sir, to delay so long the period of my Daughter's commencing her intercourse with the world, and for that purpose to make Windsor her residence, appear not to have regarded the interruptions to her education which this arrangement occasions; both by the impossibility of obtaining the attendance of proper teachers, and the time unavoidably consumed in the frequent journeys to town which she must make, unless she is to be secluded from all intercourse, even with your Royal Highness and the rest of the Royal Family. To the same unfortunate counsels I ascribe a circumstance in every way so distressing both to my parental and religious feelings, that my Daughter has never yet enjoyed the benefit of Confirmation, although above a year older than the age at which all the other branches of the Royal Family have partaken of that solemnity. May I earnestly conjure you, Sir, to hear my entreaties upon this serious

matter, even if you should listen to other advisers on things of less near concernment to the welfare of our Child?

"The pain with which I have at length formed the resolution of addressing myself to your Royal Highness is such as I should in vain attempt to express. If I could adequately describe it, you might be enabled, Sir, to estimate the strength of the motives which have made me submit to it: they are the most powerful feelings of affection, and the deepest impressions of duty towards your Royal Highness, my beloved Child, and the country, which I devoutly hope she may be preserved to govern, and to shew by a new example the liberal affection of a free and generous people to a virtuous and Constitutional Monarch.

"I am, Sir, with profound respect, and an attachment which nothing can alter, your Royal Highness's most devoted and most affectionate Consort, Cousin, and Subject,

(Signed) "CAROLINE LOUISA.

"Montague-house, 14th of Jan. 1813."

OFFICIAL PAPERS.

FRENCH PAPERS.

(Continued from page 256.)

bestowed on France by virtue of the general laws, one only was granted by Charles the 5th, but which was neither executed nor even acted on afterwards.—The suffrages of the people, the vows of the Nobility, the resolutions of the Council, the testaments of Monarchs, the arrest of the Parliaments, have successively and almost always fell under the public influence; where secret passions, intrigue, seduction, corruption, or force bestowed the Regency of the State.—But in the midst of these various examples, it is the Regencies of Queen Mothers that most frequently appear in our annals, and which have always been most conformable to the wishes of the nation, and the interest of the State. Happily, Gentlemen, for social order, it is in the strongest feeling of nature that we find the greatest security for the political opinion and conduct, and this guarantee given by maternal tenderness becomes still more efficacious, as we have before our eyes the happy example in the reciprocal affections which are born, and strengthened incessantly between a people sensible and good, and the August Sovereign, to whom they owe a successor to the Throne.—It is on

this happy principle that the first dispositions of the *Senatus Consultum* are founded, which grants the rights of Regency to the Empress Mother, who is consecrated to fill the void, by interest, the love of her Son and of her people.—It is not sufficient to have established this first rule, it is still requisite that in failure of the Empress, this disposition of the Emperor by establishing a gradual order, fixed and inviolable for the exercise of the Regency, shall provide against all incertitudes, and in general against all interruption in the movements of Government. It is there provided that in being called to the Regency, the French Princes shall have obtained the age of 21 years, according to the hereditary order, and in default of them, the Princes Grand Dignitaries fixed by the *Senatus Consultum*.—The Vice Grand Dignitaries shall in this respect, exercise the rights of those titularies whom they represent. To possess not a simple sovereignty, but a throne, a crown, to be in consequence subject to the duties, influenced by the affections, animated by foreign interests, opposite perhaps to the duties, the affections, the interests which ought to direct the Government of France, is in the eyes of reason and policy a motive of exclusion from the Regency, and two articles of the 1st Title, pronounce this exclusion.

TITLE II.

Of the Regency by the Emperor.

That, Gentlemen, which is established by Title I. as a general rule for the exercise of the Regency, may nevertheless be modified by the will of the Emperor, solemnly manifested.—It is without doubt that the interest of the State demands that a stated order should give a Regency to France, at the moment when she becomes the widow of her Monarch, without any change being made in this order, established by foresight and wisdom. But the interest of the State likewise requires, that the Emperor, under such circumstances as the general views of the laws can neither foresee nor define, may, after so much experience of events, the situation of affairs, the knowledge of persons, bring into the common rule modifications dictated by his wisdom, and inspired by the interests of his successors, and of his people.—This wise restriction is sacred, and the manner of making known its object and extent is determined in Titles 1. and 2, and finally in Art. 23 of Title 4, touching the Council of Re-

TITLE III.

Extent and Duration of the Power of the Regency.

After having instituted the Regency, it is necessary to fix its power.—It embraces in its extent and in the terms of the 1st Art. of Title 3, the whole plenitude of the Imperial authority. It commences at the moment of the Emperor's decease, to the intent that the empire shall neither suffer weakness, nor the interruption of its government.—With regard to its duration, the power remains in the hands of the Empress, in case of one of her minor sons being called to the throne. It passes into the hands of a Regent, if at the death of the Emperor as a minor, the Crown belongs to a Prince of another branch. Separated from the title of Empress, that of mother has not appeared sufficient to call to the Regency the mother of the new Emperor.—This part of the *Senatus Consultum*, Gentlemen, is drawn up as surplus, to shew, that according to this principle generally acknowledged, the exercise of power should not change hands, unless when absolute necessity or great interests require it.

TITLE IV.

Council of Regency.

History teaches us, that in epochs of minorities the Councils of Regency associated in the exercise of the administration, or of the Government, have been dispersed at the will of the Regents, embarrassing if they wished to become independent, inutile if they become seduced or subjected, dangerous if they wished to possess themselves of the public opinion.—It is not such a Council of Regency which is appointed by title 4th, but a Council necessary in a fixed number of cases, useful in all, dangerous in none.—SECT. 1.—This Council shall be composed of the first Prince of the Blood, the uncles, and two of the nearest relatives of the Emperor, according to order of birth, together with the Princes, Grand Dignitaries, at which the Empress or Regent shall preside, and to which the Emperor may add such number of members as he may judge convenient.

Deliberations of the Council.

SECTION 2.—To chuse a consort for the Emperor, declare war, sign treaties of peace, of alliance or commerce, such are the determinations on which the Council of Regency necessarily have to deliberate.—The projected dispositions of the extraor-



diary domains, and the necessity of placing the Princes Grand Dignitaries previous to the majority of the Emperor, in case of there being a Regent, is likewise submitted to them.—Being solely consulted in all other affairs, the Council of Regency will always give light into matters, and will never present obstacles to the authority charged with the government of the empire.

TITLE V.

Of the Guard of the minor Emperor.

The Royal Infant which belongs to a great nation, like the child belonging only to a private family, can never repose with greater security than in the arms of its mother. It is therefore to the mother of the Emperor, that the superintendence of his house, the charge of his education, and in short the guard of his person is confided.—The Emperor has not even imagined that any one could suppose a necessity of ever derogating from this sacred rule, and that it must only be in default of a mother, that the person of the minor Emperor is confided by the Emperor previous to his decease, or after his death, by the Council of Regency, to one of the Princes Grand Dignitaries of the empire.

TITLE VI.

Of the Oath to be taken for exercising the Regency.

The Constitution has determined that the Emperor at his accession should take an oath, which should be equally exacted for the exercise of the Regency, and contain special regulations relative to the temporary power attributed to the Regency.—The expression of those obligations should not be entirely the same for the Empress Regent, as for the Regent. The difference is established in 1st and 2d sections of Title 6th, in the first part of the oath.—The 2d, which is in common both to the Empress and to the Regent, is nothing more than the same oath which the Emperor himself takes on his ascending the throne.

TITLE VII.

Of the Administrations of Domains.

The titles of the Senatus Consultum which have just been analyzed, relates to the Government of the Empire, and the charge of the Minor Emperor.—The 7th relates to the Administration of the three species of Domains possessed by the Emperor, and to the manner in which their revenues are to be employed.—With regard to the Administration, the minority

makes no alteration in it, the rules established are to be observed concerning the revenues, the funds allotted to the crown are to follow its destination, and besides supply the housekeeping of the Empress Regent, or of the Regent.—The private Domains, on the contrary, may be a depot for the future, a treasure of power, a guarantee of peace, and it will be wise to take care of their preservation.—The dispositions of the 2d Section of this Title have been provided for, referring at the same time to the forms prescribed by the family statute of the 30th March, and to the dispositions of the Act of Constitution of the 30th January, concerning the Emperor's Domains.—The extraordinary domains remain entirely reserved for exigencies of the state, and the funds existing in its office are like those of the private domain, to be thrown into the Imperial Treasury.—The 44th Article of Section 3d does not even leave the disposition of the vacant benefices, in so far as they do not exceed 50,000 franks in revenue.

TITLE VIII.

Absence of the Emperor or Regent.

I have said at the commencement, Gentlemen, that His Majesty would extend his foresight to all events, and take all the chances of security in favour of maintaining public order and the guarantee of Government.—This sentiment has led him to provide for the case of absence, of the Emperor called to the throne, or of the Prince called to the Regency.—The 1st and 2d Sections of Title 8, provides for it by prorogation of the Ministers' powers, by forming a Council, presided over by the first in rank of the Grand Dignitaries.—Finally, to omit nothing, Section 3d gives the means of resolving in a Privy Council, by the drawing up and proposing a Senatus Consultum, all the unforeseen difficulties which may attend extraordinary conjunctures, and to the variety of which thought has not been able to extend itself.—Here finishes, Gentlemen, what relates to the Regency, and presents an order of ideas relating to, without being entirely dependent on it.

TITLE IX.

Called henceforth to the Government of the Empire, in case of minority, the Empresses will find themselves attached to France by a kind of new alliance, which is formed the moment that the Emperor owes to them a son, the throne an heir, and the nation an object of their love and hope.

—The 9th Title of the *Senatus Consultum* therefore supposes that the Emperress, if the Emperor should authorize it, have the right of being consecrated, crowned, and proclaimed; are capable, so to say, of exercising the Regency. In this august solemnity, Gentlemen, you will find intermixed the strength of remembrance, the grandeur of interests, the force of attention, the extent of hopes, even to the possibility of misfortune, and to providing against regrets.—From this moment the double adoption of the nation by the sovereign, and of the sovereign by the nation, will be consecrated by whatever is most holy in religion, august in human power, and the most consoling Providence, and if possible to render this source of profound reflection and touching emotions still more fruitful. The last title of the *Senatus Consultum* promises the nation to see, as in other epochs of the monarchy, the hereditary Prince King of Rome, anointed and crowned under the auspices of his august Father, take beforehand the holy engagements which he is called to fulfil towards him and the state, and become thus more especially entitled to the love and devotion of the French.—As I have said enough, Gentlemen, in this short exposé to make you appreciate, in all its extent, the importance of this *Senatus Consultum*, a fresh monument of the constant solicitude of the Emperor for the duration of his institutions, the security of his subjects, the glory of his dynasty.—This is the manner, Gentlemen, in which it is proper to reply to mad projects—anarchial hopes—I almost said, to the murderous wishes of our enemies. The People and the Governments which they attempt to deceive, will acknowledge their error, in seeing on the one side, battalions, squadrons, already arrived, or ready to march wherever the safety or glory of the Empire calls them; and on the other, wise prudence guarding the future against improbable misfortunes, and still more strengthening a Government already secured by the affection of all, and defended by the interests of all.

The Project of the Organic *Senatus Consultum* was sent to a Special Commission, and the Senate adjourned to Friday the 5th instant.

Sitting of Friday, Feb. 5.

The Senate met at two o'clock, under the presidency of his Highness the Prince Arch-Chancellor of the Empire.—Count Pastoret, in the name of the Special Commission appointed in the Sitting of the 2d,

made a long Report on the Project of the Organic *Senatus Consultum*, (which will be given to-morrow.—The Senate unanimously voted the Project.

SENATUS CONSULTUM.

NAPOLÉON, &c.—The Senate, after having heard the Orators of the Council of State, has decreed, and we ordain as follows:

Extract from the Registers of the Conservative Senate, Friday, Feb. 5.

The Conservative Senate assembled to the number of Members prescribed by Art. 90 of the Act of the Constitution of the 19th Dec. 1799;—Having seen the project of the Organic *Senatus Consultum* drawn up in the form prescribed by Art. 57 of the Act of Constitution of the 4th of August, 1802;—After having heard on the two sides of the said project the Orators of the Council of State, and the Report of the Special Commission appointed in the Sitting of the 2d of this month. The adoption having been deliberated, to the number of voices prescribed by Art. 56 of the Act of the Constitution of the 4th August, 1802, decrees:

TITLE I.

Of the Regency.

Art. 1. The case occurring, in which the Emperor ascends the throne a minor, without his Father having disposed of the Regency of the Empire, the Emperress Mother unites of right to the guardianship of her Son the Regency of the Empire.—2. The Emperress Regent cannot marry a second time.—3. In case of the failure of the Emperress, the Regency, if the Emperor has not otherwise disposed of it, appertains to the first Prince of the Blood, and in default of him, to one of the other French Princes, in the order of succession to the Crown.—4. Should there not be any Prince of the Blood capable of exercising the Regency, it passes of right to the first of the Princes Grand Dignitaries of the Empire in function at the moment of the decease of the Emperor, to one in default of the other, in the following order, viz. The first, the Arch-chancellor of the Empire; the second, the Arch-chancellor of State; the third, the Grand Elector; the fourth, the Constable; the fifth, the Arch-treasurer; the sixth, the Grand Admiral.—5. A French Prince, seated on a foreign Royal throne, at the moment of the Emperor's decease, is incapable of exercising the Regency.—6. The Emperor not appointing Vice Grand Dignitaries, except when the Titulars are

called to foreign thrones, the Vice Grand Dignitaries exercise the rights of the Titular, whose places they supply, even in what regards the entrance into the Council of Regency.—7. The Titular Princes of the Grand Dignitaries of the Empire, who, according to Article 51 of the Act of the Constitution of the 18th May, 1804, were deprived of the exercise of their functions at the moment of the decease of the Emperor, cannot resume their functions till they are recalled by the Regent.—8. To be capable of exercising the Regency, a French Prince must be of the age of 21 years complete. All the Acts of the Regency are in the name of the minor Emperor.

TITLE II.

Of the manner in which the Emperor disposes of the Regency.

10. The Emperor disposes of the Regency, either by an act of his will, according to the forms established by the statute of the 30th March, 1806, or by letters patent.

TITLE III.

Of the extent of the power of the Regency, and of its duration.

11. Until the majority of the Emperor, the Empress Regent, or the Prince Regent, will exercise for the minor Emperor all the Imperial power.—12. Their functions commence at the moment of the decease of the Emperor.—13. The Empress Regent appoints to the Grand Dignities and great Offices of the Empire, and of the Crown, which are or become vacant during the Regency.—14. The Empress Regent, or Regent, may appoint or dismiss all the Ministers without exception, and may raise citizens to the rank of Senators conformably to Art. 67 to the Act of the Constitution of the 18th of May, 1804.—15. If the minor Emperor dies, leaving a brother heir to the throne, the Regency of the Empress, or of the Prince Regent, continues without any new formality.—16. The Regency of the Empress ceases, if the order of inheritance calls to the throne a Prince who is not her son. It is provided, in this case, for the exercise of the Regency conformably to Art. 4.—17. If the minor Emperor dies, leaving the Crown to a minor Emperor of another branch, the Prince Regent shall retain the exercise of the Regency till the majority of the new Emperor.—18. The French Prince, or the Prince Grand Dignitary, who exercises the Regency from defect of age, or other impediment, in the Prince called before him to the Regency, by

the Constitution, retains the Regency till the majority of the Emperor.—The French Prince who is prevented by any cause whatever from exercising the Regency at the moment of the Emperor's decease, cannot, that impediment ceasing, take on him the exercise of the Regency.

TITLE IV.

Of the Council of Regency.

Section 1.—*Of the Formation of the Council of Regency.*

19. The Council of the Regency is composed of the first Prince of the Blood, of the Princes of the Blood, uncles of the Emperor, of the Princes Grand Dignitaries of the Empire.—20. If there is no Prince, uncle to the Emperor, the nearest kinsman of the Emperor, in the order of succession, has entrance to the Council of Regency.—21. The Emperor, either by letters or by will, adds to the Council of Regency the names of such members as he judges proper.—22. None of the Members of the Council of Regency can be removed from his functions by the Empress Regent, or the Regent.—23. The Empress Regent, or the Regent, preside in the Council of Regency, or delegate, to preside in their place, one of the French Princes, or one of the Princes Grand Dignitaries.

Sect. 2.—*Of the Deliberations of the Council of Regency.*

24. The Council of Regency deliberates necessarily by the absolute majority of voices.—1. On the marriage of the Emperor.—2. On the declarations of war, and on the signing of treaties of alliance; and—3. On every alienation or disposition to form new dotations of immoveable property, composing the extraordinary domain of the Crown.—4. On the question whether the Regent nominates to one or more of the Grand Dignitaries of the Empire, vacant during the minority?—25. The Council of Regency shall exercise the functions of the Privy Council, as well in matters of grace and favour as in the drawing up *Senatus Consultum*.—26. In case of disagreement, the voice of the Empress or of the Regent shall give the preponderance. If the Presidency is exercised by delegation, the Empress Regent or the Regent shall decide.—27. On all other affairs referred to its examination, the Council of Regency shall have only a consultative voice.—28. The Minister Secretary of State shall hold the pen at the sittings of the Council of Regency, and he shall draw up the proces verbal of its deliberations.

TITLE V.

Of the Guard of the minor Emperor.

29. The Guard of the minor Emperor, the superintendence of his Household, and the care of his education, shall be confided to his Mother.—30. In default of a Mother, or of a Prince designated by the deceased Emperor, the care of the Emperor is confided by the Council of Regency to one of the Princes titulated the Grand Dignities of the Empire.—31. This choice shall be made by a scrutiny, and carried by an absolute majority of voices; in case of being equal, the Regent shall decide.

TITLE VI.

*On the Oath to be taken by the Empress Regent, and that of the Prince Regent, for the exercise of the Regency.**Section I.—Of the Empress Regent's Oath.*

32. If the Empress Regent has not taken the oath during the Emperor's life-time, for the exercise of the Regency, she shall take it within three months next following the Emperor's decease.—33. The oath shall be taken by the minor Emperor, seated on his throne, assisted by the Prince Arch-Chancellor of the Empire, the French Princes, the Council of Regency, the Cabinet Ministers, the great Officers of the Empire and the Crown, the Ministers of State, and the Grand Eagles of the Legion of Honour, in presence of the Senate and of the Council of State.—34. The oath to be taken by the Empress is conceived in these terms:—I swear fidelity to the Emperor; I swear to conform myself to the Acts of the Constitution, and to observe the dispositions made by the Emperor, my Consort, for the exercise of the Regency, not to consult in employing my authority, aught else than my love and devotion for my Son and for France, and faithfully to return to the Emperor on his coming of age the powers confided to me. I swear to maintain the integrity of the territory of the Empire; to respect, and cause to be respected, the Laws of the Concordat, and the Liberty of Religious Worship; to respect, and cause to be respected, equality of Rights, Civil Liberty; and the irrevocability of the Sales of the National Effects; not to raise any Imposts, nor establish any Tax, but for the use of the State, and according to the fundamental Laws of the Monarchy, to maintain the Institution of the Legion of Honour, and to govern with the sole view of the interest, welfare, and glory of the French People.

Sec. I.—Of the Regent's Oath.

35. The Prince called to the Regency

shall take, within three months after the decease of the Emperor, the following oath, in the same manner, and before the persons appointed to receive the oath of the Empress:—I swear fidelity to the Emperor; I swear to conform myself to the Acts of the Constitution, and to observe the dispositions made by the Emperor concerning the exercise of the Regency, and faithfully to return to the Emperor, on his coming to age of majority, the power confided to me. I swear to maintain the integrity of the territory of the Empire; to respect, and cause to be respected, the equality of rights, the civil liberty, the irrevocability of the sale of National effects, not to raise any impost, nor establish any tax, but for the use of the State, and conformable with the fundamental laws of the Monarchy; to maintain the institution of the Legion of Honour, and to govern with a sole view to the interest, welfare, and glory of the French People.—36. The Prince Arch-Chancellor, assisted by the Minister Secretary of State, shall form à proces verbal of this oath. The Act shall be signed by the Empress or the Regent, by the Princes, the Grand Dignitaries, the Ministers, and the great Officers of the Empire.

TITLE VIII.

*Of the Administration of the Imperial Domains, and of the Disposition of the Revenue in case of a Minority and Regency.**Section 1.—Of the Crown Funds.*

37. During the Regency, the administration of the Crown Funds shall continue according to the rules established. The use to which the revenues are to be employed is fixed in the usual forms, under the authority of the Empress Regent, or of the Regent.—38. The expense of their house-keeping, and their personal expenses, shall form part of the Crown Budget.

Section 2.—Of the Private Domains.

39. When the decease of the Emperor shall take place, the Prince Arch-Chancellor of the Empire, or in default of him, the first in rank of the Grand Dignitaries, shall cause seals to be put on the chests of treasure of the Private Domains, by the Secretary of State to the Imperial Family, in presence of the Grand Judges, of the Chancellor of the Senate, and the Intendant General of the Private Domains.—40. It shall be proceeded with according to the orders of the Family Council, to take inventories of the funds and articles of moveables, by the Secretary of State to the Im-

perial Family, assisted by the persons nominated in the preceding article.—41. The Council of the Family will attend to the execution of the dispositions of the Senatus Consultum of the 30th Jan. 1810, concerning the Partition of the Effects of the Private Domains. The funds belonging to the Emperor, after this partition, shall be thrown by the Treasurer of the Private Domains into the Imperial Treasury, under the care of the Family Council, and placed in the most beneficial manner.—42. The produce of the same shall be successively added to the principal, and the whole remain in reserve until the Emperor become of age.—43. Account shall be rendered of all these operations by the Family Council to the Empress Regent, or Regent, who will give the definitive authorization for placing them out.

Sec. 3.—Of the Extraordinary Domains.

44. The Empress Regent, or the Prince Regent, shall dispose of, if they judge convenient, all the funds of 50,000 franks interest and upwards which have been made before the minority, without having been disposed of, or caused to be returned to the Extraordinary Domains of the Crown during the Regency.—45. The other funds remain in reserve until the Emperor comes of age.—46. The Administration of the Extraordinary Domains shall continue, according to the established rules, as is said before, concerning the Domains of the Crown.—47. The funds which may be found in the Treasury of the Extraordinary Domains, at the time of the Emperor's decease, shall be thrown into the Treasury of the State, and there remain till the Emperor comes of age.

TITLE VIII.

In case of the Emperor or Regent's Absence.

Sec. 1.—In case of the Emperor's Absence.

48. If, at the moment of the Emperor's decease, his successor is out of the territory of the Empire, the powers of the Ministers shall be prorogued until that the Emperor is arrived in the territory of the Empire. The first in rank of the great Dignitaries shall preside in the Council which governs the State, under the form of a Council of Government. The deliberations there shall be taken by an absolute majority of votes; the President having a casting vote in case of being equal.—49. All the Acts shall be made in the Emperor's name, but he shall not commence exercising the Imperial power until he is within the territory of the Empire.

Sec. 4.—In case of the Regent's Absence.

50. In case of the Regent's Absence at

the commencement of a minority, without its having been foreseen by the Emperor previous to his decease, the powers of the Ministers shall be prorogued till the Regent's arrival, as is before mentioned in Article 48.

Sec. 3.—In cases not foreseen.

51. If in the absence of the Emperor, major or minor, or in the absence of the Regent, the Government being in the hands of the Council of Ministers, presided over by a Grand Dignitary, there should be presented, for resolving any questions not decided by the present Act, the said Council of Government, performing the functions of a Privy Council, shall put in form the project of the Senatus Consultum, and cause to be presented to the Senate by two of its Members,

TITLE IX.

Of the Anointing and Coronation of the Empress.

52. The Empress Mother of the Hereditary Prince, King of Rome, may be anointed and crowned.—53. This prerogative shall be accorded to the Empress by letters patent, published in the customary forms, and which shall be besides addressed to the Senate, and entered in their registers.—54. The coronation shall take place in the Basilique of Notre Dame, or in any other church designated in the letters patent.

TITLE X.

Of the Anointing and Coronation of the Prince, Imperial King of Rome.

55. The Imperial Prince, King of Rome, may in his quality as Heir to the Empire, be anointed and crowned in the Emperor's life-time.—56. This ceremony cannot take place but by virtue of letters patent, in the same form as those relative to the coronation of the Empress.—57. After anointing and coronation of the Prince Imperial King of Rome, the Senatus Consultum laws, regulations, Imperial statutes, decrees, and all other acts emitted by the Emperor, or made in his name, shall bear, besides the indication of the year of his reign, the year of the coronation of the Prince Imperial King of Rome.—58. The present organized Senatus Consultum shall be transmitted by a Message to his Majesty the Emperor and King.

The Presidents and Secretaries.

(Signed) CAMBACERES.

The Count de BEAUMONT.

Count de LAPPAUNT.

(Seen and Sealed) The Chancellor of the Senate.

(Signed) Count LAPLACE.

We do hereby command and ordain that these presents, furnished with the Seal of the State, inserted in the Bulletin of the Laws, shall be addressed to the Courts, Tribunals, and other Administrative Authorities, for the purpose of being inserted in their Registers, to be observed and caused to be observed by them; and our Grand Judge, Minister of Justice, is charged with superintending the publication of the same.

Given at our Palace of the Thuilleries, the 5th Feb. 1813.

(Signed) NAPOLEON.

By order of the Emperor,
The Minister Secretary of State,
(Signed) Count DARU.

Seen by us, the Arch-Chancellor of the Empire,
(Signed) GAMBACERIS.

Paris, February 14.

To-day, Sunday the 14th of February, His Majesty the Emperor and King departed at one o'clock from the Palace of the Thuilleries, in grand state, to proceed to the Palace of the Legislative Body. Salvoes of artillery announced the departure of His Majesty from the Thuilleries, and his arrival at the Legislative Body.—[Here follows the route the procession took.]—The President of the Legislative Body and 96 deputies received His Majesty at the bottom of the staircase, and conducted him to the apartment prepared to receive him.—The Deputation from the Senate and Council of State having taken their places, and Her Majesty the Empress being seated on the throne, in front of the Emperor's throne, accompanied by Her Majesty the Queen Hortense, and surrounded by the Officers of her Household, the Diplomatic Corps occupied a Tribune to the right.—The Emperor, after having rested himself in his apartment, went to the hall of the Legislative Corps, preceded by his suite. On the entry of His Majesty all the Deputies arose. His Majesty seated himself upon his throne, the Princes, Grand Dignitaries, &c. having taken their places according to their rank.—The Emperor being seated, the Grand Master of the Ceremonies took His Majesty's orders for opening the Sitting.—The Prince Vice-Grand Elector, demanded His Majesty's permission to present to him the Members of the Legislative Corps lately elected, and allow them to take the oath.—One of the Officers called over the names, and the oath was taken.—This being finished,

the Emperor delivered the following speech:

"Gentlemen, Deputies from the Departments to the Legislative Body."

"The war again lighted in the North of Europe offered a favourable opportunity to the projects of the English upon the Peninsula. They have made great efforts. All their hopes have been deceived.—Their army was wrecked before the citadel of Burgos, and obliged, after having suffered great losses, to evacuate the Spanish territory.—I myself entered Russia. The French arms were constantly victorious, in the fields of Ostrowno, Polotsk, Mohilow, Smolensk, Moscow, Molairadslavitz. The Russian armies could not stand before our armies. Moscow fell into our power!—Whilst the barriers of Russia were forced, and the impotency of her arms acknowledged, a swarm of Tartars turned their parricidal hands against the finest provinces of that vast empire, which they had been called to defend.—They in a few weeks, notwithstanding the tears and despair of the unfortunate Muscovites, burned more than four thousand of their finest villages—more than fifty of their finest towns; thus gratifying their ancient hatred, under the pretext of retarding our march, by surrounding us with a desert. We triumphed over all these obstacles. Even the fire of Moscow, by which in four days they annihilated the fruits of the labours and cares of four generations, changed in no respect the prosperous state of my affairs.—But the excessive and premature rigour of the winter brought down a heavy calamity on my army; in a few nights I saw every thing change! I experienced great losses! They would have broken my heart, if, under such circumstances, I could have been accessible to any other sentiments than those of the interest, the glory, and the future prosperity of my people.—On seeing the evils which pressed upon us, the joy of England was great—her hopes had no bounds; she offered our finest provinces as the reward of treason—she made as the conditions of peace the dismemberment of this vast empire: it was, under other terms, to proclaim perpetual war.—The energy of my people under these great circumstances; their attachment to the integrity of the empire; the love which they have shown me, have dissipated all these chimeras, and brought back our enemies to a more just consideration of things.—The misfor-

times produced by the rigour of hoar frosts have been made apparent in all their extent. The grandeur and the solidity of this empire, founded upon the efforts and the love of fifty millions of citizens, and upon the territorial resources of one of the finest countries in the world.—It is with lively satisfaction that we have seen our people of the kingdom of Italy, those of ancient Holland, and of the United Departments, rival with Old France, and feel that there is for them no future hope but in the consolidation and the triumph of the Grand Empire.—The agents of England propagate among all our neighbours the spirit of revolt against Sovereigns; England wishes to see the whole Continent become a prey to civil war, and all the series of anarchy; but Providence has designed her herself to be the first victim of anarchy and civil war.—I have signed with the Pope a Concordat which terminates all the differences that unfortunately had arisen in the Church.—The French dynasty reigns, and will reign in Spain. I am satisfied with all my allies: I will abandon none of them. I will maintain the integrity of their States. The Russians shall return into their frightful climate.—I desire peace; it is necessary to the world.—Four times since the rupture which followed the treaty of Amiens, I proposed it in a solemn manner. I will never make but an honourable peace, and one conformable to the interests and grandeur of my empire. My policy is not mysterious; I have stated all the sacrifices I could make.—So long as this maritime war shall last, my people must hold themselves ready to make all kind of sacrifices; because a bad peace would make us lose every thing—even hope and all would be comprised, even the prosperity of our dependencies.—America has had recourse to arms, to make the sovereignty of her flag respected—the wishes of the world accompany her in this glorious contest. If she terminates it by obliging the enemies of the Continent to acknowledge the principle that the flag covers the merchandize and crew, and that neutrals ought not to be subject to blockades upon paper, the whole conformable to the stipulations of the Treaty of Utrecht, America will have credit from all nations; posterity will say, that the old world had lost its rights, and that the new one re-conquered them.—My Minister of the Interior will explain to you in the Exposé of the situation of the empire, the prosperous state of agriculture,

manufactures, and of our interior commerce, as well as the still constant increase of our population. In no age has agriculture and manufactories been carried to a higher degree of prosperity in France.—I want great resources to meet the expenses which circumstances demand; but by means of the different measures which my Minister of Finances will propose to you, I shall not impose any new burdens on my people."

After the Speech, the Sitting terminated, and His Majesty retired amidst acclamations.—(*Moniteur*, Feb. 15).

Paris, February 13.

His Serene Highness the Prince Arch-Chancellor of the Empire appeared on this day, Saturday, the 13th of February, in the Senate, by order of His Majesty the Emperor and King, for the purpose of presiding at the Sitting. His Serene Highness having been received with the usual ceremonies, caused the Concordat, signed at Fontainebleau, the 25th of January, 1813, between His Majesty the Emperor and King, and his Holiness Pius VII. to be read by one of his Secretaries.

CONCORDAT.

His Majesty the Emperor and King, and his Holiness, being inclined to put a termination to the differences which have arisen between them, and to provide against the difficulties that have taken place in several affairs concerning the Church, have agreed upon the following articles, which are to serve as the basis for a definitive arrangement:

Art. 1. His Holiness shall exercise the Pontificate in France, and in the Kingdom of Italy, in the same manner and same forms as his predecessors.—2. The Ambassadors, Ministers, *Chargé d'Affaires*, of Foreign Powers, to the Holy Father, and the Ambassadors, Ministers, or *Chargé d'Affaires*, whom the Pope may have with Foreign Powers, shall enjoy such immunities and privileges as are enjoyed by the Diplomatic Body.—3. The domains which were possessed by the Holy Father, and that have not been alienated, shall be exempted from all kinds of imposts, and shall be administered by his Agents or *Chargé d'Affaires*. Those which were alienated shall be replaced, to the amount of two millions of francs in revenue.—4. Within the space of six months following the notification of the usage of nomination by the Emperor to the Archbishopricks

and Bishopricks of the Empire and Kingdom of Italy, the Pope shall give the canonical institutions in conformity with the Concordat, and by virtue of this present indulto. The precluding information shall be given by the Metropolitan. The six months being expired without the Pope having accorded to the institution, the Metropolitan, or in default of him, where a Metropolitan is in question, the oldest bishop of the province, shall proceed to the institution of the new Bishop, so that a seat shall never be vacant longer than one year.

—5. The Pope shall nominate to the ten Bishopricks either in France or in Italy, which shall finally be designated by mutual consent.—6. The six suburb bishopricks shall be re-established;—they shall be at the nomination of the Pope. The property actually existing shall be restored, and measures shall be taken for recovering what has been sold. At the death of the Bishop of Anagni and Rieti, their dioceses shall be re-united to the six bishopricks before mentioned, conformably with agreement which shall take place between His Majesty and the Holy Father.—7. With regard to the bishops of the Roman states, who are through circumstances absent from their dioceses, the Holy Father may exercise his right of giving bishopricks, in partibus, in their favour. A pension shall be given to them equal to the revenue before enjoyed by them, and they may be replaced in the vacant seats, either in the empire, or in Italy.—8. His Majesty and his Holiness will at a proper time concert with each other on the reduction to be made, if it should take place, in the bishoprick of Tuscany, and the country of Genoa, as likewise for the bishopricks to be established in Holland, and in the Hanseatic departments.—9. The Propaganda, the Penitentiary, and the Archives shall be established in the place of the Holy Father's abode.—10. His Majesty restores his good favour to those cardinals, bishops, priests, and lay brethren, who have incurred his displeasure in consequence of actual events.—11. The Holy Father agrees to the above dispositions, in consideration of the actual state of the Church, and in the confidence with which His Majesty has inspired him, that he will grant his powerful protection to the numerous wants which Religion suffers in the times we live in.

(Signed) NAPOLEON.
PIUA, P. P. 7.

Fontainebleau, Jan. 25, 1813.

NORTHERN WAR.

Official Intelligence from the Russian Armies.

The Commander in Chief of the Armies, Marshal Prince Kutusow of Smolensk, has presented to his Imperial Majesty the continuation of the Journal of military operations, from the 30th December to the 4th January (N. S.) which contains as follows:

Dec. 18 (30).—Major-General Prince Orousoff has, on the 15th (27th) inst. joined the army, with five complete regiments, which are under his orders, and are intended to complete it.

Major-General Ignateef, on the 13th (25th) instant, caused a battalion of Kourinski infantry, and a detachment of the regiment of Lithuanian Uhlans, to depart from the fortress of Bobrynsk for Lithuania.

Dec. 19 (31).—General Count — states, under date of the 17th (29th), that Lieutenant-Colonel Teninhan, who was at Ragnet with his detachment, having received advice that a large body of the enemy's cavalry had shown themselves on the road to Tilsit, immediately put himself in motion to meet them. He discovered four squadrons of Prussian hussars, who were immediately attacked and broken by the Cossacks. We took from the enemy three officers and fifty soldiers. Lieutenant-Colonel Tetenbora perceiving that the enemy was reinforcing himself with infantry and dragoons, and that he had artillery with him, retired to Lenken and placed his advanced guard at Upper Erseln. After occupying Gumbinnen and Insterbourg, we took 81 prisoners in pursuing the enemy as far as Wehlau. The Aid-de-Camp General Wassilitchikoff reports, that four regiments of Don Cossacks had, on the 10th (22d) inst. united with his detachment. He likewise mentions, under date of the 15th (27th), that the Austrian corps under the orders of Prince Schwartzenberg had parted at Tikotchine, and taken two different routes; his left wing takes the way of Wiana and Lomza to Ostrolenka, and he is putting himself in order to pursue the enemy with all celerity. Col. Joussowitsch, whom he has in the meanwhile detached with two regiments of Cossacks and Charkoff's regiment of dragoons on the road to Wysokomasowetz, is likewise to pursue the enemy and keep a communication with his corps.

Dec. 20 (Jan. 1).—Lieutenant-General Baron Ven Sacken reports, under date of the 17th (29th), that Major-General Count

de Liewen, who was marching on Wyssokolitorsk, had detached Lieutenant-Colonel Minitzki from his corps, who having advanced on Brest Litovsk, occupied that town on the 13th (25th), and there made upwards of 100 prisoners. His patrols extended as far as Biala, Janow, and Droghichene. Major-General Boulatoff, who was marching by the way of Prougane and Chircheff to Kapinitz Letovsk, has, on his way, picked up about 500 prisoners. He pushes his patrols as far as Briansk and Bielsk. The Aid-de-Camp General Wassilichikoff reports under date of the 18th (30th), that the corps under his orders entered Tikotchine on the preceding day. The inhabitants and the clergy, bringing bread and salt, came to meet the Russians with transports of joy. The women left the houses with their children in the tenderest emotions; the cries of *hurra!* a thousand times repeated, and the name of His Imperial Majesty, which reverberated from all sides, announced the joy with which every one was animated. General Wassilichikoff is meanwhile in pursuit of the enemy on the road to Warsaw.

Dec. 21 (Jan. 3).—On the 17th (29th), General Count Platoff detached the Regiment of Dragoons of Negine to go to Bialystock, by the way of Grodno, under the orders of the Aid-de-Camp General Baron de Korff. General Doctoroff, who likewise takes the route to Bialystock, with the body of troops under his orders, arrived on the 19th (31st) at Wolkawilsk.

Dec. 22 (Jan. 2).—Lieutenant-General Paulucci reports, under date of the 18th (30th), that after the occupation of Mittau, he directed Lieutenant-Colonel Kounitski, of the Regiment of Polish Uhlans, to pursue the enemy who were dispersed in the woods, and that this Officer, in marching by Granzhoff, Gogary, Martynischki, and Okmiana, had taken two Officers and eighty soldiers prisoners.—On the 9th (21st) ditto, the Marquis put himself in march with his column from Mittau to Trouenburg, where his van-guard, under the orders of Lieutenant-Colonel Sanden, of the artillery, came up with the enemy on the 11th (23d) and defeated him, taking 60 prisoners, and making himself master of several carriages, taken under requisition some waggons laden with biscuits, flour, and oats; and took about 40 horses. On the 12th (24th), he arrived at Schründen, where the enemy abandoned considerable magazines. On the 13th (25th), he was at Upper Barthau, from

whence he caused his van-guard to advance; which having on the 14th (26th) come up with the enemy, between Rützaw and Polangen, near Buderscheff, beat them, and took two Officers and eighty soldiers. On the 14th (26th), the column proceeded as far as Polangen, where it was rejoined by Lieutenant-Colonel Kounitski.—On the 15th (27th), it arrived before Memel. The garrison, after some resistance, surrendered prisoners of war, to the number of two staff Officers, twenty subalterns, and upwards of seven hundred soldiers. It was thus that our troops entered Memel on the 15th (27th). We there found 200 sick, and about 100 of our prisoners. We seized on three armed sloops, of the French flotilla, in the harbour; we likewise took six sloops, belonging to the Prussian flotilla, with 30 guns; 31 vessels belonging to different nations, and a considerable quantity of colonial produce, imported by the French. In the town we found five pieces of cannon, 900 fusils, 19 carbines, 19 pair of pistols, 900 cartridge boxes, 26,000 cartridges, 60 sabres, and 19 hussar saddles, three field batteries, with five Officers, 84 soldiers, 16 surgeons, one chariot, 85 horses, and four iron boilers. The magazines contain large quantities of all kinds of corn and of brandy.—The head-quarters of His Imperial Majesty and the Marshal continued to be for some time past at Wilna.—Thus, there no longer remains an enemy in the whole extent of the frontiers of Russia, and all the former Polish provinces, at this present time under subjection to the Russian sceptre, are evacuated by the foreign troops.—The anointed of the Lord has, without doubt, said by inspiration—"I will not lay down my arms until I have driven from the Russian soil the enemy who has dared to transgress its limits."—This prophecy is fulfilled. The only traces of the enemy which are yet perceptible, are his bones spread over the fields from Moscow to the frontiers of the Empire!

Letter from General Field-Marshal Prince M. G. Kutusow of Smolensko, to his eminence Ambrosius, Metropolitan of Novogorod and St. Petersburg, dated Dec. 23, 1812—(Jan. 4).

Bestow your benediction on this present offered by your warriors to the Giver of Victory, the brave Don Cossacks; restore to God the treasure plundered from his temples. They have intrusted me with the duty of transmitting to your Eminence

this silver, which was once the ornament of the images of the Saints, afterwards the prey of barbarous robbers, and at length wrested from their gripe by the brave Don Cossacks. The leader of this corps of Cossacks, Count M. J. Platoff, all his brave warriors, and myself, wish that this plate, which in weight amounts to forty pounds, shall be made into images of the four Evangelists, and adorn the Church of the Mother of God, of Kasan, in Petersburg. All the necessary expenses of casting these holy images we take on our account; your Eminence will have the goodness to order that able artificers may be employed to fulfil the pious wish of our warriors, by casting these images of the Holy Evangelists, which they offer in their zeal for the Temple of God. As soon as you shall inform me what the expense will be, I will remit to you the money. It appears to me that these images would be appropriately placed close to the door of the sanctuary, and before the great Communion table, that they may strike the eye of the devout when they enter the temple. On the pedestal of each of these images must be engraven the following inscription:—*The zealous offering of the Corps of Don Cossacks.*—Hasten to erect in the temple of God this monument of battle and victory, and while you erect it say with thankfulness to Providence—the enemies of Russia are no more—the vengeance of God has overtaken them on the soil of Russia—and the road they have gone is strewn with their bones, to the utter confusion of their frantic and proud ambition.

The Commander in Chief, Field Marshal Prince G. Kutusoff, of Smolensko, has laid before His Imperial Majesty the continuation of the operations at War, from the 23d to the 29th Dec. (4th to 10th Jan.)

Dec. 23 (Jan. 4).—General Count Wittgenstein reports, under date the 19th (31st) instant, that in the direction which he had taken towards Prussia to act against the corps of Marshal Macdonald, he had overcome all the difficulties in his way on the country roads, and come up with the enemy already at Tilsit. He immediately surrounded Macdonald's troops of the van with his cavalry, and separated him from the Prussian troops under the command of

General D'York, by the detachment of Major-General Dubilisch, whom he at the same time instructed to enter into a negotiation with that General.

On the 18th (30th) of this month, Lieut. Gen. D'York signed an agreement to remain neutral with the troops under his command, consisting of thirty battalions of infantry, and six squadrons of cavalry, with thirty pieces of artillery. By this means, Macdonald has not more than about 5,000 men of all descriptions with him, and twenty pieces of artillery.—Adjutant-General Wassiltchikoff reports, on the 19th (31st) Dec. that the Austrian troops continue their retreat, having divided themselves into three columns, and directed their march towards Warsaw, and that he is at Menshenin, with his detachment.—General Count Platoff continues his march towards Ingleburg, with the regiments of Don Cossacks under his command.—Admiral Tschitschagoff has sent in three Reports, all of the 20th inst. (Jan 1). In the first he states, that he had detached Major-General Lanskow from the van-guard with the Alexandrian and white Russian regiments of hussars, the Livonian regiment of dragoons, and the 3d Oural regiment, with orders to march to Augustow. In the second, that he arrived on the 21st inst. (Jan. 2), in the village of Werbalin, from whence he will proceed in three marches to Insterburg, and that Gen. Count Platoff marches before the army with his regiments. In his third he states, that all the Prussian inhabitants are well satisfied with the approach of the Russian troops, and every where received them with joy.—Lieutenant-General Baron Sacken writes under date of Dec. 21 (Jan. 2), that he has pursued Gen. Regnier's corps as far as the Bug, and that the enemy had lost within that time upwards of 1,000 men in prisoners, and an equal number of sick, whom they had left behind at different places. Lieut-General Sacken, with his corps, is at present between Grannym and Thoren, in which latter place he has the left wing of his army.

Dec. 24 (Jan. 5).—Gen. Count Wittgenstein reports, under date of the 23d inst. (Jan. 3), that when the Prussian troops, 10,000 men strong, with 60 pieces of artill-
(To be continued.)

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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TO JAMES PAUL,

OF BURSLEDON, IN LOWER DUBLIN TOWNSHIP, IN PHILADELPHIA COUNTY, IN THE STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA; ON MATTERS RELATING TO HER ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCESS OF WALES.

Letter II.

Bolton, 3d March, 1813.

My dear Friend,

Since the date of my last letter I have returned home, where I found my children delighted to hear, that I had resumed my correspondence with "*Grand-daddy Paul*;" but very much surprised, that I did not write to you about sheep, and turnips, and carrots, in preference to the subject which I had chosen. To say the truth, I should prefer the former topics; but, I have a *duty* to perform with regard to the latter. It is *undoubtedly* one of the most important public matters that ever has been discussed in England. It is a matter that must make a great figure in the history of a country which fills a high rank in the community of nations; and, viewing it in this light, I cannot help being anxious, that those, who, some years hence, may refer to the Register for information relating to it, should not have to blame me for their disappointment.

It is impossible for any one to enter on a discussion with more perfect impartiality than I have entered upon this. I know nothing personally of either of the Royal parties most concerned; I have never received either good or evil from the hands of either; I have never been under any indirect influence flowing from either. I reside at a great distance from the scene of all cabals and intrigues; I hold no correspondence which the people at our Post-office may not, if they like it, amuse themselves with reading; I never deal in *secrets*, and never desire to hear any thing that may not be uttered by the mouth of the cryer in the open streets. I can have no motive to make my court either to the Prince or the Princess, seeing, that I am bound by the most solemn pledge never to touch, in any

shape, a farthing of the public money as long as I live, and never to suffer any son of mine to do it, if I have it in my power to prevent him, and I do flatter myself that neither of them will ever entertain such a design. Thus standing before the public, having nothing to complain of with regard to either party; having nothing to fear, and nothing to hope for, from either, I shall, I trust, be listened to without prejudice, and that the facts, or the reasonings, which I shall bring forward, will, at the least, have a fair chance of producing their wished-for effect; a just decision in the minds of all persons of sense and integrity.

My last letter concluded with a remark as to the separation of dwelling-places of the Prince and Princess. The *time*, however, was not exactly named; and, as I wish to leave nothing less perfect than circumstances compel me, I have now to remind you, that this separation of dwellings took place in April, 1796, twelve months after the marriage, and three months after the birth of the Princess Charlotte of Wales. It is said, that, as to the *cause* of this unhappy event, and as to the manner of its taking place, there is a *Letter* in existence, in the hands of Her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales; and, as this Letter was, as it is stated, written by the Prince himself, it will, doubtless, be found to be, at once, satisfactory in its reasons and delicate in its sentiments and diction. This being the case, we shall, I hope, see this Letter in print; because it will answer one great purpose; it will clear up every thing to the day of separation, and will, I have no doubt, show the world, that any infamous tales, which the tongues of base parasites may have been engaged in circulating, are wholly without foundation.

Before I come to that consideration, which I have promised, of the several parts of the Princess's Letter, let me request you to bear in mind, that, in 1806, when Lord Grenville, Lord Erskine, Lord Grey, and Mr. Fox were in the ministry, there was, in our newspapers, many articles published, relative to an *inquiry*, which was then going on, respecting the

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conduct of the Princess of Wales. This was called, at that time, the "Delicate Investigation," by which name it has ever since gone. The Princess was observed, at that time, and for sometime afterwards, *not to go to court*, as she had done before, which circumstance had the effect of producing an opinion to her disadvantage. Some months after this, however, she *re-appeared at court*; but, in the meanwhile, *the ministry had changed*, and the late Perceval and his set had become ministers. It was understood, also, that an account of the Delicate Investigation had been formed into A BOOK, had been printed, had been upon the eve of publication, had, all at once, just when the change of ministry took place, been stopped; and that, certain copies, which had escaped by chance, had been bought up by the supposed authors at an enormous price. What I state here as matter of mere report, will, probably, hereafter appear in a more authoritative shape; but, in the meanwhile, there having been such reports current is fact sufficient for our purpose; namely, to explain certain parts of the Princess's Letter, which, without such explanation, must appear unintelligible to you.

Bearing in mind what has been said, you will now have the goodness to follow me to the period of the *establishment of the Regency* in the person of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. Hitherto the Princess had lived chiefly at a small mansion at Blackheath, upon, apparently, a very limited pecuniary allowance, which, by almost all the public prints, we were told she participated with the poor and distressed persons of her neighbourhood. I do not *know* that this was the case. I cannot know it, and, therefore, I *vouch* not for the fact; but, I do know well that the fact was asserted in print, and that the assertion so often met the public eye, accompanied with a detail of the instances of her benevolence, that it was next to impossible that it should not have obtained general belief.

When, therefore, the Regency came to be settled, and the Prince came to the possession and disposal of a kingly income, it was natural for the nation to expect to see the Princess placed upon a corresponding footing; and this became the more a subject of observation, because, just at the same time, large sums of money were granted by the Parliament for the purpose of enabling the Prince's maiden sisters to keep their state in separate mansions, and to maintain separate establishments. In this

state of things, the nation seemed, with one voice, to ask, *why no change was to be made in the pecuniary circumstances and the exterior appearance of the Princess of Wales, the wife of the Regent and the mother of the sole heiress to the throne.* The question was actually asked in Parliament; it was put to the then minister, Perceval, what was the *cause* of this marked slight to Her Royal Highness; and, finally, it was put distinctly to him, who had been intimately acquainted with all the facts, *whether there existed any ground of charge against the Princess:* to which he as distinctly answered, *that there existed none.*

Now, my friend, you will observe, that this declaration was made by a man, who had been a minister at the time when the Princess was restored to court, and who, of course, had advised that measure. He, as a Privy Counsellor, was sworn to give the King the best advice in his power. Besides, he, at the time of his making the Declaration, was the prime minister, chosen by the Prince himself to fill that office. He was the man who directed the councils of the Prince, now become Regent with kingly powers. Therefore, his Declaration of the innocence of the Princess had deservedly very great weight with the public, who then, more than before, seemed astonished, that, while the Prince was raised in splendor as well as power, to the state of a king, the Princess, his wife, should experience no change whatever in her circumstances, but appeared to be doomed to pass the whole of her life in obscurity. The public did not seem to wish to pry into any family secrets. They generously wished not to revive past disputes. They were willing and anxious to forget all the reports which had been circulated. They wished to have no cause to suspect any thing improper in either husband or wife; and, therefore, anxiously wished to see the Princess placed in a situation suited to the rank of her royal spouse, by which means all doubts, the effect of all malicious insinuations and rumours, would, at once, have been removed.

In the articles, which I wrote at the time, recommending a suitable establishment for Her Royal Highness, I was, I sincerely believe, no more than the echo of ninety-nine hundredths of the people of England. No such establishment did, however, take place; and Her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, the wife of the Regent; she who, if the King die before the Regent, will be crowned Queen with

her husband; she who is the mother of our future sovereign, was left in her former comparative obscurity, even at a time when establishments were granted to the sisters of the Prince; and this happened, too, you will bear in mind, while the prime minister, the Prince's chief adviser, explicitly declared, in open parliament, *that there was no ground of charge existing against Her Royal Highness.*

It will be said, perhaps, and it has been said, that, in not granting an establishment of a higher order to the Princess; in not enabling her to hold a court of her own, and giving her the necessary accompaniments of splendor; it has been said, that, in not doing this *no law was violated.* Very true; but, if this were a sufficient answer to us, to what a state might she not be reduced before the proper season of complaint would arrive? We are not talking about *law*: the question before us is a question of feeling; a question of moral propriety. For my part, I appear not as an *accuser* of any one in authority: my object is simply this: to inquire, whether the foul, the base, the malignant publications against the Princess of Wales do, or do not, admit of a shadow of justification. Justification, indeed, they cannot admit of; but, whether they admit of the shadow of an apology; and the answer to this question will naturally grow out of a consideration of the several parts of Her Royal Highness's Letter.

In entering upon this consideration, we must bear in mind, that the Letter treats of two subjects; namely, *the treatment of the Princess herself, and the education of her daughter.* These we must keep separate in our mind, or else we shall fall into a confusion which will prevent a clear view of the case.

The Princess complains, as to herself; that she is debarred from that intercourse with her child which it is natural for a mother to expect, and which mothers do usually enjoy. And, here, before I proceed further, you ought to be informed, that, when the Princess went to live at Blackheath, in 1796, she took her daughter with her; that her daughter remained with her till she attained the age of *eight years*; that she was then placed under the care of proper persons to superintend her education, and that her place of residence was chiefly at Windsor, the place of residence of the Queen, her mother going frequently to see her, and she going frequently to see her mother. It now appears, from the Prin-

cess's Letter, that (at what time is not mentioned), the Royal Mother's visits to her daughter, or, rather, the *interviews* between them, were limited, at first, to *ONCE A WEEK*; that they were afterwards reduced to interviews of *ONCE A FORTNIGHT*; and that she now learns, that, "even this most rigorous interdiction" "is to be *STILL MORE RIGIDLY ENFORCED.*"

This, her Royal Highness says, has compelled her reluctantly to break a silence which has long been most painful to her. Her complaint is this:—That, at the time of settling the Regency, she was unwilling to obtrude herself upon the Prince with her private complaints; that she waited patiently, expecting redress from the Prince's own gracious condescension; but, that, having waited so long without receiving that redress, and now perceiving that the measures with regard to her interviews with her daughter, are calculated to admit of but one construction, and that *construction fatal to her own reputation*, she has now resolved to give utterance to her feelings.

Whether the reasoning of the Princess be correct; whether the separation of her from her daughter; whether the limiting of their interviews to once a week, and then further limiting them to once a fortnight; whether, in short, the prohibition against a mother (any mother), seeing and speaking to her daughter at her pleasure; whether such a prohibition can admit of *any construction not fatal to the mother's reputation*, I will, my sensible and honest friend, leave you to judge. And, with regard to the Princess's maternal feelings, you will, I am sure, want nothing to guide you in your judgment further than the supposition, for a moment, of a similar prohibition laid upon yourself.

Upon this part of the subject I would not add a single word, did I not think it my duty to expose some of the unfeeling ruffians of the London press, who have, upon this occasion, assailed the Princess of Wales. In answer to her complaint of not being permitted to have a free intercourse with her daughter, the *COURIER* newspaper, of the 13th of February, makes the following remarks:—

"The charge of separating a child from its mother, naturally engages the affections of every parent; and her Royal Highness knowing this, does not forget to make a strong appeal to the passions of Englishwomen. But to what extent is this charge founded? A visit once a

"week is changed to a visit once a fortnight. And how many mothers are there who do not see their daughters of seventeen so often as once a fortnight? They must be callous-hearted jades who trust their girls to boarding-school; they must be *unfeeling monsters* who allow their daughters, when of an age fit for marriage, to make visits to their friends and relations with the view of forming connexions; and if this daughter were to live under the protection of her grandmother, her uncles, and aunts, nay of her very father, the conduct must be *barbarous indeed!* But how inhuman must it be to allow girls of seventeen or eighteen to marry, thus placing it in the power of a *hard-hearted husband* to take a daughter to his own home, at a distance, perhaps, where the mother may not see her for months together, a privation, which, if any thing desirable is to be had through the daughter's influence, is certain of raising *loud lamentations.*"

I am afraid, my friend, that the reading of this paragraph will give you a very bad opinion of the people of England; for, you will naturally ask, "What a people must that be, amongst whom any writer would dare to give vent to such miserable trash as this, and to call it an answer to the Princess's complaint?" It is not of an *avoidable* separation that the Princess complains; it is of a separation easily avoided; a separation, not arising from distance, or any other insurmountable obstacle, but simply from the prohibition of a third party. It is not, as in the cases here cited, a separation growing out of a calculation of advantages and disadvantages, but a separation without any compensation to the party complaining. To her a sheer, unmixed evil, and that, too, of a most grievous kind. It is not a separation, as in the case of school, or marriage, of a temporary nature; but is of that sort, which, if rightly represented in the letter, promises no termination. It is, in one word, *the forcible separation of an only child from her mother.* No powers of description can heighten the fact, the bare naming of which is sufficient for any one who has the common feelings of humanity about him.

Yet, my friend, I do not say that there may not be causes, even in common life, to justify such a separation. We may suppose a case of a mother so profligate, as to render it prudent in the father to prevent her from having access to her daughter.

It is a horrible case to suppose. One can hardly entertain the idea without being ashamed of one's human character. Still the case is possible; but then the guilt, the profligacy, of the mother, must be so certainly established, so far removed from all doubt, as to leave no possibility of dispute on the question. I do not take upon me to determine in what degree the maxims, as to this matter, may be different, when the parties belong to royal families; but we have, in the Letter of the Princess, a most clear and positive assertion of her innocence, as to *all* the charges that base insinuation had ever preferred against her.

This, my good friend, is by far the most material part of her Letter, and it will, unless I am greatly deceived, be considered as more than a sufficient answer to the calumnies, which the panders of all the low, filthy passions have hatched and circulated against her. In the former part of her letter, she says, that she has been afflicted without any fault of her own, and that his Royal Highness knows it; but, she afterwards comes to this distinct and unequivocal assertion:

"He who dares advise your Royal Highness to overlook the evidence of my innocence, and disregard the sentence of *complete acquittal* which it produced,—or is wicked and false enough still to whisper suspicions in your ear,—betrays his duty to you, Sir, to your Daughter, and to your People, if he counsels you to permit a day to pass, without a further investigation of my conduct. I know that no such calumniator will venture to recommend a measure, which *must speedily end in his utter confusion.* Then let me implore you to reflect on the situation in which I am placed; without the shadow of a charge against me, without even an accuser—after an inquiry that led to my simple vindication—yet treated as if I were still more culpable than the perjuries of my suborned traducers represented me, and held up to the world as a Mother who may not enjoy the society of her only Child."

There is no such thing as misconception here. This passage of the Letter will not be misunderstood. It asserts the perfect innocence of the writer; it challenges fresh inquiry even after acquittal; and it pronounces beforehand the confusion of those, who shall excite a doubt of her innocence; besides asserting, that her traducers were *suborned and perjured.* It is not in the power of words to express any thing in a



manner more clear and decided. The Princess says, that there is *evidence* of her *innocence*. In my opinion, there needs little more evidence, than this passage of her admirable letter. If we admit, that it is yet *possible*, that she may be guilty, we must admit, that a stronger proof of innocence was never exhibited to the world. In the first place, the *writing* of the Letter is her own act. She might hope, by an application to the Prince, to obtain leave to see her daughter more frequently; but, if she had thought it possible that any proofs of her guilt existed, I ask you, my friend, whether it is likely that she would have ventured to make any application at all to him, and especially an application founded entirely on an assertion of her perfect innocence, and accompanied, moreover, with the charge of *perjury* and *subornation* against those who had traduced her; against those who had laid the crimes to her charge? If, then, it be to set at defiance the suggestions of reason and of nature to suppose that such an application could proceed from a mind conscious of guilt, what an outrage is it to offer to the common sense of mankind to suppose, that the writer, if conscious of guilt, would have made the application public to the whole world; and thus proclaim, not only her own innocence, but the guilt, the black, the foul, the nefarious guilt of her enemies!

I can conceive it possible, that a person, accused of a crime and conscious of guilt, may put on a bold front, may affect to laugh at his accusers and their accusation. Indeed, this we see daily done by criminals of every degree. But, mark the distinction in the cases. This is the conduct of persons accused of crimes; and not of persons coming forward with demands for redress. If the Princess had been accused afresh at this time; if some proceeding had been going on against her; then, indeed, I should have allowed, that little weight ought to have been given to these bold assertions of innocence. But, her case was precisely the opposite of this. No one was moving accusations against her; her conduct was not a subject of discussion any where; she was the beginner of a new agitation of the matter; she must have known that her former accusers were still alive, and, without doubt, still as much her enemies as ever; and, she could not possibly see, in any of the political changes that had taken place, any thing to operate in her favour, but, on the contrary, many things to operate against her, in a revision of the investigation.

Had the Princess been possessed of greater power, or influence, now than she was in 1806 and 1807. Had she had a powerful party now on her side, then one might have supposed it possible for her to have a reliance different from that which innocence inspires. But, it is notorious, that she has no power and no influence; that she has no party at her back, nor any political support from any quarter; and yet, she voluntarily comes forward and challenges fresh inquiry, accompanied with accusations of the most serious kind against her former accusers.

Unless, therefore, we can suppose it possible for a man in his senses, who has committed a murder, and who has luckily obtained an acquittal, to come voluntarily forward and petition the court for a new trial, all the evidences of his guilt being still at hand; unless we can suppose this possible, it appears to me, that we must pronounce it impossible that the Princess of Wales should have been guilty of any of the acts of either guilt or shame which have been laid to her charge, or insinuated against her.

So far, however, are the ruffians of the London press, who have attacked her Royal Highness upon this occasion, from reasoning in this way, that they held it forth as proof of her guilt that she lives in a state of separation from her husband; or, at least, they tell her, that whether innocent, or not, she, if not living with her husband, must expect to meet with nearly all the consequences of guilt. "Rash, mistaken, unfortunate woman!" (say they in the *Courier* of the 18th of February) "In this country no wife can command the respectful attentions of society, due to her station, if she lives separately from her husband, still less if she publicly accuses and traduces him.—She may excite sympathy and compassion; she may gratify revenge; she may be injured and innocent in the highest degree; but still the countenance of her husband is the unalterable channel through which the attentions of the world can permanently flow upon her. She may have friends to console and caress her, every one may acknowledge the injustice of the treatment she meets, and pity her condition; but so severe are the rules of society, and for the best purposes, that she is coldly received, and as conveniently avoided as may be, until at last she becomes disgusted with public company, and finds her only comfort in retirement. *Impeach-*

"ment by the husband entails three-fourths of the external consequences of guilt in this world, though no internal disapprobation may follow."

This article in the *Courier*, as well as the one cited before, was signed K. B.: who the real author was I know not; but, sure I am, that his heart is the seat of the most odious tyranny; a tyranny so base and cowardly that it is impossible to express one's detestation of it in terms sufficiently strong. He confines his maxims to *this country*, which, if he spoke truth as to the maxims themselves, would be some comfort to the rest of the world; for, certainly, any thing so dishonourable to the understandings and hearts of a people was never before promulgated. Somebody, I forget who, has called England a heaven for women and a hell for horses; but, if what this calumniator of her Royal Highness asserts were true, the saying might be reversed, or, at least, we may safely say, that the lot of our four-legged fellow-creatures would be by far the best of the two. But, his assertions are as false as the intention of them is foul. In this country, as in all others, except, perhaps, in the states of Africa, an innocent woman, injured by her husband, is always, amongst those who are acquainted with the facts, not only an object of compassion but of the attentions of the world; and what is more, we are just enough, in general, to ascribe to the husband his full share of any indiscretions, into which the temptations, almost inseparable from the nature of her situation, may lead her. So far from acting upon the doctrine of this writer, from whom, I dare say, all the properties of manhood have long ago departed; so far from acting upon what he calls our "severe rules of society," we make large allowances for the conduct of wives notoriously ill-treated by their husbands, and do not expect that a woman is to shut herself up in a hermitage for life, because, "though innocent in the highest degree," an effete or capricious brute of a husband, having, perhaps, first pocketed her fortune, may have driven her from his house.

This may serve as a justification of our manners and rules against the doctrine of K. B. in its *general application*; and, in applying it to the particular case before us, let me ask this gentleman (for, I dare say, he calls himself one) where we are to look for "*impeachment by the husband*." I do not mean, nor does he mean *impeachment* in the technical sense of the word; but, I mean, *accusation*; and, where, I say, are

we to look for any accusation preferred by the Prince against the Princess? I have never seen any such accusation, and I do not believe that any such accusation exists given to this day. The Princess asserts, in her letter, that there is *no accuser* of her. I implicitly believe what she says. It is not possible to believe, that she would, in so solemn a manner, have made this assertion, if it had not been true. And, if what she here asserts be true, what does the man deserve, what punishment does not that man merit, who has thrown out these insinuations?

But, though the Prince has never *impeached*, or accused, the Princess, this Mr. K. B. has done it. It is done in a very low way, to be sure; but it is done, and a very curious accusation it is. Having spoken of the refusal of the mother to see her daughter, he proceeds thus:—"This may be *hard*; but the *same policy* which takes the child from the mother, gave to the husband the wife. These things are not regulated by *common rules*, and should not be judged by *common feelings*. If the mother is to be *pitted* for seeing her daughter but once in the fortnight, how much more should the father be *pitted* who was FORCED to marry a Lady whom he never had seen, and of WHOSE TEMPER he had no opportunity to judge." This last insinuation is quite worthy of the source whence it proceeds; quite worthy of the source whence came the doctrine, that the reputation of the wife is to be blasted merely by the fact of her having been driven from the husband's house.

It is not easy to discover why the "*same policy*" that leads to state marriages should produce a prohibition against the mother seeing the daughter more than once in fourteen days. But, laying this aside as unworthy of further notice, we are here, for the first time, introduced to the *hardship*, imposed upon the Prince, in forcing him to marry; and, we are told, that, so hard was his case, that he is more to be *pitted* on account of it than is the mother on account of her being deprived of the sight of her daughter.—This language is somewhat different from that which was contained in the Address of 1795, on the occasion of the marriage, and in the *Answers to those Addresses*, wherein the Prince expressed his happiness at the event. It is rather hard, seeing all that passed then, for the Princess to be told, in the London prints, that the Prince was forced to marry her, and that

he ought to be *pitied on that account*.— But, besides the baseness, besides the *upwardly insolence* of the statement, it is *false*. If true, it makes nothing against the Princess, for, it is clear, that if there was *force* on the one side, there was *force* on the other. But, *as far as relates to the Prince*, it is not true; it is a direct falsehood, and the use of it can only tend to shew what miserable shifts the calumniators of the Princess are compelled to resort to. The Prince was not, because he could not be, *forced* to marry the Princess. The King has the power of *refusing his consent* to any of the members of the Royal Family to marry; he has a *negative* upon their choice in this respect; but, he has no power, nor have the Parliament and the King together any power, to force any member of the Royal Family to marry; under any circumstances whatever they may be. It is, therefore, *false*; flatly false, and it is an impudent falsehood, to say, that the Prince was forced to marry her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales.

This writer, when, for the basest purposes, he was hatching this tale about *force* put upon the Prince as to his marriage, forgot, perhaps, what an imputation he was, indirectly, casting upon the King; “our good old King,” whose example, as to education, though not as to other things, he is so eager to cite. If the Prince was forced to marry, it was his father forced him, for, as to the laws of the land they know nothing of any such power. If any body forced the Prince to marry, it was his father, who made the treaty of marriage, and who never consulted the Parliament about the matter, till he had so done. This was all in the usual way; the father’s consent was necessary, and it was given. It is likely, too, that the match was advised by him; it is likely that it was very much desired by him; but, I again say, that he did not, because he could not, *force* the Prince to marry. If he married a person whom he had never seen, he knew what he was about. He was no chicken. He was 32 years of age. He had cut his wisdom teeth long before the day of his marriage. He did what he did with his eyes open. I do not say that the Princess was, or that she could be, the object of his choice as to personal affection, because he had never seen her; but, this I assert, that it was *his choice*, that it was *his own free choice* to marry her. He, doubtless, had higher views than those of vulgar gratification. He viewed the matter as a Prince, and not

as a man. He had in idea heirs to the throne; the perpetuating of the line of his ancestors. Say that these were his views, but do not say that he was *forced* to marry, and do not tell us that he is to be *pitied* on account of his marriage; for we know, that, if he had chosen it, he might have remained single all his life-time.

But, if the Prince is to be *pitied*, what shall we say of the Princess? If he is to be pitied because the nature of his situation in life led to his marriage with a person whom he had never seen, and with whose “TEMPER” (dirty insinuation!) he could have had no opportunity of becoming acquainted; if he is to be pitied on this account; if this plea is to be put forward in his favour (for as a plea this writer means it); if, I say, the Prince is to become an object of our compassion on this score; if he is to be held forth to the people in this light, what shall we not say for the Princess upon the same score? Did not she marry a man whom she had never seen? Did not she marry a man of whose “TEMPER” she could have no knowledge from experience or observation? Were they not upon an equal footing in this respect? Yes; and, besides, though he was not, and could not be, *forced* to marry her, I do not know that it was not in the power of her father to force her to marry him. I do not know that it was in his power; nor do I know that he would have exerted such power if he had had it. But, it is *possible* that it might have been so; and, I know, that, in the case of the Prince, the thing is impossible. I know, that there existed no power to force him, and that to marry was an act of his own free will. His motives I am not presumptuous enough to attempt to point out; but, I insist, that the act itself was the effect of his own choice. The act of the Princess might, for aught I know, have been the same; but, what I say is this: that if he be an object of pity because he married a lady whom he had never seen, she must, upon the same ground, be an object of pity, and an object of greater pity, on that score, because the marriage removed her into a foreign country and cut her off from all the connexions of her youth, from all her friendships, and from the greater part of those things that make life delightful.

Therefore, in whatever degree, the circumstance of marrying an unknown person is calculated to weigh in favour of the Prince, it must weigh, in the same degree, at least, in favour of the Princess. But, to say the

truth, it can have no weight, if duly considered, in favour of either, upon the supposition, that the marriage was as much an act of *her choice* as it was of his. They both knew what they were about. They were willing to make the sacrifice (if they did make any) in order to secure great benefit to themselves and their families; and, in talking about the *pity* due to the Prince's situation, the *objects he had in view* ought not to be overlooked. If we were to reason in the way that this writer does, who would be entitled to so much of our pity as *miners and well-diggers*, a tenth-part of whom get their brains knocked out, or are buried alive? The truth is, however, they are no more objects of pity than labourers above ground. They calculate gains and dangers; and they freely choose to take the latter for the sake of the former. No man can force another to be a well-digger; nor was the Prince of Wales forced to be a husband.

It is easy to see with what view this topic has been brought forward. The writer looks back to *the time of the unhappy separation*. He is, perhaps, of opinion, *that the world will look back to that epoch too*, as being the proper point whence to start in an inquiry into the conduct of the parties most concerned; and, conscious, apparently, that up to that moment, no one had dared to utter even an insinuation against the conduct of the Princess, he thinks it necessary to lay the ground of a *cause of disagreement and separation*. Hence his real motive for this *pity* of the Prince on account of his *forced marriage*; hence his insinuation against the "TEMPER" of the Princess, than which, surely, nothing ever was more insolent or more base; for, the sentence contains a charge against her Royal Highness as to her *temper*. It is a *new charge*; for, until now, the Princess has always been spoken of as a person of the best temper, which, indeed, is pretty well proved to be the case by the attachment of her daughter to her, and by the silence, upon this head, of her bitterest enemies.

In another of his articles this same writer has the following passage, which merits particular attention, and ought to go forth to the world as a specimen of the brutality by which the Princess has been assailed in the London news-papers.—"In her Letter, her Royal Highness complains, that the limitation of visits to her daughter is an impeachment of her honour, a revival of the charges made some years ago. But since these charges were made and inves-

tigated, the intercourse between the mother and daughter has been allowed to continue. The assertion therefore that it is on such grounds the intercourse is refused is obviously a mere pretence. There may be other grounds on which a father may deem it proper to limit a daughter's visits to the mother. Supposing the mother of a violent temper, of coarse manners and habits; capricious, boisterous, restless, ambitious, and vain; less inclined to the society of her own than of the other sex, and with them familiar beyond the ideas of English decorum; though perfectly chaste in person and even in thought; supposing such a mother associating herself with her husband's enemies, making of them her confidants; and entering into the schemes of the factious for the purpose of thwarting, exasperating and traducing him; supposing this mother to live separately from the husband, and on the worst terms with him; let all this be supposed, and ample reasons will be found for the Father's refusal of allowing the child to be educated under such an example without ascribing that refusal to an opinion of the Mother's want of chastity. A woman may be chaste in person, yet of manners and habits leading to unchastity in others, or of a temper and inclination likely to make an unclutful child."

Having thus, under the guise of *supposing a case*, given what he evidently wishes to go forth as a description of the character of her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, he next, in the usual manner of such calumniators, says, that he *does not wish it to be so understood*.

"It is not intended to assert or insinuate that this is a picture of the character of the Princess of Wales. Her friends, personally acquainted with her, represent her as mild and amiable in all respects. The picture is *not drawn that it may be taken as a likeness of the Princess*, but to show that there are other bad qualities besides unchasteness which may justify a father in refusing his child's education to a mother; and still more should that child be the heir presumptive to the throne, a personage for whom the British Constitution has specially provided." This is adding cowardice to calumny. He drew the picture with a manifest intention of its being applied to her Royal Highness, and this latter part of the paragraph is merely for the sake of avoiding a prosecution for libel, for which pur-

part, however, it is not sufficient, seeing that the real meaning of the writer can be mistaken by no man.

Now, then, my friend, what a picture is here given! And, observe, that this picture is intended to be applied to that same lady, who, in 1790, was received in England as an Angel bringing with her blessings, not only for the present generation, but for generations yet to come! Her husband was described as the happiest of mortals in possessing such a treasure; and, in short, there were no expressions of praise that our language affords, which were not employed in the description of her person, her manners, and her mental endowments. For my part, I can know nothing of the Princess's manners; but, with the two pictures before me, and with a pretty good view of the circumstances under which both were drawn, I can have no hesitation in believing the picture now given to be a most foul and base attempt to disseminate falsehood. I believe the character of the Princess to be strongly marked with frankness and unreserve, but this, so far from a fault, is an amiable characteristic. More mischief is done by hypocrisy, in a day, than by the want of caution in a life-time.

However, the cowardly writer (for cowardice is the great characteristic of all the Princess's enemies) does not here venture to give countenance to the *serious* charges said to have been preferred against her Royal Highness. He charges her with caballing with her husband's enemies. *Who are they?* The persons who espoused her cause in the first instance are *now* her husband's ministers, chosen by himself. He chose them for his ministers *after* they had espoused her cause; *after* they had advised the King to restore her to court; and would he have chosen them, if he *himself* had not been convinced that she really was innocent of the things laid to her charge?

She is charged here with entering into the schemes of the factions, for the purpose of thwarting, exasperating, and traducing her husband. And, where is the *proof* of this? This charge, like all the others, is *false*. She complains to him in private, that she is not permitted to see her only child; she boldly asserts that there is no just cause for this severe affliction on her; and, her complaint not being attended to, she makes her letter public, in order that the world may not suppose, that the prohibition is founded on any misconduct of her's. Is this entering into the schemes of the fac-

tions? Is there here any attempt to thwart, exasperate, or traduce her husband? If she has caused her complaint to be made public, from what has that arisen but *from the refusal to listen to that complaint*? Had her complaint been listened to, had she received redress, had she been permitted to see her child *only once a week*, we should never have seen the letter, because it is evident, that the letter never would have been written. With what justice, then, can she be charged with entering into the schemes of the factions for the purpose of thwarting, exasperating, and traducing her husband?

The truth is, that being conscious of innocence, her forbearance is something wonderful; and, it is not less true, that any longer forbearance must have made against her in the opinion of the world. That the Prince, now invested with kingly powers, has a right to direct his daughter's *education*, we know very well; but, this does not mean, that the mother is to be shut out from free access to the child. Her seeing her child could not have interrupted the course of her studies. I never yet heard, that a part of *good bringing up* consisted in excluding the mother from a sight of the child to be brought up. It is in vain to attempt to twist this prohibition into a part of a *system of education*; for, the sole interpretation that it will admit of is that which the Princess has put upon it: namely, that she is *unfit* to be trusted in the presence of her daughter; and this being so manifestly the case, I put to any man of a just mind, what must have been the conclusion, if the Princess had any longer forbore to complain? I put it to any man, what he would have thought of her, if she had remained silent under such circumstances? Yet is she, by these base pandars of the press, charged with caballing and intriguing with her husband's enemies; she is charged with obtruding herself upon the public. They seem, really, to think her something less than a worm. Something that either has no feeling, or that ought to suppress every feeling the discovering of which is inconvenient to her husband. This is a state to which no human being ought to be reduced; and, it is a state to which no *man*, worthy of the name, would wish to reduce any thing bearing the name of *woman*.

But, if it be part of a system of education to exclude the mother from the child, how comes it, that the *Queen* was never shut out from *her* children? And how

comes it, that she is not now shut out from her grand-child? Why is the grand-mother more fit to have the care of the child than the mother herself? The writer, before quoted, whose malignity can be traced to only one source, expresses his fears of the Princess Charlotte being initiated into *German manners*. "What education," says he, "does the young PRINCESS require? Is it lessons in *German morality*? "Are we not sufficiently *Germanized*?— "Must we Germanise our females in manners as our fops are Germanized in dress? "What should we do; set the example before the young PRINCESS of a *dutiful wife*, or of one who could go repeatedly to the Opera, where she was applauded in reproach of her husband, and he was hissed in her praise: of one who can endanger the raising of the public indignation against him, on grounds so shallow as those of the letter in question? Unfortunately the PRINCE and PRINCESS live separately, on the worst terms. This state of things can only have arisen from what the PRINCE thinks sufficient cause, and to give up the government of his child to a Person whose conduct he himself impeaches, would be to confess himself conscious of being wrong, of being highly criminal in living separately from the Mother."

Now, if there be danger in *German manners*, why are so many Germans introduced into our army, and why have they, in England, the command even of English troops? But, why was not this perceived when the marriage took place? Did not the Prince and the King know, that the Princess was a *German woman*? Nay, is not the Queen, the King's wife and the Prince's mother, a *German woman*? And yet, behold, this man can discover no danger in her manners or precepts. Is the Queen less a German, is she less a foreigner, than the Princess? To what miserable shifts are these assailants of her Royal Highness driven! Nothing more clearly shows the weakness, the miserable weakness, of their cause.

But, the Princess is here called an *undutiful wife*. And why, because she was, it is here said, applauded at the Opera in reproach of her husband. How was she to blame for that, or for the hisses, which he is here said to have received in her praise? She had not the power to restrain either the applauses or the hisses; and, as to going to the Opera, was she to refrain from doing that because she was separated from her husband, and thus, by shunning

the eye of the public, tacitly acknowledge herself in fault? The Prince, behold, is, by this writer, justified in excluding the mother from the daughter, lest by allowing the intercourse, he should seem to confess himself conscious of being wrong in living in a state of separation from his wife. But, the mother, oh! she is to hold her tongue, she is even to sham the light, she is to look no one in the face, she is to do nothing to convince the world, that she is not in the wrong; she, though innocent, is to act the part of an acknowledged criminal; and, because she does not do so, she is to be called an *undutiful wife*! She has now, it seems, "endangered the raising of the public indignation against her husband." And how? Only by publishing her appeal to himself. That is all she has done. She has complained to him of her treatment; and, if the publishing of this complaint exposes him to the danger here spoken of, she is not to blame; or, if she be, so is every man who makes known to the public any grievance under which he labours. If her complaint, as contained in her letter, be well-founded, it will and it ought to produce an effect in the public mind; if it be ill-founded, let it be answered; let it be shown to be ill-founded. She makes certain assertions. She says, that *perjured* and *SUBORNED* accusers have been brought against her; she says, that she has been fully acquitted of all the charges preferred by them; she says, that, if any one is still wicked enough to whisper suspicions against her, she wishes for a fresh inquiry. And, what answer has been given to this? Base insinuations only, by anonymous writers. This answer will not satisfy the world; this is not the way to answer a serious complaint, signed with the complainant's name.

Much has been said about the Princess having acted under *bad advice*; and it has been frequently stated, that she would have cause to repent of what has been called her *rashness*. The news-papers have been filled with accounts of great councils of state held upon the subject of her letter; and of depositions and examinations, taken before magistrates. But, still, we see no answer to the bold and distinct assertions of her innocence; and, I say again, that those assertions are not to be answered by hints and insinuations of anonymous writers of paragraphs. In my conception of it, there never was a plainer case. The limitation of the Princess's visits to her daughter must rest for defence upon some ground of com-

plaint against herself. This all the world will allow. Indeed, this is allowed on all hands. Well, then, she positively asserts, that there is no ground of complaint against herself, and, if any one suspects that there is, she challenges fresh inquiry into her conduct. This challenge remains hitherto *unanswered*; and, until some sort of authentic answer be given to it, she may safely rest her case where it is.

Before I conclude, I cannot refrain from expressing my hope, that the Princess will not resort to *lawyers* as advisers. Her case is too plain to require, or admit of, the use of subtlety. I am far from supposing, that the gentlemen of the bar are, in the smallest degree, less honest, and they must necessarily be more acute and discriminating, than the mass of men. But with full as much honesty as other men, and with greater faculties of judging rightly than fall to the lot of men in general, they are by no means to be preferred where *politics*, or *political power*, may intermix themselves with the matters in question. Other men are exposed to but the one old, vulgar species of temptation, the yielding to which becomes visible at once to all eyes; but, the Devil has in this country, at least, such a choice of baits when fishing for a lawyer; he has them of so many sizes, adapted to such a variety of swallows and of tastes, and has, in every case, such ready means of neatly hiding his hook, that, when he chooses to set in earnest about it, I am much afraid, that very few of these gentlemen escape him.

In my next I shall enter into other parts of the subject, and in the mean while, I remain

Your faithful friend,
WM. COBBETT.

P. S. Just as I was closing my letter, the public papers arrived, which contain, in the report of the parliamentary proceedings of the 2nd of March, the following important matter, upon which I shall say a few words, after I have inserted it.

Soon after the SPEAKER had taken the Chair, he rose and addressed the House to the following effect:—"It is my duty to ~~against~~ the House, that yesterday evening, as I was sitting in this Chair, a ~~letter~~ was brought me, which purported to be from Her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales. As the Letter was without date and signature, and as it was given by an unknown person to one of the Messengers at the door of the

"House, I felt it to be due to the respect which I owe to Her Royal Highness as well as to the House, not to take any step on the receipt of it until I had fully ascertained its authenticity. I hope that so far I shall not be considered as having failed in the discharge of the trust reposed in me, or as having *shown a disposition to interpose unnecessary impediments in the way of any persons who might wish to lay their cases before this House*. I am now enabled to state to the House, that the Letter which I received yesterday was authentic; and with the leave of the House I will read to them a Letter which I have this day received from Her Royal Highness, enclosing a dated duplicate of Her Royal Highness's original communication.—Is it the pleasure of the House that these Letters should be read!—(General cries of *Read, read!*)

The SPEAKER then read the *Envelope*, and the original Letter. They were in substance as follow:

ENVELOPE.

"Montague House, Blackheath,
March 2, 1813.

"The Princess of Wales, by her own desire, as well as by the advice of her Counsellors, did yesterday transmit to Mr. Speaker, a Letter which she was anxious should have been read, without delay, to the House of Commons, and which she requests may be read to the House this very day; for which purpose Her Royal Highness encloses a duplicate."

DUPLICATE OF THE ORIGINAL LETTER.

"Montague House, Blackheath,
March 1, 1813.

"The Princess of Wales informs Mr. Speaker that she has received from Lord Viscount Sidmouth a copy of a Report, made in pursuance of the orders of His Royal Highness the Prince Regent, by certain Members of His Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council, to whom it appears, that His Royal Highness had been advised to refer certain documents and other evidence respecting the charge and conduct of Her Royal Highness. —The Report is of such a nature, that Her Royal Highness feels persuaded no person can read it without being sensible of the aspersions which it casts upon her; and although it is so vague as to render it impossible to discover the tenour

"of the charge, yet as Her Royal Highness is conscious of no offence, she feels it due to herself, to the illustrious Houses to which she is connected by blood and marriage, and to the people among whom she holds so distinguished a rank, not to acquiesce for a single moment in any imputation affecting her honour.—The Princess of Wales has not been permitted to know on what evidence the Members of the Privy Council proceeded in their investigation; nor has Her Royal Highness been allowed to be heard in her own defence. She knew only by common rumour that such an inquiry had been instituted, until the result was communicated to her in the form of the Report. She knows not whether she is to consider the Members of the Privy Council by whom her conduct has been inquired into, as a body, to whom she would be authorized to apply for redress, or in their individual capacity, as persons selected to make the Report on her conduct.—The Princess of Wales is, therefore, compelled to throw herself on the wisdom and justice of Parliament, and she earnestly desires a full investigation of her conduct during the whole period of her residence in this country. Her Royal Highness fears no scrutiny, however strict, provided it be conducted by impartial Judges, and in a fair and open manner; according to law.—It is Her Royal Highness's wish either to be treated as innocent, or to be proved guilty.—Her Royal Highness desires that this Letter may be communicated to the House of Commons."

The Honourable House seemed to have been *possed* by this communication; for the reporter states, that an awful silence of some minutes ensued.—Mr. WHITBREAD then asked the ministers what *they* had to say upon it; and he was answered by Lord CASTLEREAGH (you know *that name*, my friend), that, as Mr. COCHRANE JOHNSTONE had given notice of a motion, on the subject of the Princess, for the 4th, he did not think it necessary now to say any thing upon what had taken place.—The matter was then dropped; but, before this reaches the public eye, it will, doubtless, have been revived, and that revival will, I dare say, lead to a complete development of all the circumstances connected with this most important matter.—In the mean while, it is impossible for me to withhold my tribute of applause of the Princess's conduct in this emergency:

it has been that of a sensible, a brave, and an innocent woman. All the world must say this, and all the world will say it.—*"This very day,"* says she, "I request that my Letter may be read to the House." And, I dare say, that she was very much surprised, that it had not been read to the House *the day before*. The Speaker certainly knew what he was about; but, for my part, I can see no harm that could have arisen from his telling the House, *at the moment he received it*, that he had received such a Letter. He might, I should have thought, have verified the authenticity of the Letter after he had informed the House of the receipt of it as well as before he gave that information.—However, I suppose, I may be wrong in my view of this matter, the Speaker being a man of such great learning and experience.—As to the Princess's Letter to the Speaker, it requires no comment. It is so plain; its sentiments are so just; it is so unquestionably excellent in all its parts, that it will stand in need of nothing to set off in the eyes of the world.—But, where will the base panders of the press, who have calumniated her Royal Highness (for ends too evident to mention); these caterers to all the low, filthy, cowardly feelings; where will these wretches now hide their heads?

OFFICIAL PAPERS.

NORTHERN WAR.

(Continued from page 288.)

lery, were obliged to conclude the agreement of becoming neutral, Macdonald finding himself separated from the Prussians, determined on making a speedy retreat with the remainder of his troops. The cavalry pursued him vigorously, and on the first day took several Officers, and about 800 men of the lower ranks prisoners. Count Wittgenstein having, in the meanwhile, obtained intelligence that the enemy's troops, which had been in Dantzic, were marching to Taplaken and Wehlaw, probably with intent to strengthen Macdonald or to cover his retreat, he turned with his corps against them, and Lieutenant-General Count Stenheil was, on the 22d Dec. (3d Jan.) already in Taplaken and Wehlaw. He likewise sent a strong party of cavalry into the low country behind Königsberg, and towards Elbing, for the purpose of depriving the enemy of all means

of collecting provisions; as, according to accounts received, he is driving in corn of different kinds. Admiral Tchichagoff states, that on the 23d (3d Jan.) his headmost troops entered into Osterburg. Lieutenant-General Tschaplitz's vanguard entered Gumbinnen; and Major-General Count Woronzow marched into Memersdorff.—Lieutenant-General Tschaplitz informs, that Major-General Count Oruk was, on his entrance into the village of Stalupenea, received by the inhabitants with undissembled joy and transport; they all unanimously exclaimed, "May the Emperor Alexander be the protector of the innocent suffering nation!" and immediately went to procure provisions and forage for our troops.

Dec. 25 (Jan. 6).—Adjutant-General Wassilitchikoff reports, under date the 21st Dec. (Jan. 2), that according to certain intelligence obtained from the inhabitants, the whole French army has passed through Osterburg on its retreat; there was not at that time left of the whole French Guards more than 1500 men. The 27th Dec. (Jan. 8), General Count Wittgenstein reports, under date of the 25th inst. (Jan. 6), that his vanguard, under the command of Major-General Schepileff, on the 23d (Jan. 4), came up with the enemy near Labrau, where they had taken an advantageous position, and defended themselves obstinately. The battle continued till noon, and after they were driven out of their position they retired towards Königsberg, into which place Major-General Schepileff's vanguard was carried on their shoulders. The enemy lost three pieces of cannon in this engagement, and had several Officers, and about 300 men of inferior rank, made prisoners. Major-General Schepileff took possession of Königsberg with the vanguard of the army, in the night of the 23d (Jan. 5). His Majesty the Emperor's head-quarters, and those of the Field-Marshal, were on that day in the village of Orany.

"Dec. 28 (Jan. 9).—Gen. Count Wittgenstein reports, under date the 26th inst. (Jan. 7), in completion of his former statement, concerning the taking possession of the city of Königsberg, that the enemy were driven out of that city by the four regiments of Cossacks, viz. that of Major-Gen. Radisnow, of Lieut.-Col. Tschernisubow, of Major Tschachiten, and of Major Selewanow—all under the command of Col. Riedeger. They had observed the enemy's movements from the commencement of the evening, and notwithstanding the darkness of the

night, took advantage of every step he made for his retreat. On the 23d of this month (Jan. 4), at two o'clock after midnight, Col. Riedeger, with the Cossacks before mentioned, pushed vigorously forward, and after an obstinate fire of musketry, entered on the enemy's shoulders into the city; in which about 1300 men were made prisoners.—The celerity with which our troops forced their way into the city, obliged the enemy, besides this to leave about eight thousand of his exhausted troops behind him, and to sink about 30 pieces of artillery, with the cartridge-boxes, which belonged to the besieging train that was in Courland, and which the inhabitants are now employed in getting out. Besides this several Russian staff and other officers and privates who had at different times been made prisoners were again restored to liberty, and a considerable quantity of provisions and forage were likewise found in the magazines. After taking possession of the city, Colonel Riedeger again set out with the aforesaid cavalry, without making the least delay, in pursuit of the enemy. In the course of our pursuit of the enemy from Tilsit to Königsberg, and after taking possession of the city, he has lost 51 pieces of cannon in the whole. Adjutant-General Wassilitchikoff states, under date the 24th instant (Jan. 5), that the Austrian troops, after strengthening their advanced posts, had drawn themselves towards Warsaw. The head-quarters of his Majesty the Emperor and of the Field-Marshal arrived this day in the village of Mereteh."

Wilna, Dec. 30 (Jan. 11).—On the day before his Majesty the Emperor's departure from this place, namely, on the 25th Dec. (Jan. 6), the following Order was issued from his Imperial Majesty to the troops:—"SOLDIERS!—Your valour and perseverance have been rewarded, by a renown which will never die among posterity: your names and deeds will pass from mouth to mouth, from your sons to your grandchildren and great grand children, to the latest posterity.—Praise be to the Most High! The hand of the Lord is with us, and will not forsake us. Already there remains not a single enemy on the face of our country. You have reached the borders of the Empire over their dead bodies and bones. It still remains for you to go forward over the same, not to make conquests, or to carry the war into the countries of our neighbours, but to obtain a wished-for and solid peace. You go to procure rest for yourselves, and freedom

and independence for them.—May they become our friends.—The acceleration of peace will depend on your conduct. You are Russians. You are Christians! Is it necessary, in addition to those names, still to put you in mind, that it is a soldier's duty to be valiant in battle, and peaceable on the march, and during your residence in peaceable countries? I do not threaten you with punishment though I know that many among you well deserve it. You have been in our own country, the robbers who plundered the houses of the innocent peasantry. In your just emotions of revenge against them, you have punished those villains who would resemble them. Should such a one, contrary to expectation, be found, he cannot be a Russian, he will be driven from amongst you!—Soldiers, this is demanded and expected from you, by your true religion, your native country, and your Czar."

AMERICAN WAR.

HOUSE OF LORDS, *February 18.*

Earl BATHURST moved the order of the day for taking into consideration the Papers relative to the present War with America.

The order of the day being accordingly read,

His Lordship stated, that these papers were very voluminous; but it was not his intention to enter into a particular examination of their contents, because he did not apprehend that to be necessary for the purpose which he had then in view, which was, to call upon the House to declare, whether the Government of this country had acted properly in rejecting the proposition made on the part of America, to suspend the exercise of our undoubted right to search for our own *sovereign*, during the discussion of the question, whether any substitute for the present mode of exercising it could be found, and that, too, without stating any regulation in the first instance. If he could hope to obtain the unanimous concurrence of the House in an Address, approving of the rejection of such a proposition, under such circumstances, he should be sorry to enter upon any collateral matter that might disturb that unanimity.

In support of an Address of the description which he had mentioned, he should, with the leave of their Lordships, submit a few observations to their attention. In the month of May last, instructions had been sent out to our Commanders on the

American station, in contemplation of the possibility of the occurrence of hostilities, not to commit any aggression, but to resist if any aggression should be attempted on the part of the Americans; and if the Americans should actually declare war, then not to wait for further instructions from home, but to consider war as declared by this country, and act accordingly. In a few weeks after, the Orders in Council were abandoned. Whatever might be the opinion of Government as to that measure, it was right that, if these Orders were to be abandoned, this country should have the full advantage of it. Instructions, therefore, were sent out to Mr. Foster, that in case America should have declared war, he should propose an armistice, until it was seen how the question as to the Orders in Council should terminate. But war was soon after declared on the part of America; and Mr. Foster had left America before the last mentioned instructions could reach him; and, therefore, similar instructions were sent to Sir John Borlase Warren, but unfortunately without success. It might perhaps be asked, why the mouths of the Chesapeake and Delaware had not been immediately blockaded: but they had been blockaded *de facto*, although not by notification. The difference between a blockade *de facto*, and a blockade by notification, was this,—that in the former case there was no necessity for preventing any trade which was to our own advantage, in the latter case, it would have been necessary. There was this objection, therefore, to the blockade by notification on the first declaration of war, that on the legitimate principles of blockade, we could not exclude the neutral from a trade which we chose to carry on ourselves. There were, however, several very strong reasons for not interrupting our own trade, with these rivers, all at once. In the first place, a large supply of flour was expected from them for our army in the Peninsula: in the next place, our West India islands had not made the necessary arrangements with a view to a state of hostility between this country and America; and, lastly, British manufactures, to the value of five millions sterling, were on the way to America, which, in case of a regular blockade, would have been liable to be stopped. An early blockade, therefore, would have only interrupted our own supplies. We had a full right to choose the most convenient time for our blockade. The Americans had certainly chosen the most convenient time for har-

self, in her declaration of war against us. There was no particular reason why it should not have taken place a few months sooner or later than the time when it actually happened. The real cause of the particular declaration having been published at the time when it actually appeared, was the hopes on the part of America, of intercepting our homeward-bound West India fleet; and, accordingly, Rodgers had been dispatched with his squadron to capture that fleet. A squadron of our's, however, having been sent out for its protection, Rodgers returned without effecting his object, and the American Government was disappointed. To this, no doubt, was owing the difference in the tone of the second propositions made by Mr. Russel. But, although the tone was different, the propositions were substantially the same. The proposition made by Mr. Monroe to Sir John Borlase Warren, was also of the same description. The only condition on which the Americans would accede to an armistice, was, that we should suspend our right of impressing our own seamen. Mr. Monroe said, that he had no doubt but some other regulation might be found to answer the same purpose; but he had not stated what that regulation was. But supposing none could be found after we should have agreed to the suspension, what then? Were we to be permitted without molestation to resume the exercise of the old mode? No,—if no substitute could be found; then the war was to be resumed; in other words, we were called upon to abandon our right of impressment at all events, or otherwise we were to have war. Such was the proposition on the part of America, and such was the proposition of which he now called upon their Lordships to approve the rejection. What was the right which they thus called upon us to abandon? It was a right which we had always exercised, without dispute in regard to other countries. It was a right which we permitted other countries to exercise in regard to us. It was a right which we had uniformly acted upon, and one which we could not abandon without sapping the foundation of our maritime greatness. The right which they called upon us to abandon, was essential to the interests of this country; and indirectly essential to the interests of Europe, and even to those of America herself. But Mr. Monroe had said, that a different regulation might be adopted to effectuate the same object. For these 10 years, the

American Government had been finding fault with its exercise, and yet they had never attempted to state any such regulation. Why did they not bring forward their regulation, that it might be seen, whether it was really calculated to answer the purpose? Why did they call upon us to suspend the exercise of so essential a part of our maritime rights, without some security at least for a proper substitute? We did not claim the exercise of the right as far as respected national ships. Why did they not try the efficacy of their regulation in regard to these ships? But they had adopted no such regulation: on the contrary, in that country where the practice of taking the seamen of this country into their ships had most prevailed, all representation on the subject had been treated with the most marked and uniform neglect. He would state one or two instances of this neglect. In the first of these instances, some blame had attached to ourselves, and a proper acknowledgment had been made. He alluded to the affair of the Chesapeake, with the nature of which their Lordships were no doubt acquainted from the discussions in the newspapers. Some of our seamen had deserted their ship, and their desertion had been attended with circumstances of mutiny. They were seen, by our own officers, in the streets of one of the American towns; and it was known that they had entered on board the Chesapeake, American ship. A representation was consequently made to the Captain of that frigate, and the answer was, that there were no such men on board. The Chesapeake sailed soon after, and was met by the Leopard. The American frigate was hailed by the Leopard, and the question put, whether these men were then on board. The Captain answered, upon his honour, that they were not. Liberty was then requested to search the Chesapeake for them, which was refused. Force was then used—the frigate was searched—the men were found on board, under different names, indeed; but it was proved that this was done by order of the Captain, who would not suffer their former names to appear on his books. If our officer was to blame, the American Government could not but have known that their officer was also to blame. But there was no inquiry, —no punishment,—nor any thing that looked as if they considered the taking away of our seamen under such circumstances, as at all an offence. When we applied for redress in another instance,

where the desertion of our seamen had been encouraged, the reply was, that we had no title to redress, as we had refused redress to them in the case of an American seaman, who had made his escape from the American ship *Constitution*, at Spithead. Inquiry had been made, however, by our Government in regard to this circumstance, as he trusted it would be in all cases upon a proper representation being made. Then the story came out: the man whom they stated as having deserted, was, as appeared by his own declaration, a native of Ireland, and had served in different ships of our navy. He had been taken, in a state of intoxication, on board the American ship the *Wasp*; and having afterwards attempted to escape, he was seized and put in irons for several months. He was then tried, and on his trial stated the facts of the case in his defence to the Officers. Instead of inquiring into the truth of these facts, or thinking of restoring the man, if they should be proved, they ordered him to be flogged, and he was actually flogged, and ordered to remain. He was afterwards put on board the *Constitution*, and from thence he made his escape. Not one of these facts was denied on the part of the Americans; and yet such was the case which they stated as a reason for refusing to deliver up our seamen. With such a disposition, and such a system of action, on the part of the American Government, there appeared no chance whatever that any regulation for keeping our seamen out of their service would be really enforced. At the very moment when they tendered some regulation on this subject, they held out unexampled encouragement to desertion. They actually claimed the right of cancelling the allegiance due to this country from its own subjects; and that too in time of war, when such a pretension, if acted upon to a great extent, must be peculiarly pernicious. The condition for becoming a citizen of the United States was a residence of five years, and a residence merely, without any property or interest in that country,—a residence, too, not exclusively in the district where the person might claim to be admitted, but in any part of the United States. Their Lordships must at once perceive how easily testimonials of such a residence might be fa-

bricated, especially where there was no interest to prove the allegation false. For the small sum of one dollar, any person, upon the attestation of two witnesses, might get a letter of citizenship, which was to be *prima facie* evidence that he was a citizen. When some regulation was proposed, Mr. Monroe distinctly stated, that it was not to affect people of that description. We were required then, to suspend our right of impressment from American ships, in the hopes that some regulation might be adopted to answer the purpose; and it was to be distinctly understood, that when it should be adopted, it must not attach upon any one who might pretend to be an American citizen. Such a proposition Ministers had thought themselves bound to reject; and he trusted their Lordships would unanimously approve of their conduct in that instance. He did not mean to say, that under no circumstances ought we ever to accede to any regulation different from our present mode of exercising our right of searching for, and taking our own seamen; but certainly we ought never to abandon the right itself, nor ought we to give up our present mode of exercising it, till we saw how any other regulation that might be proposed, would operate in securing to us the same result. Whatever, then, might be the difference of opinion among their Lordships, in regard to other parts of the transactions between this country and America, he was confident there could be no difference of opinion as to this proposition. The Americans were industriously informed by their Government, that Great Britain was so much pressed at present, that if they only stood firm, this country must yield to their unreasonable demands. He hoped, however, that their Lordships would show, by their vote of this night, that this country was not so much pressed by the difficulties of the times,—not so weak or divided in policy, as to shrink from going to the foot of the Throne, to express their approbation of determined resistance, when the most essential rights and interests of their country were at stake. In this hope, he proposed that an Address to this effect should be presented to the PRINCE REGENT—

“That the House had taken into its serious consideration the papers laid before
(To be continued.)

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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TO JAMES PAUL,
OF BURSLEDON, IN LOWER DUBLIN TOWNSHIP, IN PHILADELPHIA COUNTY, IN THE STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA; ON MATTERS RELATING TO HER ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCESS OF WALES.

Letter III.

Dorset, 9th March, 1813.

My dear Friend,

It is now seventeen years since I first took pen in hand, with an intention of sending the production of it to the press; and, certainly, I never did, from that day to this, experience more satisfaction in doing down to write, than I do at this moment, in the full assurance, that the present Number of my Register will convey to you and to the world a thorough conviction of the innocence of the injured Princess of Wales, and of the baseness, the unparalleled black-heartedness, of her envenomators.

As the out-set of my last letter, having occasion to revert to the period of the separation of the Princess and the Prince, I observed to you, that it was said, that there was a Letter in existence upon the subject; and I ventured to predict, that, when that Letter should be published, the world would see the falseness of all the infamous tales, which, up to that period, the tongues of base parasites had been engaged in circulating. The Letter, or, a Letter, dated about the time referred to, and upon the subject referred to, has, since my last, been published in the London newspapers; and also a Letter of the Princess in answer thereto. I will say nothing myself as to the authenticity of these documents; but, as they have obtained general circulation, through the means of the press; and, as their authenticity has not been called in question, in print at least, I take them for authentic; and, viewing them in this light, I shall insert them here.

Letter from the Prince to the Princess of Wales.

Windsor Castle, April 30, 1796.

MADAM,—As Lord Cholmondeley informs me that you wish I would define, in

writing, the terms upon which we are to live, I shall endeavour to explain myself upon that head with as much clearness, and with as much propriety, as the nature of the subject will admit. Our inclinations are not in our power; nor should either of us be held answerable to the other, because nature has not made us suitable to each other. Tranquil and comfortable society is, however, in our power; let our intercourse, therefore, be restricted to that, and I will distinctly subscribe to the condition which you required through Lady Cholmondeley, that, even in the event of any accident happening to my daughter—which I trust Providence in its mercy will avert—I shall not infringe the terms of the restriction, by proposing, at any period, a connexion of a more particular nature. I shall now finally close this disagreeable correspondence, trusting that, as we have completely explained ourselves to each other, the rest of our lives will be passed in uninterrupted tranquillity.

I am, Madam, with great truth,

Very sincerely your's,

(Signed) GEORGE P.

ANSWER.

The avowal of your conversation with Lord Cholmondeley, neither surprises nor offends me. It merely confirmed what you tacitly insinuated for this twelvemonth. But after this, it would be a want of delicacy, or rather, an unworthy meanness in me, were I to complain of those conditions which you impose upon yourself.—I should have returned no answer to your letter, if it had not been conceived in terms to make it doubtful whether this arrangement proceeds from you or from me; and you are aware that the credit of it belongs to you alone.—The letter which you announce to me as the last, obliges me to communicate to the King, as to my Sovereign, and my Father, both your avowal and my answer. You will find enclosed the copy of my letter to the King. I apprise you of it, that I may not incur the slightest reproach of duplicity from you. As I have at this moment no protector but

His Majesty, I refer myself solely to him on this subject; and if my conduct meets his approbation, I shall be in some degree, at least, consoled. I retain every sentiment of gratitude for the situation in which I find myself, as Princess of Wales, enabled by your means to indulge in the free exercise of a virtue dear to my heart—I mean charity.—It will be my duty likewise to act upon another motive,—that of giving an example of patience and resignation under every trial.—Do me the justice to believe, that I shall never cease to pray for your happiness, and to be

Your much devoted,

CAROLINE.

6th of May, 1796.

Upon these Letters I shall first observe, that we have here a fresh proof, and a most striking one it is, of the sound sense, the moderation, and delicacy of sentiment, of the Princess of Wales; and, for my part, I cannot help regarding it as most fortunate for this country, that its future sovereign had her early education under, and is said to entertain a most ardent affection for, such a mother. Another remark upon these Letters will, perhaps, be unnecessary; namely, that their date shows them to have been written *within thirteen months after the marriage took place*, and, which is singular enough, the Prince's Letter is dated on the very day twelvemonth that the Parliament were engaged in discussing His Majesty's gracious message, relative to the provision to be made for the "august spouse" of his son, including the discharge of his debts, as necessary to his future comfortable establishment. In the midst of these melancholy reflections we must not, however, overlook the substantive fact, that, according to these Letters, it is manifest, that the proposition for a separation *originated with His Royal Highness*. This is very material. This, together with the cause of separation, as stated in his Letter, clears all up to that interesting period, which is of very great consequence; for there is no just man, who, in viewing the circumstances of the sequel, can possibly overlook the cause from which all has proceeded. You will have observed, too, that the base calumniators of the Princess have said, that the *bare fact* of her living in a state of separation from her husband amounts to a presumptive proof of her guilt. How material is it, then, to be informed rightly as to the real cause of that separation! If the separation had been

caused by any fault, or even any *alleged fault*, of the Princess, her case, at this day, would have been very different indeed from what it is. But, the Prince's Letter leaves no room for doubt upon this important point. It clears all up. If she had been the *proposer* of the separation, her case would have been very materially affected by it; for, though her innocence must still have been acknowledged, the world might have said, that it was the separation which led to the charges, and that, therefore, she must thank herself for them. As the case now stands, she is quite free from even this imputation; and, instead of agreeing with her enemies, that she has discovered *rashness*, our only wonder is, that she has, with so good a cause, been able so long to remain silent, especially when we reflect on the endless insinuations that have been thrown out against her.

I must now crave your attention to the interesting proceedings which have taken place since my last letter to you went from under my hand. In the postscript to that letter, I noticed, and, indeed, I inserted, the Princess's Letter to the Speaker of the House of Commons. It is stated, in print, that a similar Letter was sent to the Lord Chancellor, who is the speaker, or chairman, of the House of Lords; but, it seems, that, for reasons which I attempt not to dive into, the Lord Chancellor did not communicate that Letter to the House. That Letter, as you will have seen, was occasioned by a *Report*, made to the Prince by certain members of what is called the *Privy Council*. And here I should give you some account of this Council. It consists of whomsoever the King pleases to name, and he generally makes all his Ministers Privy Councillors. Some of the Bishops, too, and of the Judges generally belong to it. So that, especially if there occur frequent changes of Ministers, the Privy Council is rather a numerous body, consisting of persons of all parties, seeing that when once a man becomes a Privy Councillor, he always remains a Privy Councillor, except his name be expunged from the list on account of some flagrant and scandalous offence.

But, when the Privy Council assembles, it is not to be understood that *all* the members are present, or that they come *promiscuously*. In fact, they do not come, unless they be *summoned* to come; and, of course, the King, or the Regent, causes to be summoned those members, and those only, whom his Ministers advise him to cause to

be summoned. I have entered into these particulars, in order to explain to you the nature of the body, whence the Report, which I am here about to insert, proceeded. You will see, that the Report itself states, that the persons who made it were *specially summoned* for the purpose of taking the Princess's Letter into their consideration, and of making a report to the Regent thereon.

Report, &c. to His Royal Highness the Prince Regent.

The following Members of His Majesty's most Honourable Privy Council, viz.—His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury,—The Right Hon. the Lord High Chancellor,—His Grace the Archbishop of York,—His Grace the Lord Primate of Ireland,—The Lord President of the Council,—The Lord Privy Seal,—The Earl of Buckinghamshire,—The Earl Bathurst,—The Earl of Liverpool,—The Earl of Mulgrave,—The Viscount Melville,—The Viscount Sidmouth,—The Viscount Castlereagh,—The Right Hon. the Lord Bishop of London,—The Right Hon. Lord Ellenborough, Lord Chief Justice of the Court of King's Bench,—The Right Hon. the Speaker of the House of Commons,—The Right Hon. the Chancellor of the Exchequer,—The Right Hon. the Chancellor of the Duchy,—His Honour the Master of the Rolls,—The Right Hon. the Lord Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas,—The Right Hon. the Lord Chief Baron of the Court of Exchequer,—The Right Hon. the Judge of the High Court of Admiralty,—The Right Hon. the Dean of the Arches,—Having been summoned by command of your Royal Highness, on the 19th of February, to meet at the office of Viscount Sidmouth, Secretary of State for the Home Department, a communication was made by his Lordship to the Lords then present, in the following terms:—

MY LORDS—I have it in command from His Royal Highness the Prince Regent, to acquaint your Lordships, that a copy of a Letter from the Princess of Wales to the Prince Regent having appeared in a public paper, which Letter refers to the proceedings that took place at the Inquiry instituted by command of His Majesty, in the year 1806, and contains, among other matters, certain animadversions upon the manner in

which the Prince Regent has exercised his undoubted right of regulating the conduct and education of his daughter the Princess Charlotte; and His Royal Highness having taken into his consideration the said Letter so published, and advertiug to the directions heretofore given by His Majesty, that the documents relating to the said Inquiry should be sealed up, and deposited in the office of His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State; in order that His Majesty's Government should possess the means of resorting to them if necessary; His Royal Highness has been pleased to direct, that the said Letter of the Princess of Wales, and the whole of the said documents, together with the copies of other letters and papers, of which a schedule is annexed, should be referred to your Lordships, being Members of His Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council, for your consideration; and that you should report to His Royal Highness your opinion, whether, under all the circumstances of the case, it be fit and proper that the intercourse between the Princess of Wales and her daughter, the Princess Charlotte, should continue to be subject to regulations and restrictions:—Their Lordships adjourned their Meetings to Tuesday the 23d February; and the intermediate days having been employed in perusing the documents referred to them, by command of your Royal Highness, they proceeded on that and the following day to the further consideration of the said documents, and have agreed to report to your Royal Highness as follows:—

In obedience to the commands of your Royal Highness, we have taken into our most serious consideration the Letter from Her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales to your Royal Highness, which has appeared in the public papers, and has been referred to us by your Royal Highness, in which Letter the Princess of Wales, amongst other matters, complains that the intercourse between Her Royal Highness and Her Royal Highness the Princess Charlotte, has been subjected to certain restrictions.——We have also taken into our most serious consideration, together with the other papers referred to us by your Royal Highness, all the documents relative to the Inquiry instituted in 1806, by command of His Majesty, into the truth of certain representations, respecting the conduct of Her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, which appear to have been pressed upon the attention of your Royal

* The Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas was prevented by indisposition from attending, during any part of these proceedings.

Highness, in consequence of the advice of Lord Thurlow, and upon grounds of public duty, by whom they were transmitted to His Majesty's consideration. And your Royal Highness having been graciously pleased to command us to report our opinions to your Royal Highness, whether, under all the circumstances of the case, it be fit and proper, that the intercourse between the Princess of Wales and her daughter, the Princess Charlotte, should continue to be subject to regulation and restraint.

—We beg leave humbly to report to your Royal Highness, that after a full examination of all the documents before us, we are of opinion, that under all the circumstances of the case, it is highly fit and proper, with a view to the welfare of Her Royal Highness the Princess Charlotte, in which are equally involved the happiness of your Royal Highness in your parental and royal character, and the most important interests of the State, that the intercourse between Her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales and Her Royal Highness the Princess Charlotte, should continue to be subject to regulation and restraint.

—We humbly trust that we may be permitted, without being thought to exceed the limits of the duty imposed on us, respectfully to express the just sense we entertain of the motives by which your Royal Highness has been actuated in the postponement of the confirmation of Her Royal Highness the Princess Charlotte, as it appears, by a statement under the hand of Her Majesty the Queen, that your Royal Highness has conformed in this respect to the declared will of His Majesty, who had been pleased to direct, that such ceremony should not take place till Her Royal Highness should have completed her 18th year.—We also humbly trust that we may be further permitted to notice some expressions in the Letter of Her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, which may possibly be construed as implying a charge of too serious a nature to be passed over without observation. We refer to the words—"suborned traducers."

As this expression, from the manner in which it is introduced, may, perhaps, be liable to misconstruction (however impossible it may be to suppose that it can have been so intended), to have reference to some part of the conduct of your Royal Highness, we feel it our bounden duty not to omit this opportunity of declaring that the documents laid before us afford the most ample proof, that there is not the

slightest foundation for such an aspersions.

(Signed)

C. CANTUAR,	SIDMOUTH,
ELDON,	J. LONDON,
E. ESOR,	ELLENBOROUGH,
W. ARMAGH,	CHAS. ABBOTT,
HARROWBY, P. C.	N. VANSITTART,
WESTMORELAND, C. P. S.	C. BATHURST,
BUCKINGHAMSHIRE,	W. GRANT,
BATHURST,	A. MACDONALD,
LIVERPOOL,	W. SCOTT,
MULGRAVE,	J. NICHOLL.
MELVILLE,	

(A true copy) SIDMOUTH.

Such was the report, made to the Prince Regent upon this occasion. The Princess, in her Letter, inserted in the postscript to my last, states that a copy of this report had been transmitted to her by Lord Sidmouth. Now, we must, I think, take it for granted, that this report was intended to be an answer to the Princess's Letter of complaint respecting her exclusion from her daughter; for, if it were not intended to be such, why was a copy of it sent to her? If it had been intended solely for the purpose of satisfying the Prince, that he had acted rightly in insisting upon such exclusion; then, it would have been sufficient to lay the report before him; and if the intention had been to settle any doubt in his mind as to the propriety of the exclusion; in that case, also the report would naturally have been confined to the perusal of the Prince and of his advisers and friends. If intended as an answer to the Letter of the Princess, it would, of course, be communicated to her; and, if it failed to convince her that she was wrong, or to silence her complaints, there it was ready for the justification of the Prince in the eyes of the nation and of the world.

Assuming, therefore, as we safely may, that this report ought to be considered as the best answer that could be given to the complaint of Her Royal Highness, let us now, my friend, inquire a little how far it ought to be considered as a satisfactory answer.

Her Royal Highness says, that she was, for a while, permitted to see her daughter only once a week; that she is at present (that is to say, at the time of writing her Letter) permitted to see her only once in two weeks, and that she has reason to apprehend that even that degree of intercourse is about to be further contracted. She

then proceeds to remark that, though forbearance had hitherto marked her conduct, though she had thus far consoled herself in her retirement with the consciousness of her innocence, she could now, no longer remain silent; that her love for her child and for her own honour called upon her to complain. Her reasoning was this: if, it becomes notorious to the whole world, as it very soon must, that I am not permitted to see my daughter; that the Queen and my husband's sisters are not only permitted to be with her as often as they please, but that, she even lives amongst them, and is brought up under their eye; if this fact become notorious to the whole world, *what must that world think of me?* Her conclusion is, that, if she continued to endure this without complaint, the world must think that the motive for her silence could be nothing less than the fear of an inquiry into her conduct and an exposure of some sort of guilt of which she was conscious. This was her reasoning upon the subject, and you will not, I am sure, hesitate to say, that her reasoning was undeniably just. Therefore, said she, I claim permission to see my child, as other mothers see their children, seeing that I have done no act that ought to deprive me of that right of nature; and, she adds, if there be any doubt upon this point, after the full and clear acquittal which was pronounced in my favour against the calumnies which my perjured and suborned traducers had raised against me; if there remain any doubt as to this point, let there be a fresh inquiry or let me not be treated as a guilty woman, as a mother unworthy of being permitted to have an intercourse with her daughter.

Such was the complaint of the Princess of Wales, and what sort of an answer does the report give to this complaint? Does it deny the allegations with regard to the prohibition of an intercourse with her daughter? Does it deny, that the natural conclusion to be drawn from that prohibition is injurious to the mother's reputation? Does it deny, the clear and complete acquittal of the Princess with regard to the charges that had been brought against her? Does it deny, that she was traduced by persons perjured and suborned? No: it denies none of these; it evades all these points; it touches upon no one of them, except, indeed, that of the perjured and suborned traducers, and, as to that, it only says that the Prince himself was not the suborner, and that he had no know-

ledge of a subornation having been resorted to; an assertion, by the bye, which the Princess's Letter does not appear to have called for, seeing that it does not charge the Prince with that base and detestable act.

To me it appears, therefore, that this report contains no answer at all to the Letter of the Princess. It says, indeed, that the Prince has laid the Documents relating to the inquiry of 1806, and also other documents and evidence before the privy council; but it does not say what other documents or what other evidence these were; and it does not intimate to her that her challenge to a fresh inquiry has been, or is to be accepted. It informs her, that, after examining all these documents and this evidence, the intercourse between the Princess and her daughter ought to continue to be subject to regulation and restraint; but it does not say what sort of regulation; it does not mark out what degree of restraint; it does not say whether it ought to be a week, or a fortnight, or any greater or less period, that ought to form the interval of the visits between the mother and her child.

Again, therefore, I say, that, as to the main point, and, indeed, as to all the main points, in the Letter of Her Royal Highness, this Report contains no answer at all. Yet, without containing an answer to the Letter, without clearly denying any of its allegations, and without attempting to controvert any part of its reasoning, the Report does seem, as Her Royal Highness says, to cast an aspersion upon her. For, it gives, as the grounds of the opinion that the intercourse between her and her daughter ought to be subject to restraints; it gives, as the grounds of this opinion, a conclusion drawn from a perusal of the documents and evidence produced to the Privy Council, relating to the conduct of the mother; the inevitable inference to be drawn from which is, that the conduct of the mother, according to those documents and the evidence, appeared to be not what it ought to have been, and such as justified, if not called for, that regulation and restraint which was recommended.

This is so clear, that I will not suppose it possible for any man to entertain a doubt upon the subject. If the Report, without saying any thing about documents or evidence, had said, that it was right, that the mother should be restricted in her visits to her daughter; if it had said this, without giving any reason for it, without assigning

any cause, the Princess might still have had reason to complain of the hardship; but she would have had no ground whereon to found a new complaint of an aspersion upon her character. The Report, on the contrary, by bringing forward the documents of 1806, and also other documents and evidence as the cause of the restraint, certainly called for that reply which the Princess gave in her Letter to the Speaker of the House of Commons. She there calls for the interference of Parliament; she says that she has not been permitted to know who have been her accusers; that she has not been allowed to be heard in her defence; and that, while she is told in this Report, that certain documents and evidence have formed the ground of an opinion that her intercourse with her child ought to be subject to regulation and restraint, she is not suffered to know what those documents and that evidence are. Therefore, she throws herself on the wisdom and justice of Parliament; she earnestly desires a full investigation of her conduct during the whole period of her residence in this country; she says, she fears no scrutiny however strict, provided it be conducted by impartial judges, and in a fair and open manner, according to law; and she concludes with expressing a wish, which every just man in the world will say ought to be complied with; namely, that she may be TREATED AS INNOCENT, or PROVED TO BE GUILTY.

When this letter was read to the House of Commons the ministers were asked, whether they meant to propose the adoption of any proceeding upon it, or to enter into any explanations. This they declined upon the ground, that as a motion was speedily to be proposed by Mr. Cochrane Johnstone, relative to the Princess, it would be best to defer all discussion upon the subject till that motion should be made. The motion was made, in two days afterwards, and a very long debate took place; but, the moment Mr. Cochrane Johnstone rose to make his motion, another motion was made for putting out all persons in the gallery and shutting the doors. This measure might be very proper; but I wish you to observe, that Mr. Cochrane Johnstone expressed his disapprobation of it. He, at any rate, did not wish to keep secret any thing that might transpire; any thing that might be said by any body. Indeed, as will be seen from his resolutions, a copy of which I am now about to insert, he, like the Princess herself, wished to

produce fresh inquiry. The resolutions were as follows:

MR. C. JOHNSTONE'S RESOLUTIONS.

I.—Resolved, That, from the disputes touching the succession to the throne, bitter public animosities, tumultuous contentions, long and bloody civil wars, have, at various periods of the history of this kingdom, arisen, causing great misery to the good people thereof, grief and affliction to the Royal Family, and in some cases exclusion of the rightful Heir.—That, therefore, loyalty and affection towards the Sovereign, and a just regard to the happiness of the people, call upon every subject of this realm, and upon this House more especially, to neglect nothing within their power to prevent the recurrence of similar calamities from a similar cause.—That it has been stated to this House by a Member thereof, who has offered to prove the same by witnesses, at the bar of this House, that, in the year 1806, a Commission was issued under His Majesty's Royal Sign Manual, authorizing and directing the then Lord Chancellor, Erskine, Earl Spencer, the then Secretary of State for the Home Department, Lord Grenville, the then First Lord of the Treasury, and the then and present Lord Chief Justice, Ellenborough, to inquire into the truth of certain written declarations, communicated to His Majesty by His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, touching the conduct of Her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales.—That the said Commissioners, in pursuance of the said authority and direction, did enter into an examination of several witnesses, and that they delivered to His Majesty a report of such examination, and also of their judgment of the several parts alleged against Her Royal Highness, which Report, signed by the four Commissioners aforesaid, and dated on the 14th of July, 1806, was accompanied with copies of the declarations, examinations, depositions, and other documents on which it was founded.

—That it has been stated to this House, in manner aforesaid, that the said written accusations against Her Royal Highness expressly asserted, 'That Her Royal Highness had been pregnant in the year 1802, in consequence of an illicit intercourse, and that she had in the same year been secretly delivered of a male child, which child had ever since that period been brought up by Her Royal Highness in her own house, and under her immediate inspection.—That the Report further stated, that the Commis-

sioners 'first examined on oath the principal informants, Sir John Douglas and Charlotte his wife, who both positively swore, the former to his having observed the fact of the pregnancy of Her Royal Highness, and the other to all the important particulars contained in her former declaration, and before referred to,' and that the Report added, 'that the examinations are annexed to the Report, and are circumstantial and positive.——

That the Commissioners, after the above statements, proceeded in their said Report to state to His Majesty that they thought it their duty to examine other witnesses as to the facts in question, and that they stated, as the result of such farther examination, 'their perfect conviction that there is no foundation whatever for believing that the child now with the Princess is the child of Her Royal Highness, or that she was delivered of any child in 1802, or that she was pregnant in that year,' and that the Commissioners added, 'That this was their clear and unanimous judgment, formed upon full deliberation, and pronounced without hesitation, on the result of the whole inquiry.——That the Noble Lords composing the Commission aforesaid had not, and could not, in that capacity, have any legal power to pronounce a judgment or decision in the case; that the matter of charge submitted to them as a subject of inquiry amounted to a charge of high treason, a crime known to the laws, and, therefore, triable only in a known Court of Justice; that if, as Justices of the Peace, (a character belonging to them as Privy Councillors), they were competent to receive informations and take examinations regarding the conduct of Her Royal Highness, they had no legal power in that capacity, nor in any other capacity that could be given to them, to pronounce an acquittal or a condemnation upon the charge referred to them; for that, to admit them to have been competent to acquit, is to admit them competent to have found guilty, and this would be to admit their competence to have sent Her Royal Highness to an ignominious death, in virtue of a decision founded on selected *ex parte* evidence, taken before a secret tribunal.

——That the whole Report, as far as it relates to the judgment of the Commissioners, (if the making of it be not an unlawful act), is, at least, of no legal validity, and, in the eye of the law, leaves the question of the guilt or innocence of Her Royal Highness where the Commissioners first found it; that the depositions and examinations upon oath (supposing the Commis-

sioners to have taken them in their capacity of Justices of the Peace) possess a legal character; but that no legal decision has yet been made upon any of the important facts stated in these depositions and examinations, and that it has not yet been legally decided that the fact positively sworn to, of Her Royal Highness having been delivered of a male child in the year 1802, is not true.——That in any claim to the succession to the Throne, which, by possibility, at least, may hereafter be set up, by any aspiring personage possessed of great power, the circumstantial and positive evidence of Sir John Douglas, and of Charlotte his wife, if again called for, would still retain all its legal character and weight, while it might happen, that the evidence on the other side might, from death or other causes, be found deficient; and that there can be no doubt that if it should hereafter be made to appear, that the facts sworn to by Lady Douglas are true, and if the identity of the male child so born should be proved, he would be the legal heir to the throne, notwithstanding any assertions, or any proofs, relating to the alleged illicit intercourse of Her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales.——That, therefore, the honour of Her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, the sacred right of the Princess Charlotte of Wales, the safety of the throne, and the tranquillity of the country, do all unite, in a most imperious call on this House, to institute now, while the witnesses on both sides are still living, and while all the charges are capable of being clearly established, or clearly disproved, an ample and impartial investigation of all the allegations, facts, and circumstances appertaining to this most important subject of inquiry.

II.—RESOLVED, That an humble address be presented to His Royal Highness the Prince Regent, requesting that His Royal Highness will be graciously pleased to order, that a copy of a Report made to His Majesty on the 14th day of July, 1806, by the then Lord Chancellor, Erskine, Earl Spencer, Lord Grenville, and Lord Chief Justice Ellenborough, touching the conduct of Her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, be laid before the House, together with the copies of the following written documents annexed to the Report, namely;

The Narrative of His Royal Highness the Duke of Kent, dated the 27th of December, 1805.

Two written Declarations, or Examinations, of Sarah Lampert; one dated Chel-

tenham, 8th of January, 1806, and the other the 20th of March, 1806.

One of Mr. Lampert, baker, Cheltenham, same date with the last.

Four of William Cole, dated 11th January, 14th January, 30th January, and 23d February, 1806.

One of Robert Bidgood, dated Temple, 4th April, 1806.

One of Sarah Bidgood, dated Temple, 23d April, 1806.

One of Frances Lloyd, dated Temple, 12th May, 1806.

The King's Warrant for holding the Commission, dated the 29th May, 1806.

Deposition of Lady Douglas, dated the 1st of June, 1806.

Deposition of Sir John Douglas, dated the 1st of June, 1806.

Deposition of Robert Bidgood, dated the 6th of June, 1806.

Deposition of William Cole, dated the 6th June, 1806.

Deposition of Frances Lloyd, dated the 7th of June, 1806.

Deposition of Mary Wilson, dated the 7th of June, 1806.

Deposition of Samuel Roberts, dated the 7th of June, 1806.

Deposition of Thomas Hikeman, dated the 7th of June, 1806.

Deposition of J. Picard, dated the 7th of June, 1806.

Deposition of Sophia Austin, dated the 7th of June, 1806.

Letter from Lord Spencer to Lord Gwydir, 20th of June, 1806.

Letter from Lord Gwydir to Lord Spencer, 20th of June, 1806.

Letter from Lady Willoughby to Lord Spencer, 21st of June, 1806.

Extracts from the Register of Brownlow-street Hospital, dated 23d of June, 1806.

Deposition of Elizabeth Godden, dated 23d of June, 1806.

Deposition of Betty Townley, dated 25th of June, 1806.

Deposition of Thomas Edmonds, dated 25th of June, 1806.

Deposition of Samuel G. Mills, dated 25th of June, 1806.

Deposition of Hamit Fitzgerald, dated 27th of June, 1806.

Letter from Lord Spencer to Lord Gwydir, dated 1st of July, 1806.

Letter from Lord Gwydir to Lord Spencer, dated 3d July, 1806.

Query to Lady Willoughby, and Answer, dated 2d of July, 1806.

Further Depositions of Robert Bidgood, dated 2d of July, 1806.

Deposition of Sir Francis Milman, dated 3d of July, 1806.

Deposition of Mr. Lisle, dated 3d July, 1806.

Letter from Sir Francis Milman to the Lord Chancellor, dated 4th July, 1806.

Deposition of Lord Cholmondeley, dated 6th July, 1806.

The debate upon these resolutions, appears to have been of great length; but as the galleries were shut, a mere sketch of it has gone forth to the world. That sketch, however, (which I have inserted below) will shew, that, in whatever degree the different speakers might vary in their opinions as to other points, they were all perfectly of accord, that there existed no grounds of charge against the mother who was restricted in her visits to her only child. The Honourable mover of the resolutions said there may exist doubts, as to the innocence of the Princess; if not at this time, there may hereafter exist doubts with regard to that innocence; and, therefore, while all the witnesses are alive, while all the testimony is forth coming, while all the means of proof are at hand, let us inquire, and for ever put an end to these doubts, and to the possibility of doubt. No, no, no, said the ministers, the innocence of the Princess is so clearly established; all the charges against her so manifestly void of foundation, that inquiry is not only unnecessary, but that to inquire would be doing injustice to the Princess, by seeming to allow that there are persons in the world who still entertain a doubt of her innocence.

Mr. COCHRANE JOHNSTON might well say that the day on which he made his motion was a proud day for him. It was so, but it was a still prouder day for the Princess of Wales, who, at the end of seven years of calumny, of base parasitical slander, heard herself pronounced innocent and her traducers pronounced perjured, and that, too, by the chosen ministers, by the confidential Servants, by the advisers of the Prince her husband.

This discussion in the House of Commons has, in the minds of all men of common sense, settled the question. There are still some persons to throw out insinuations against Her Royal Highness; but these are so notoriously the panders of mean hatred, cowardly malice, despicable impotence, and of every thing that is vile to man, aye, in the meanest of mankind, that no one pays the smallest attention to what they say.

Whether the parliament may think it

most to adopt any proceeding upon the subject; whether they may think it right, in the way of address or otherwise, to interfere in behalf of the Princess, I cannot pretend to say, and they are a body far too wise for me to presume to offer them any thing in the way of advice; but, I have no scruple to say, that I think it a fit occasion for the people, assembled in a constitutional manner, to prove, by some solemn declaration of their sentiments, that they still retain that love of justice and that hatred of false accusation, which were formerly prominent features in the character of Englishmen. As to the precise way in which they ought to do this, it is not for me to point out; but, the way will not be difficult to discover by men of proper feeling and of just minds. It is now seven years since these calumnies were first circulated against the Princess of Wales; and, now, that they are all shewn to have been false, now, that we are fully able to estimate all her sufferings and her long forbearance, it would be a shame indeed, if there were none to be found amongst us to shew that we feel for her as we ought. The people have not, indeed, the power to punish her traducers; they have not the power to replace her in Carlton House; they have not the power to give her admission to her daughter; but they have the power to shew to all the world, and to that daughter in particular, that they are lovers of justice, and that they hold in abhorrence false accusers, cowardly and malicious calumniators.

In the case of the Princess of Wales there is every thing to excite a feeling in her favour. In the first place, we see that it was owing to no fault of hers that her husband's palace was no longer her place of abode. In the next place we see false and infamous accusations trumped up against her, and the tongue of calumny let loose, while she was destitute of all the means of defence, having by her counsellors, been prevented from making public the refutation of charges, the substance of which charges, unaccompanied with any answer, had gone forth to the world. Lastly, we see her denied the sight of her daughter except once in a fortnight, while even the advisers of the Prince declare her to be innocent and her traducers to be perjured. Such is briefly the state of her case, and I say, for the whole nation to remain silent, for no part of the people to give utterance to any feeling for her would justify the opinion, that Englishmen have less sensibility than the half-breed inhabitants of the coast

of Labrador. Talk of LIBELS, indeed! What libels has she not had to endure? A month has not passed over our heads since the writers in the Courier and Times newspapers poured forth libels against her, which no private person would have suffered to pass without prosecution. They called her rash, foolish, and with an insolent affectation of compassion, pointed her out as seduced and unfortunate. In short, they spoke of her in terms the most contemptuous, they affected to pity her for having been so weak as to call for fresh inquiry into her conduct, which conduct they had the impudence unequivocally to describe as indecent to the last degree. Seven years of these calumnies she has had to endure, and, to her immortal honour be it spoken, she has relied upon her innocence for the support of her character, and has, in no instance, resorted to the assistance of the law. She has wisely relied upon the never-failing power of truth; she has relied also (and I hope, for the sake of the character of the country, she will not here be deceived) upon the good sense and love of justice of the people of England.

Besides the justice due to the Princess, we ought to consider the light in which we as a nation, shall appear, in this instance, in the eyes of the world. It will not be forgotten with what addresses, what speeches, what exhibitions, what acclamations of joy this lady was received upon her arrival in England. The world will not forget the praises we then bestowed upon her, and even the gratitude we expressed at her having condescended to become instrumental in the happiness of ourselves and our posterity; and, the world will not fail to remark, that the commencement of the calumnies against her, that the perjuries by which she was traduced took place in a very few months after her father was killed, and his successors bereft of their dominions! I will not impute even to perjured wretches the baseness of choosing such a time for the making of their attack; but the fact, as to the time, is as I have stated it; and most assuredly the change produced by the events here spoken of, in the circumstances of her family, must have great weight in the mind of every considerate person. The more destitute she is of the means of protection from any other quarter, the stronger is her claim on the people of England; and I cannot help repeating my opinion, that if the occasion be suffered to pass without some testimony of public feeling in her favour, it will be a great and lasting reproach to this nation.

This interference on the part of the people is the more necessary, and at the same time more likely to be proper, as both the great political factions have left Her Royal Highness to her fate, or, rather, have, each in its turn, been her enemies. Nay, they have not only by turns disclaimed her cause; but they have both of them accused her of having resorted to the support of the "enemies of social order and regular government;" that is to say, men who meddle with politics without pocketing, or wishing to pocket, the public money. These are, in our country, called *Jacobins* and *friends of Buonaparté*; and to these men the factions, who fight for the public money, have accused the Princess of resorting for advice and support. If this accusation be true (and I have no inclination to deny it), it appears that she has not made a bad choice at last. She has not been *betrayed* this time, at any rate. Until now her conduct has been an object of calumny with her enemies and of suspicion with many good people; but, by following the advice of the Jacobins, she has silenced the former and removed the doubts of the latter. If her husband were to take a little advice from the same source, it would, I am persuaded, be full as well for him. The Princess has, in fact, made her appeal to the people. She has published her complaint. She has called upon the people for their opinion upon the merits of her case; and, though that opinion has been pronounced without hesitation in private, it wants, in order to give it its full effect, to be expressed in a public, solemn, and authentic manner.

In a future Letter it will give me great pleasure to tell you that this has been done; and, in the meanwhile, I remain your faithful friend,

WM. COBBETT.

REPORT

(Copied from the Times News-paper of the 6th March)

Of a Debate in the House of Commons on the 5th of March, 1813, relative to Her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales.

[N.B. I insert this Report just as I find it printed; but, I think it right to observe, that it is said to be a very imperfect sketch of the real debate; and I think it my duty to state most distinctly,—that I do not impute *perjury* to Lady or Sir John Douglas; I merely show what other editors have pub-

lished; and I further say, that I think the public should wait and HEAR *Sir John and Lady Douglas*, before it makes up its mind as to the guilt of either of them.]

MR. COCHRANE JOHNSTONE then rose. His motion, he stated, originated entirely with himself, without any communication with other persons. He even did not know that he should find one Member to second it. He had transmitted to the Princess of Wales, and to the King's Ministers, a copy of the Resolutions he intended to propose. He then referred to the Report made by the Commissioners of the Privy Council, at the command of His Majesty, in 1806; and the authenticity of which, he said, he was enabled to prove at the Bar, if required to do so. He read over the charges made against Her Royal Highness at the time, and many of the particular items of those charges, with the concluding Report. The Princess, he stated, had, on receiving a copy of that Report, addressed a letter to His Majesty, a copy of which he read, (this letter was of considerable length), the authenticity of which he was also prepared to substantiate. The letter alluded to the malice of her enemies,—to her not being called upon to make a fair defence,—and to the parties not being credible witnesses. That Report was signed by the four Lords, Spenser, Grenville, Erskine, and Ellenborough. In March, 1807, a change took place in His Majesty's Councils, and Mr. Perceval then prevailed upon the King to restore the Princess to favour: and she was accordingly again received at Court. Since that time no material change had occurred in her situation till recently, when she had received a communication from the Earl of Liverpool, by which she was informed, that her accustomed intercourse with the Princess Charlotte was to be abridged. This produced Her Royal Highness's Letter to the Prince Regent, and led to the late reference of the case to certain Members of the Privy Council. In his opinion; the four Lords Commissioners in 1806 had gone beyond their authority, in pronouncing their opinion on the Princess's conduct, as they had done. The charge against Her Royal Highness was no less than High Treason. If, as Magistrates, they had a right to examine witnesses to the facts, yet he conceived that they had no right to pronounce either her condemnation or her acquittal. That Report, therefore, as far as concerned their judgment, he looked upon as of no effect in law. La-

by Douglas's deposition, who swore to the pregnancy in 1802, remained uncontradicted. In what a state would the country be placed, if this proceeding was again to be called for, and the evidence of Lady Douglas produced; while that of witnesses on the other side, could not, from death or other causes, be obtained? It was, therefore, the bounden duty of Parliament to provide against such an event. He called to the recollection of the House, that no proceedings had been instituted against Sir John or Lady Douglas, for defaming the character of the Princess. He thought that the confidential servants of the Prince Regent ought to send the Princess copies of all letters and papers concerning her conduct since 1806, as far, at least, as it was alluded to in the proceedings on the late Report. A strict and impartial investigation of her conduct ought certainly to take place. In the task he had undertaken, he was actuated only by a conscientious sense of his duty as a Member of Parliament. After various other remarks, the Hon. Member concluded by moving two Resolutions. The first was of great length, recapitulating the contents of all the reports and papers concerning Her Royal Highness. The second was for an Address to His Royal Highness the Prince Regent, praying His Royal Highness to lay the whole of the documents before the House, together with all other papers relative thereto.

MR. JOHN WHARTON seconded the motion.

LORD CASTLEREACH rose and said, he felt that he should act most consistently with his duty in confining himself to explanation, with respect to parts of the Hon. Member's speech, which would tend to guard the House against those false impressions which it might otherwise excite. The mode of proceeding adopted by the Hon. Member was somewhat singular. His first Resolution was, in fact, even in his own view of it, without any proof. His second Resolution called for those very papers, as matters of information, on which his first Resolution was founded; as if they were matters of certain knowledge. He did not mean to urge it in the way of cavil against the proceeding, but surely if there were any grounds for the Resolutions, the second should have been the preliminary one; as the first, in its order, could by no possibility be adopted by the House. The only object of the information called for, seemed to be to persuade the House, that such serious doubts existed as to the succession to

the Throne, as required the interference of Parliament. He should not enter into any detailed inquiry as to the legality of the Privy Council acting as a tribunal in their proceedings on this subject; but he would state, that he was perfectly satisfied, that they were fully competent to inquire, whether there were, or were not, sufficient grounds of charge for putting the Princess of Wales on her defence. The present motion, however, did not go to the extent of settling the question, whether any such proceedings were, or were not, necessary. But he must say, that if the Commissioners were not competent to decide upon the charges against her Royal Highness of being pregnant in the year 1802, the House of Commons was certainly not the proper tribunal for deciding on such a question.—If, on the other hand, no actual criminality was imputed to her Royal Highness, that House was equally an improper tribunal for deciding on that question. If, again, every shade in the conduct of the Princess of Wales, from the highest degree of guilt down to the lowest levity, were to be considered, that House was not, certainly, the place where such matters should be discussed. He must also observe, that if any unfortunate disputes or disunions existed between any members or branches of the Royal Family, any discussion in the House of Commons could serve only to increase alienation, to augment the evil, and to widen the breach. The only solid practical ground, therefore, on which Parliament could proceed, would be, that doubts attached to the succession to the Crown. But in the present case there was not the smallest doubt entertained upon that subject. The Commissioners in 1806, from their known character, and high legal qualifications, were certainly fit persons to decide upon that question; and they had decided, and no doubts remained on their minds that required the necessity of Parliamentary interposition. They did not make a comparative inquiry into the weight of the evidence of Lady Douglas, as compared with, or contrasted to, that of other witnesses; but they decided, that they had traced the whole history of the child so completely and satisfactorily, that no possible doubt could remain that it was not born of the Princess of Wales, but of another woman, named Sophia Austin. Nor, indeed, did this decision rest only on their Report, for it was afterwards referred to other confidential servants of His Majesty, who gave a solemn judgment, confirming the Report of the first Commissioners. The

supposed doubt respecting the succession, was, therefore, rebutted by the authority of the first Commissioners of the first Cabinet; and also by that of the subsequent Cabinet, to whom the matter was referred, and who confirmed the same judgment. If any doubt found its way into the mind of Parliament, he would not deny, in the abstract, that no case might exist, as to the question of Succession, which it might be the duty of Parliament to examine; but would the Honourable Gentleman say, that after all those authorities which he had stated, it would be regular or rational for Parliament to interfere? Would not such interference rather serve to originate doubts, where no doubts existed; and give countenance to suspicions, contrary to the repeated declarations of all parties, that no case whatever had been made out, to require any such interference on the part of Parliament? The Hon. Gentleman himself had made his statement in such a manner as to shew that he entertained no doubts upon the subject: yet when neither he, nor any other Member, had any doubt respecting the legitimacy of the Succession, he called upon Parliament to legislate. It was perfectly true that there had been no prosecution entered into, of Lady Douglas: her evidence was taken by the Commissioners in the discharge of their duty; and the Hon. Gentleman should have stated in candour, that the first Cabinet recommended that no proceedings should be had, unless the Crown Lawyers deemed it advisable to prosecute Lady Douglas for perjury. A case was laid before them; and though they were satisfied as to the perjury, they, nevertheless, saw great difficulties in the way of establishing it by legal evidence, and, therefore, they did not advise prosecution. If he were so disposed, he might use some grounds of personal complaint against the Hon. Member, for he had transgressed the rules of his parliamentary duty, in stating that Mr. Perceval had prevailed upon the Cabinet to espouse the cause of the Princess of Wales. The Cabinet had acted deliberately and conscientiously in the business, and had advised that there were no reasons why her Royal Highness should not be admitted again to the presence of the Sovereign, agreeably to the recommendation of the former Cabinet, with whom, indeed, it had originated. The Hon. Member had stated with a marked emphasis, that Lady Douglas's evidence was given by command of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent. In this matter, the Prince Regent followed the advice of Lord Thurlow,

which was to have the evidence reduced to writing, in order to submitting it to legal consideration. Then his Royal Highness felt it to be his duty to communicate the charges to his Royal Father, with whom, and with whose Cabinet, and not with his Royal Highness himself, the whole affair had from that time remained. He could really see no necessity for pursuing the subject of this discussion any farther. It could not be properly brought forward, except on the presumption that some doubts existed relative to the succession to the Crown; and he trusted, that in what he had said, he had convinced the House that no such doubts did exist. Calling for further information, if agreed to, would only be the means of gratifying private curiosity, by making Parliament the instrument of procuring that gratification, that taste for calumny, which was so much the rage at the present moment. He should trust to the indulgence of the House, to explain farther in reply, in case other circumstances were touched upon, which might render farther explanations necessary: and he hoped that the House would not tolerate suspicions or doubts, where none whatever existed, by adopting the motion of the Hon. Gentleman.

Sir SAMUEL ROMILLY commenced by observing, that the Hon. Member (Mr. Cochrane Johnston) had indulged himself in terms of such strong censure of the Administration of 1806, as to render it impossible for him to preserve silence. No man who knew them, would throw the slightest shade of disrespect or suspicion on the conduct of those four Noble Lords, who composed that Commission of Inquiry. With respect to himself, he had to say, that he was consulted by his Royal Highness, in his professional capacity, upon the subject; and was, he believed, selected for that purpose, by the recommendation of the late Lord Thurlow, that he might give his opinion on this very delicate investigation. After having considered it with the utmost care and anxiety, he addressed a Letter to his Royal Highness, containing his sentiments on the matter, in December, 1806. After he gave that opinion, his Royal Highness took every possible means to ascertain what credit was due to the parties, whose testimony had been given. In the change of Administration which shortly followed, he had the honour of being appointed Solicitor-General; and in March, 1806, he received His Majesty's commands to confer with Lord Thurlow on this important business.

Lord Thurlow desired him to tell the Prince of Wales, that the information was of a nature much too important for his Royal Highness not to take some proper steps in consequence. This he communicated to the Prince of Wales, and in a short time afterwards, the facts as stated, were submitted to some of the King's Ministers. An authority was then issued under the King's Sign Manual to certain Members of the Privy Council, to take up the investigation of the whole of the case. Many meetings were held, and many witnesses were examined thereupon; and he (Sir S. Romilly) was the only other person present besides the Commissioners, at these examinations, which were conducted by the four Noble Lords mentioned, and he took down all the depositions. He must declare in the most solemn manner, that no inquiry was ever conducted with greater impartiality, nor was there ever evinced a more anxious desire to discharge justly a great public duty. With respect to the propriety of instituting proceedings against Lady Douglas, he should beg to state, that the objections to the institution of such proceedings, did not arise from any doubts of the right of the Commissioners to administer an oath, as some persons had insinuated, nor indeed from any doubt as to whether the facts sworn to were true or false, but from other circumstances. He was prepared to maintain, that the legality of the Commission, composed of certain Members of His Majesty's Privy Council, required no other authority but the authority of the King, directing them to inquire into the circumstances of a charge of High Treason: and that it was not only their right, but their duty to go into such inquiry. Ought a bill, for instance, to be sent down, at once, to a Grand Jury of the county of Middlesex, without any preliminary proceedings? No man, he believed, who was acquainted with the duty imposed upon the King's Privy Counsellors, would hazard such an assertion. It was their duty to inquire into all matters of a treasonable nature, before they referred them to the regular tribunals for trial. In the recent case, for instance, of Margaret Nicholson, the Privy Council found the woman to be insane; and no proceedings whatever were instituted against her. Sir Samuel Romilly argued at some length, in proof of the legal right of the Privy Council to act as a tribunal of investigation for the purpose specified, of which, he contended, no doubt could reasonably be entertained. He

was, therefore, of opinion, that the motion ought to be negatived.

Mr. WHITBREAD observed, that the Hon. Member who had brought forward the present motion had stated his intention to him; and he had told him, that he thought his first Resolution could not be adopted. He, therefore, did not rise in support of it, for he concurred in much that had fallen from the Noble Lord opposite; and thought that, at this period at least, no such motion should be entertained by the House, as might render it the vehicle of communicating to the public at large, those matters which it was much better should be suppressed. He must, however, remind the Noble Lord of his expression of his readiness to make explanations, particularly with respect to the more recent parts of these transactions. If the House dismissed this subject without any farther explanations or proceedings, the Princess of Wales would, in his mind, be grossly injured. Her Royal Highness complained to the House, of vague, and ambiguous blame thrown upon her, and demanded explanation at least. By the common uncontradicted rumour, it appeared that she had addressed a letter to the King, impeaching the proceedings of the four Noble Lords who were the Commissioners in 1806; and it should be remembered, that in so doing, she was understood to be acting under the advice of Mr. Perceval. Lord Eldon, it was also stated, approved of that letter. The same was said of Sir T. Plumer, now His Majesty's Attorney-General, who, being present, could contradict the assertion if it were untrue. He wished to know from the Noble Lord opposite, whether with the privacy and knowledge of those persons, and for the purpose of making Her Royal Highness's innocence manifest to the world, a work was not printed, intended to be published and circulated throughout England and Europe? When the Noble Lord talked of an appetite for slander and calumny, was he not aware that newspapers had lately teemed with paragraphs and extracts, the tendency of which was to libel the Princess of Wales? Was not the public mind in a state of agitation on this subject, which it was highly expedient to allay? Nobody doubted that Lady Douglas was a perjured person; but though that was not doubted, she still remained a competent witness: and, therefore, some check ought to be put to the propagation of ambiguous reports. It appeared that her

Royal Highness, finding the intercourse between her and the young Princess was restricted more and more, addressed a letter to the Prince Regent, which was twice returned unopened. At length, it seems, it was read to his Royal Highness, and the cold answer returned was, that Ministers had received no commands on the subject. That letter at last found its way into the public prints; and then his Royal Highness, not as the Head of his Family, but as Prince Regent, by the advice of Ministers, summoned a Privy Council to consult what he should do: and the extraordinary advice of this Privy Council to his Royal Highness was, not to refer to the present conduct of the Princess of Wales, but to the evidence of 1806 or 7! Was there ever advice so preposterous, and so cruel! The levities of her Royal Highness in 1806 were to be punished in 1813, more severely than was thought necessary in former years, by increased restrictions and restraints! Mr. W. then adverted to the opinion lately given by the legal advisers of the Prince Regent, which had but recently been made known, and which stated, that, according, to their experience, cases not of graver import might be sent to a jury. Here then, it would appear, there must be doubts as to the succession to the Throne! When the Noble Lord and his Colleagues framed their last Report, had they not all this before them? If so, let the House see what this Cabinet did, who, in 1807, pronounced a verdict of entire acquittal on the part of her Royal Highness, and who fastened such serious imputations on her in 1813! By the advice of Lord Eldon and Mr. Perceval, as it was understood, the Princess of Wales threatened publicity to the former proceedings, and then she was re-admitted at Court. Her advisers must, at that period, have been fully persuaded of her innocence, or they never would have recommended her to risk such a publication to the world. Mr. W. then commented on the various circumstances connected with the transactions of 1807, when an unanimous opinion was declared, that all the particulars of the Princess's conduct, to which any character or colour of criminality could be ascribed, were either satisfactorily contradicted, or rested on evidence under such circumstances as to render it unworthy of credit. This was a complete verdict of not guilty. The King had been previously advised to receive her Royal Highness, with a reproof for her unguarded conduct; but those ministers advised no reproof, and called on His Majesty to restore

her, and to receive her at once, in the manner due to her exalted rank and station in the community! But now, in 1813, was raked up the old evidence of 1806, by some of those very persons, in order to defame her, and punish her by additional restrictions! Ought she to submit to these imputations? Ought not that House to interfere? The Noble Lord, indeed, had observed, that any of her Royal Highness's legal advisers who chose to do so, might come forward in her behalf. There was a time when she did not want legal advisers,—when Mr. Perceval, and Lord Eldon, and others, were her legal advisers! But one of them was now dead, and the others had become mute! He had declared last night, that if no one else did, he would stand up, not as her advocate, but for the cause of justice. She ought not to be the only person in this country, so famed for its humanity, without a friend, or a legal adviser. What recourse was left to her but an appeal to the justice of Parliament? Her request to the Prince Regent was similar to that of Anne Boleyn to Henry the VIIIth,—“Prove me guilty, or admit me to be innocent!” “The Speaker of the House of Lords has twice returned her letter, as we hear, unopened. You, Sir, (addressing the Speaker) have, with great propriety, submitted the letter which you have received, to our consideration. Suppose you had refused to present her petition! It might have happened, Sir, that nobody else would have presented it. The Honourable Gentleman, who is the mover of this question, once gave in a petition, which he told me 135 Members had refused to present. This might have been the situation of the Princess of Wales.” Mr. W. then moved as an amendment to the motion, that after the word ‘that,’ the following should be adopted: “An address to the Prince Regent, praying that a copy of the Report to which her Royal Highness had referred, be laid before the House.”

LORD CASTLEREAGH was sorry to trouble the House a second time, but trusted to their indulgence. He could assure the Hon. Gentleman who spoke last, that he was glad to find the question in his hands, as he had met it in a manly manner, and had put it on the true grounds, of an attack on the Ministers of the day. He denied that the opinions of the Members of the Privy Council who signed the minute were binding on all the Ministers of the day, who were not then consulted; or that he, as a Minister, could be viewed as any

party to the advice of Mr. Perceval, in his professional capacity. He disclaimed any knowledge of the circulation of paragraphs reflecting on her Royal Highness. He wished she had still such advisers as Mr. Perceval; then such a letter would have neither been written nor published. As to the letter being returned unopened, it was an unfortunate circumstance attached to the separation of the Prince and Princess, that all correspondence had been at an end, lest it might aggravate the existing misunderstanding. That was not the first letter which had been so returned. The restrictions on the intercourse between the Princess and her daughter was not of that vindictive nature, which might be called punishment. The alteration in the visits from once a week to once a fortnight, was made when the young Princess went to Windsor, to prevent the interruption of her education by too frequent visits to town, and was not intended to be continued when she should return to London to reside. All the circumstances of this part of the case, he did not feel justified in submitting. They had appeared, however, sufficient to men of as honourable minds as the Hon. Gentleman. He must say, that the publication of the letter was such an appeal to the country against the Prince Regent, and such an appeal to the daughter against the father, as to render every change in the plan impossible. Of all the passages in it, he most disapproved of that canting one about Confirmation. There was no restraint on the intercourse between the Princess of Wales, and the Rev. Bishop of Exeter: and if she had communicated with that Prelate, she must have known that the King, from religious motives, had enjoined that her confirmation should not take place till she attained the age of 18. His Royal Highness had condescended to advise with his servants in his anxiety to discharge every part of his important trusts with the greatest attention to the public welfare. He should resist, therefore, the production of the documents, since no parliamentary ground could be alleged for it.

SIR THOMAS PLUMER having been personally alluded to, hoped for a short indulgence. He did not know whether he was accused of once being her Royal Highness's legal adviser: whether it was for the advice he then gave; or for his now having ceased to be one of her Royal Highness's legal advisers. In 1806, he waited on her at her request, and gave his professional advice. Had he done wrong in that? He should not disclose that evidence; but he

had, in that advice, the satisfaction of being joined by Mr. Perceval, who was not then in the Cabinet, but a professional man. All he should say was, that he never discovered any just foundation for the charges made against the Princess. Certainly he was not one of her advisers now. The situation he held would probably have precluded him from that: but he had not been applied to, and he presumed her Royal Highness employed those in whom she had more confidence.

THE HON. MR. BRAND admitted the competency of the Privy Council in the case they had before them; but contended, that their report exposed the affairs of the country to much difficulty and danger. He made various animadversions on the speech of the Noble Lord, and concluded by observing, that if they refused to entertain the application of the Princess, they refused justice to the first subject in the country.

MR. STUART WORTLEY said, he felt warmly on the subject as a man of honour. He could not vote either for the original motion, or for the amendment: but yet he did not think that the Noble Lord had given a satisfactory answer to either of them. He was extremely averse to seeing the Royal Family dragged, year after year, before the House of Commons. He thought the Noble Lords, the Commissioners, went further, in the first instance, than the case seemed to require; and that they should have confined themselves to the criminal charge alone, with a view to the possible proceedings on which their advice was taken. The first report of some of the present Ministers advised the King to receive the Princess; and now this last Report raked up old documents, on which they had acquitted her Royal Highness before. If the Prince Regent had said, "As your husband, and as the father of your child, I choose to restrict you to visiting her once in a week," the public might have been satisfied with an arrangement which it was his right to make, if he thought fit. —, however, should have been aware, that his own conduct, at those periods, when those accusations were going on against —, would not —, and he thought that the R — F — ought not to be insensible to the events which had taken place on the Continent.

MR. W. SMITH thought, that if a sister of his were treated as the Princess of Wales had been, he should feel extremely sore. He regretted much that he could not see very clearly how redress was to be af-

forded; and he objected to the amendment, not for the reasons stated by the Noble Lord, but because he knew not by what mode of proceeding it could be followed up.

Mr. FORSONBURY felt peculiar pain in differing from the amendment proposed by his Hon. Friend. He knew no parliamentary grounds on which to address the Prince Regent to lay the papers before the House. If they had the Report before them, it would not enable them to form an accurate judgment of the case; nor could he find any consideration that would justify the interference of the House of Commons. The Prince Regent had the power of any father to say how often, under all circumstances, his wife should visit his daughter: and as a Sovereign, he had the farther right of superintending the education of the heiress to the Crown. He disavowed any advice to, or interference with the conduct of the Princess on his own part, and on that of any of those with whom he was in the habit of acting. He deprecated all attempts to get into power by exciting family feuds and dissensions. He wished that all could lay their hands on their hearts and say the same.

Lord CASTLEREACH disclaimed every imputation of that nature.

Mr. WHITBREAD in explanation said, that the Report threw a doubt on the innocence of the Princess of Wales. He had, therefore, wished for its production, intending to have moved for such further documents as the case might seem to require: but the testimonies borne, in this course of this debate, in her favour, had greatly suspended the necessity of his motion.

Mr. CANNING observed, that painful as this debate must be to all, he had derived a great consolation and satisfaction from hearing what had just fallen from the Hon. Gent. who spoke last, which did him as much credit as the ability and zeal with which he had supported his motion of amendment. The only case which could have supported such a motion as that proposed, had been done away by the honourable and repeated sentences of acquittal which had been pronounced for Her Royal Highness in the course of the debate. He should therefore vote against the motion, or the amendment, with a full conviction that he was doing what public duty required, and what every proper feeling justified. He

like the Noble Lord, had some share in the transaction of 1807, and he considered the decision then pronounced as a verdict of complete acquittal. If he considered the present Report as a revival of former charges, he would not, had he been in the Councils of the Prince Regent, have advised His Royal Highness to sign the Commission; he should have contented himself with saying, that as a father, His Royal Highness had a right to control his own family, and as a Sovereign to educate the heir to the throne. After the explanations of the Noble Lord, he did not think the proceeding liable to that objection. He should, therefore, oppose the present motion, trusting that no future motion of the same kind would come before the House. Every man who looked to the consequences of angry discussions and protracted debates on such subjects, would think no period so proper to terminate them as the present.

Mr. BRADSHAW justified himself and his Colleagues in the course they had taken.

Mr. CANNING explained.

THE SOLICITOR-GENERAL thought it was enough to justify the last report that the Speaker's name was signed to it. When the Princess made a complaint on so serious a point as Confinement, it became His Royal Highness to refer it to those venerable advisers whose names were in the Commission. Alluding to an expression of Mr. Whitbread's, referring to the opinion signed by His Royal Highness's legal advisers, and wishing he had him in the same situation in which he (the Solicitor-General) had had many in his fortunate practice, he said that he should have then had nothing to fear; for the dread of cross-examination vanished where there was nothing to conceal. He, together with Mr. Adam and Mr. Jekyl, had certain papers referred to them, on which they gave an opinion; but which he never since saw, till it was made public.

Mr. WHITBREAD explained.

Mr. YORKE expressed his hope, that the Mover would withdraw the original motion.

Mr. COCHRANE JOHNSTONE declined doing so, and said, he considered this as the proudest day in his life.

The Amendment and original Motion were negatived without a division.—Adjourned.

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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NOTICE.

The present Double Number of the Register contains all the Depositions against the PRINCESS OF WALES; the Double Number, to be published next week, will contain the whole of her defence; and thus, these two Double Numbers will contain every word of what has been called THE BOOK.

N. B. The Index to the last volume of the Register will be published in a few weeks.

TO JAMES PAUL,

OF BURSLEDON, IN LOWER DUBLIN TOWNSHIP, IN PHILADELPHIA COUNTY, IN THE STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA; ON MATTERS RELATING TO HER ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCESS OF WALES.

Letter IV.

London, 19th March, 1813.

My dear Friend,

You must remember, that, while I was in Newgate for writing about the flogging of the English Local militiamen at the town of Ely, and the employment of German troops upon the occasion; you must remember, that, while I was in that jail, and not many months before the expiration of my two years, and the payment of a fine of a thousand pounds, which the Prince Regent received in behalf of his Royal Father, who, during my imprisonment, was become incapable of governing in person; you must remember, that, at the time here referred to, I confidently predicted, and, indeed, positively asserted, that the BOOK would come out in spite of all that could be done to prevent its publication. It was notorious, that many thousands of pounds had been expended in order to prevent the appearance of this Book; it was notorious that the most extraordinary means had been resorted to in order to secure that object; and I was in

possession of some facts relative to the endeavours that were still making for the same purpose; but, still I said, that the Book would come out. I assured my readers, in the most unqualified terms, that they would, at no very distant day, see the whole of the famous BOOK.

Since the date of my last letter to you, the BOOK, the real, the genuine Book, has made its appearance in print, in a complete form, in an octavo volume, and being page for page and word for word with the original work. Thus, then, my prophecy is fulfilled; and, though prophets are said not to be honoured in their own countries, I ought, I think, to expect my due share of credit in yours.

With such a mass of matter before us; overlaid, as we now are, with materials for comment, it is no easy thing to determine where to begin. After a little reflection, however, it appears to me to be the best way, to set out by giving you a short history of this Book, and, before we come to an examination of its contents, as they affect the Princess of Wales, to show you what were the uses which political and party intrigue has made of those contents.

The history of the Book is this: When the Princess of Wales, in consequence of the Letter of the Prince, which you have already seen, quitted Carleton House, she went to reside in a house called *Marquess House*, at Blackheath, near Greenwich, which is about five or six miles distant from London. There, in the year 1801, she became accidentally acquainted with a *Lady Douglas*, the wife of Sir John Douglas, who, as an officer of marines, greatly distinguished himself at the siege of St. Jean D'Acre, when that place was so bravely defended by Sir Sidney Smith against Buonaparte. Lady Douglas and her husband soon became extremely intimate with the Princess, who, according to the statement of Lady Douglas, seems to have been very fond of her indeed. This intimacy continued until 1804, when the Princess, after some previous bickerings, dismissed Lady Douglas from her society.

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Lady Douglas and her husband, after this, that is to say in 1803, and in the month of December in that year, gave in, as she states, in consequence of commands to that purpose from the Prince of Wales, a *written statement of facts*, relative to the language and behaviour of his wife, and particularly relative to the birth of a child, which she asserted the Princess to have brought into the world in 1802. The statement of facts is now published; but, as it is the same, in respect to all the material points as the deposition of this Lady, which deposition you will find in another part of the present double number of my Register, I shall not insert it this week. It does no where, that I can discover, appear, *how* the Prince came by the knowledge of Lady Douglas being in possession of such dreadful secrets. Lady Douglas says, that she makes the statement in obedience to the commands of the Prince; but, who gave the information, which induced His Royal Highness to give such commands, we are no where, that I can perceive, informed. Yet, this is a circumstance of considerable importance; and, we must not fail to bear it in mind. Lady Douglas was the depository of the awful secret; and she says, that she divulged it by command; but, before the command was issued, the person issuing it must have known that she possessed a secret of some sort about his wife. This circumstance must be borne in mind.

But, be this as it may, the STATEMENT OF FACTS was made, and was laid before the Prince, verified by the DUKE OF SUSSEX. The Statement of Facts, which was to serve, or, at least, which did serve, as the ground-work of all the further proceedings, has, in the printed Book, now published, the name of "AUGUSTUS FREDERICK" signed to it, in order, I suppose, to verify the authenticity of it; in order to verify, that it was signed by Lady and Sir John Douglas. So that the Prince, when it was laid before him, could have no doubt of its being authentic.

Thus in possession of an assertion of his wife's criminality, the Prince, it seems, lost but little time in laying the Statement before his father, who, on the 20th of May, 1806, issued a warrant to the four Lords, ERSKINE, SPENCER, GRENVILLE, and ELLENBOROUGH, to examine into the matter. A copy of this warrant, being the 2d of the subjoined documents, will explain its own nature, if you refer to it,

as, indeed, you ought to refer to all the documents as you proceed.

The four Lords, having thus got their authority for acting, assembled and called such persons as they chose in order to examine them on oath, touching the matters alleged against the Princess by Lady and Sir John Douglas. It is not my intention to stop here, in order to inquire into the legality or propriety of this mode of proceeding, my business, at present, being simply to tell you *what was done*; to trace along the proceedings to the present time; and to show you the uses which politicians and parties have made of these family concerns, and thereby to enable you to judge of the way in which our national affairs are managed, and to settle in your own impartial mind, whether we, who call for a reform of the House of Commons, are the enemies of the throne and of the Royal Family.

When the Four Lords had gone through the examinations, beginning with those of Lady and Sir John Douglas, they made, agreeably to the warrant under which they acted, a REPORT thereof to the King, a copy of which Report is the first of the documents hereunto subjoined. When you have read that Report, you will see, that the Four Lords declared the Princess to be quite clear of the charge of having been pregnant in 1802; but, that they left her stigmatized with charges of minor import. The Princess, upon receiving a copy of this Report, together with copies of all the Statements and Depositions that had been received against as well as for her, wrote several letters to the King, and these letters contain her defence against these minor charges with which the Four Lords left her tarnished. The whole of these Letters I have not, this week, had room to insert; but, I have inserted all the DEPOSITIONS against the Princess; because, these naturally come before the Defence of the accused party.

We now come to the making of THE BOOK; to its origin, its possible object, and its effects, which are now of much more importance to the people here, and to the world in general, than the truth or falsehood of the several allegations themselves. As to these we will hereafter inquire; but, at present, the uses that have been made of the Book is the subject of our inquiry.

The Princess, when the Report of the Four Lords was laid before her, resorted, as it was natural she should, to legal advisers, that is to say, to men eminent

the profession of the law. She chose, as her chief adviser, PERCEVAL, who was shot last year by John Bellingham. It is now said, that two others, the late Attorney General, GIBBS, who is now a Judge, and the present Attorney General, Sir Thomas Plumer, were also consulted; but it is perfectly notorious, that Perceval was the chief adviser.

You must now go back with me a little, and take a view of the state of parties. In 1806, when the information was given to the Prince by Lady Douglas, PITT was minister, and Perceval was his Attorney General. But, even at that time, Pitt was ill at Bath; and, in January, 1806, soon after the information was in the hands of the Prince, Pitt died. His death was followed by the ousting of his set, and Lord Eldon, who was Lord Chancellor, Lord Castlereagh, Mr. Canning, Lord Camden, and others, went out of place, and, in the usual way, formed the OPPOSITION to Mr. Fox, Lord Grenville, Lord Grey, Lord Erskine, and others, who came into power, and who, from a trick of party, were called the *Whig Administration*.

This change, you will observe, took place in 1806, and in the month of February, and it brought into the possession of long-sought power, those persons who had always been regarded, and, indeed, called, the *Prince's Friends*; and, you will observe, from the words of the King's warrant, that Lord Erskine, who was now become Lord Chancellor, and who had been the Chancellor of the Prince, laid before the King the abstract of those declarations against the Princess, upon which the King founded his warrant for the inquiry. I do not mention these circumstances for the purpose of raising in your mind a suspicion, that the Prince would not have made the appeal had his friends not been in power, because I believe he would; but, I mention them for the purpose of showing you the true state of all the parties with regard to each other, and also for the purpose of preparing your mind for the clear comprehension of certain matters that have arisen since the Regency was established in the person of the Prince.

Amongst those who were ousted by the death of PITT was his Attorney General, PERCEVAL, who, at the change, became, of course, a member of the OPPOSITION to the Whigs, who, as I observed before, were also denominated the *Prince's Friends*.

It was, therefore, not unnatural for the Princess, when the Four Lords had made their Report respecting her, to look to Mr. Perceval as an adviser. She did so, and, as you will soon see, he was a man who knew how to manage such a concern to the greatest advantage.

Having got possession of all the documents relating to so important an affair, the first thing that was done, was, through the means of a correspondence between the Princess and the Lord Chancellor Erskine, to obtain a *verification* of the Report, the Warrant, the Statement of Facts of Lady Douglas, and the Several Depositions, Examinations, and Letters, which you will find subjoined to this Letter. This being done, the little lawyer had materials to work upon; and, under his advice, the Princess then addressed two Letters to the King, which Letters I shall hereafter publish, and in which Letters she defended herself, made observations on the conduct of her accusers and of the other parties concerned, and called upon the King to *restore her to his presence at court*, from which, since the making of the complaint against her, she had been kept.

The addressing of these Letters to the King took place, as you will see by the dates, during the summer and autumn of 1806. The Report of the Four Lords was made to the King on the 14th of July in that year; the Princess did not receive a copy of it, as you will see, for some time; from the time she did receive that copy, she continued writing to the King to the date of her Letter of the 2d October, 1806, concluding with her prayer to be *restored to his presence at court*, and thus to be cleared in the eyes of the world. Thus were materials for THE BOOK every day, up to this time, increasing in the hands of Perceval, who seems to have been duly impressed with a sense of their value.

The King, having the defence of the Princess before him, and also her demands of justice at his hands, referred her Letters to his Cabinet Ministers, and required *their opinion and advice* as to what he ought to do in the case. The Princess, as you will see, had called for her justification in the eyes of the world by means of an *admission to court*. That she insisted upon as absolutely necessary to the vindication of her honour. And certainly her request was most reasonable; for, it was gone forth to the world, that she had been *accused* of having had a child in consequence of an illicit amour. It had, indeed, been also

stated, that she had been cleared of this, *but that other imputations remained.* Therefore, said she, let me appear at court, and then the nation will be convinced, that I am cleared of every thing of which I have been accused; or, said she, if you refuse me this request; if you refuse me this open testimony of your conviction of my innocence, let me be proved to be guilty in a fair and open manner. Let me be proved to be guilty, or let me be treated as innocent.

Nothing could be more reasonable, nothing more fair, nothing more just than this; but, the King, who seems, through the whole of the transactions, to have acted the part of an impartial judge as well as of a considerate and kind parent, was hampered by the previous decision of the Four Lords, which left a stain upon the Princess's character. In this emergency he did what a King of England ought to do. He referred the Letters of the Princess to his constitutional advisers, the ministers; and bade them, after perusing and considering all that the Princess had to say, give him their opinion and advice as to the course he ought to pursue.

The ministers (the Whigs you will observe) appear to have been greatly puzzled upon this occasion. They were involved in a dilemma out of which it was impossible for them to get. They were compelled, either to advise the King to suffer the Princess to come to court, or not to suffer her to come to court. If the latter, they ran the risk of all the dangers of an open exposure of all that has now been exposed. They ran the risk of the publication of Lady Douglas's Statement and Deposition; of Mr. Edmeades's deposition; and of all the other depositions, proving so clearly what had been going on against the Princess. But, on the other hand, if they advised the King to receive the Princess at court, what would that advice have amounted to with regard to the judgment of the Four Lords, who had made the Report of 14th July, 1806, and who were four out of the eleven members of the Cabinet, not forgetting that Earl Moira was a fifth?

In this dilemma the ministers, in Cabinet Council assembled, took a course which generally, if not always, proves fatal to those who pursue it; that is to say, a *middle* course; and, on the 23th of January, 1807, after long and repeated deliberations, laid before the King the result, in the following minute, which you will read with great attention, seeing that it has, as you will

see, been productive of very important consequences, not only to this country but to all those countries which have been affected by the measures of our cabinet.

“MINUTE OF CABINET, *Downing-street, January 25, 1807.*

PRESENT.

“The Ld. Chancellor, Lord Vis. Howick,
“Lord President, Lord Grenville,
“Lord Privy Seal, * Lord Ellenborough,
“Earl Spencer, Mr. Sec. Windham,
“Earl of Moira, Mr. Grenville,
“Lord Henry Petty,

“Your Majesty's confidential servants
“have given the most diligent and attentive consideration to the matters on which
“your Majesty has been pleased to require
“their opinion and advice. They trust
“your Majesty will not think that any apology is necessary on their part for the delay which has attended their deliberations, on a subject of such extreme importance, and which they have found to be of the greatest difficulty and embarrassment.—They are fully convinced that
“it never can have been your Majesty's intention to require from them; that
“they should lay before your Majesty a detailed and circumstantial examination
“and discussion of the various arguments
“and allegations contained in the letter
“submitted to your Majesty, by the Law
“Advisers of the Princess of Wales.
“And they beg leave, with all humility, to represent to your Majesty that
“the laws and constitution of their country have not placed them in a situation in
“which they can conclusively pronounce
“on any question of guilt or innocence affecting any of your Majesty's subjects,
“much less one of your Majesty's Royal
“Family. They have indeed no power or
“authority whatever to enter on such a
“course of inquiry as could alone lead to
“any final results of such a nature. The
“main question on which they had conceived themselves called upon by their
“duty to submit their advice to your Majesty was this,—Whether the circumstances which had, by your Majesty's
“commands, been brought before them,
“were of a nature to induce your Majesty
“to order any further steps to be taken
“upon them by your Majesty's Government? And on this point they humbly
“submit to your Majesty that the advice
“which they offered was clear and unequivocal. Your Majesty has since been
“pleased further to require that they

“should submit to your Majesty their opinions as to the answer to be given by your Majesty to the request contained in the Princess’s letter, and as to the manner in which that answer should be communicated to Her Royal Highness. They have, therefore, in dutiful obedience to your Majesty’s commands, proceeded to re-consider the whole of the subject, in this new view of it; and after much deliberation, they have agreed humbly to recommend to your Majesty the draft of a Message, which, if approved by your Majesty, they would humbly suggest your Majesty might send to Her Royal Highness through the Lord Chancellor. Having before humbly submitted to your Majesty their opinion, that the facts of the case did not warrant their advising that any further steps should be taken upon it by your Majesty’s Government, they have not thought it necessary to advise your Majesty any longer to decline receiving the Princess into your Royal presence. But the result of the whole case does, in their judgment, render it indispenable that your Majesty should, by a serious admonition, convey to Her Royal Highness your Majesty’s expectation that Her Royal Highness should be more circumspect in her future conduct; and they trust that in the terms in which they have advised, that such admonition should be conveyed, your Majesty will not be of opinion, on a full consideration of the evidence and answer, that they can be considered as having at all exceeded the necessity of the case, as arising out of the last reference which your Majesty has been pleased to make to them.”

In this minute of the cabinet there are evident marks of timidity. At every period you see the hesitation of the parties from whom it came. It was not till nearly *four months*, you will perceive, after the date of the Princess’s letter of defence, that they made this minute; and, you will perceive, too, that, in the mean while, the Princess had written, on the 8th of December, 1806, another letter to the King, urging a speedy decision on her case. She had manifestly the strong ground, and the cabinet were puzzled beyond all description.

The King, agreeably to the advice of his cabinet, sent a message to the Princess, through the Lord Chancellor, Erskine, containing the admonition, recommended in the minute of Cabinet above inserted. This message was sent on the 28th of Ja-

nuary, 1807. Dates must now be strictly attended to. The Princess, upon receiving this message, immediately wrote to the King, intimating to him, that she would wait upon him at Windsor, on the Monday following. The King, the moment he received her letter, wrote back, that he preferred receiving her in London, “upon a day *subsequent to the ensuing week.*” To this letter the Princess returned no answer, and waited, of course, to hear from the King, respecting the time for her reception, when he should come to London. All these Letters, you will bear in mind, make part of THE BOOK, and will appear in my next Number.

Thus, then, every thing appeared to be settled at last. The Princess had obtained her great object: that is to say, her re-admission to court; and here, perhaps, the whole affair would have ended, and the world would never have been much the wiser for what had passed. But, now, just when the Princess was about to be received at court, *all the charges against her having been shown to be false*; just as the King was about to receive her back into his presence and thus to proclaim her innocence to the world; just as her sufferings of almost a year were about to be put an end to, and she was anxiously expecting, every hour, a message from the King appointing the time for her waiting upon him; just then, all was put a stop to, and the King acquainted her, that he had been requested to suspend any further steps in the business! And by whom, think you, was this request made? Why, BY THE PRINCE OF WALES HIMSELF! The Prince had, as the King informed the Princess on the 10th of February, 1807, made a formal request to him, to suspend all further steps; that is to say, to put off receiving the Princess, till till when, think you? Why, till he (the Prince) should be enabled to submit to the King a statement which he proposed to make to him upon the papers relating to the Princess’s defence, after consulting with his own lawyers!

It was now that the serious work began. It was now that the advisers of the Princess began to change the tone of her letters, and, from the plaintive to burst forth into the indignant. Her Royal Highness answered the King’s letter on the 12th of February, 1807, intimating her design to represent to him in another letter the various grounds on which she felt the hardship of her case, which was done in a letter

dated the 16th of February, 1807, in a most able manner. This is the document, which, above all the rest, is worthy of your attention. Perceval was, I dare say, the sole author of it, and it does infinite honour to him as a man of talents. Whether for reasoning, language, or force, I never read any thing to surpass this letter. The reasoning is clear as the brook and strong as the torrent; the language is dignified while the feelings it expresses are indignant; and, in short, it makes out such a case, it presents such a picture, that I no longer am surprised at the pains which were afterwards taken to conciliate its author and to keep it from the eye of the world. Who could have been the Prince's advisers upon this occasion; who could have been the cause of drawing forth this terrible letter I presume not to say; but, certainly, there never existed in the world a man exposed to the advice of more indiscreet or more faithless friends.

At the close of this letter (and now, as the plot thickens, you must pay close attention to dates); at the close of this letter, which, you will bear in mind, was dated on the 16th of February, the Princess, for the first time, **THREATENS AN APPEAL TO THE PUBLIC**, unless she be speedily received at Court, and also allowed some suitable establishment in some one of the Royal Palaces, if not in Carlton House. To this letter, however, she received no answer; and, on the 6th of March, which was on a *Thursday*, she wrote to the King to say, that, unless her requests were granted, the publication would not be withheld beyond the next *Monday*, which would have been on the 9th of March, 1807. The publication did not appear, but Mr. Perceval was *Chancellor of the Exchequer in less than fifteen days from that time*!

We all remember how sudden, how surprising, how unaccountable, that change was. The cause was stated to be the *Catholic Bill*; but, at the time, all men expressed their wonder that that cause should have been attended with such an effect. The Bill had been, by the Whig ministry, introduced into Parliament with the understood approbation of the King; and the Whigs, clinging to place, had withdrawn the Bill, upon some objection being started on the part of the King. But, this would not do; the King insisted upon their signing a promise that they would never mention such a Bill to him again. This they could not do without ensuring their de-

struction as ministers. Upon this ground, therefore, they were turned out, as all the world thought; and away went this "*most thinking nation*" to a new election, bawling out *bigotry* on one side, and *no-popery* on the other!

But, you see, my friend, that there really appears to have been no choice left to the King. He, very likely, had sincere scruples as to the Catholic Bill, and had, in some sort, had it forced upon him; and, that being the case, he had a right to make the Bill the ground of the dismissal of his ministers; but, that the case of the Princess of Wales would have produced the same effect, if the Bill had not existed, there can, I think, not be the smallest doubt. In short, there appears to have been no other way left of getting rid of a thing, which must have operated most injuriously in the opinions of the world to one, at least, of the parties concerned; and, I think, you will agree with me, that His Majesty, in this case, acted the part of a prudent man, and of a kind and considerate father. He had read all the documents, and especially the famous letter of the Princess of the 16th of February; and he saw the consequence of a publication of those documents; therefore, he took, as you will see, the effectual means of preventing that publication. If as much good sense had lately prevailed, we should not now have these documents to make our remarks on.

The Whig ministry being removed, the *four Lords and Lord Moira*, and all those who were called the *Prince's friends*, being out of the cabinet and out of place, there remained no longer any obstacle to the receiving of the Princess at Court; and, accordingly, on the 21st of April, 1807, the following Minutes of Council were laid before the King, as a prelude to that step.

" MINUTE OF COUNCIL,

" APRIL 21, 1807.

" PRESENT,

- " The Lord Chancellor (ELLEN)
- " The Lord President (CAMDEN)
- " The Lord Privy Seal (WESTMORLAND)
- " The Duke of PORTLAND
- " The Earl of CHATHAM
- " The Earl of BATHURST
- " VICOUNT CASTLEREAGH
- " LORD MULGRAVE
- " Mr. Secretary CANNING
- " LORD HAWKESBURY.
- " Your Majesty's confidential servants
- " have, in obedience to your Majesty's

"command, most attentively considered the original Charges and Report, the Minutes of Evidence, and all the other papers submitted to the consideration of your Majesty, on the subject of these charges against Her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales.—In the stage in which this business is brought under their consideration, they do not feel themselves called upon to give any opinion as to the preceding itself, or to the mode of investigation in which it has been thought proper to conduct it. But adhering to the advice which is stated by His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales to have directed his conduct, your Majesty's confidential servants are anxious to impress upon your Majesty their conviction that His Royal Highness could not, under such advice, consistently with his public duty, have done otherwise than lay before your Majesty the Statement and Examinations which were submitted to him upon this subject.—After the most deliberate consideration, however, of the evidence which has been brought before the Commissioners, and of the previous examinations, as well as of the answer and observations which have been submitted to your Majesty upon them, they feel it necessary to declare their decided concurrence in the clear and unanimous opinion of the Commissioners, confirmed by that of all your Majesty's late confidential servants, that the two main charges alleged against Her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, of pregnancy and delivery, are completely disproved; and they further submit to your Majesty, their unanimous opinion, that all the other particulars of conduct brought in accusation against Her Royal Highness, to which the character of criminality can be ascribed, are either satisfactorily contradicted, or rest upon evidence of such a nature, and which was given under such circumstances, as render it, in the judgment of your Majesty's confidential servants, unworthy of credit.—Your Majesty's confidential servants, therefore, concurring in that part of the opinion of your late servants, as stated in their Minute of the 25th January, that there is no longer any necessity for your Majesty being advised to decline receiving the Princess into your Royal presence, humbly submit to your Majesty, that it is essentially necessary, in justice to Her Royal Highness, and for

"the honour and interests of your Majesty's Illustrious Family, that Her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, should be admitted with as little delay as possible, into your Majesty's Royal Presence, and that she should be received in a manner due to her rank and station, in your Majesty's Court and Family.—Your Majesty's confidential servants also beg leave to submit to your Majesty, that considering that it may be necessary that your Majesty's Government should possess the means of referring to the state of this transaction, it is of the utmost importance that these documents, demonstrating the ground on which your Majesty has proceeded, should be preserved in safe custody; and that for that purpose the originals, or authentic copies of all these papers, should be sealed up and deposited in the office of your Majesty's Principal Secretary of State."

"CABINET MINUTE, April 21, 1807.

PRESENT,

"The Lord Chancellor The Earl of Bathurst
 "The Lord President Viscount Castlereagh
 "The Lord Privy Seal Lord Mulgrave
 "The Duke of Portland Mr. Secretary Canning
 "The Earl of Chatham Lord Hawkebury.

"Your Majesty's Confidential Servants think it necessary to notice, in a separate Minute, the request of Her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, that for her more convenient attendance at your Majesty's Court, some apartment should be allotted to her in one of the royal palaces; although it appears to your Majesty's Confidential Servants that some arrangement in this respect may be supposed naturally to arise out of the present state of this transaction, yet they humbly conceive that this is a subject so purely of a private and domestic nature, that your Majesty would not expect from them any particular advice respecting it."

Thus ended the matter at that time. The Princess was, soon afterwards, received at court with great splendour, and she had apartments allotted to her in Kensington Palace, which is situated at but about two miles from St. James's.

Up to this moment the conduct of Percival seems to have been perfectly honourable. He might possibly have ambitious views from the beginning. He might possibly think that one way to power was through the gratitude of the Princess, at some distant day; but, in the outset of the business, he could hardly have entertained

an idea of things taking the sudden turn that they took in the month of March, 1807: indeed, it was impossible; for how was he, who had written the Princess's defence, and so clearly seen her innocence, to foresee, or to suppose it possible, that any obstacles would be opposed to her reception, even after an admonition had been given her? Up to this period, therefore, the conduct of Perceval appears to have been truly honourable; he had proved himself to be a wise adviser, and a most able and zealous advocate. He found the Princess banished from the court and the royal palaces, and loaded with numerous imputations. He cleared her of them all, and restored her to that situation which was the object of her prayer.

We are now to view his subsequent conduct towards her, and herein it is that he was, as appears to me, wanting in his duty both to the Prince and Princess. He and others, had contrived, by one means and another, to suppress *THE BOOK*, which was ready for publication when he was made minister. But, the Princess had been received at court, she was inhabiting a palace, and the affair was at rest. There was no blame, therefore, in the suppression; but when the *REGENCY* came to be established in the person of the Prince; when the husband came to be exalted to the rank, the power, and splendour of a King, how could Perceval reconcile it with the letter of 16th February, 1807, and with the minute of the 21st of April in that year, to leave the Princess of Wales, the wife of the Regent, in her former comparatively obscure and penurious state? How came he to do this; and that, too, at a time when he was so amply providing for the splendour and power of the *Queen*, and was granting the public money for the making of new establishments for the maiden sisters of the Regent?

Alas! We are now to look back to that wonderful event, the choosing of Perceval for minister by the Regent, the choosing of the author of the letter of 16th February, 1806, to the exclusion of those who had always been called the *Prince's Friends*. The Prince was certainly advised by prudent men, when he took this step; for he avoided a certain evil at the expense of no certain, and, indeed, of no probable, good that a change of ministry would have effected. But, I blame Perceval for keeping his place *without stipulating for, or without doing, something in behalf of the*

Princess; and, it was his failing to do this, which has, step by step, finally led to the present disclosure. He had, indeed, done much for the Princess; he had cleared her of every imputation; he had restored her to the court; he had replaced her in a palace; but, her husband being now exalted, her non-exaltation operated with regard to her character in nearly the same way as her exclusion from court had formerly operated. Therefore she had a new ground of complaint; the imputation against her honour was revived, not in words, but in the want of acts, more especially as her defender was now placed on the highest pinnacle of power.

In this light the Princess herself, from her last letter to the Prince, seems to have viewed the matter; for, she there says, that she has waited with patience, since the establishment of the Regency, to see what would be done. I, for my part, strongly urged, at the time, the propriety of giving her an establishment suitable to the new rank of her husband, and especially the means of enabling her to hold a court. This was not listened to. The ministers seem to have thought it best to leave her in comparative obscurity; but, her own spirit and her consciousness of innocence, have defeated their views. Still, however, all might have remained undisturbed, if a free intercourse had been permitted between her and her daughter; and, I am sincerely of opinion, from a full view of her character and disposition, as exhibited in the whole of these documents, that, provided no restraint had been laid upon the indulgence of her maternal affections, she would, without much repining, have preserved in her magnanimous silence. But, when she saw herself deprived of that indulgence; when she saw her intercourse with her only child was more and more restrained; when she saw the likelihood of an approaching total exclusion from that child, and took into her view the effect which the notoriety of that exclusion must have upon her reputation; she found it impossible longer to withhold the statement of her grievances.

Even now, even after the writing of her last letter to the Prince; aye, and after the publishing of that letter, all might have been quietly set at rest, if the Prince had found advisers to recommend the according to her reasonable request. Such advisers he did not find; and we have the consequences before us.

Upon the Report of the Privy Council to the Prince dated on the 19th of February,

1813, I will not make any comment; and, will only request you, my honest friend, first to read the minute of the Cabinet of 31st of April, 1807, and see *who it is signed by*; then to read the defence of the Princess together with her letter of the 16th of February, 1807, as you will find them in my next Number; then to read carefully the Report of the Privy Council of 19th February, 1813, and see *who that is signed by*; and then to pass your judgment upon the conduct of the parties concerned.

This Report of the Privy Council brought forth the Princess's Letter to the Speaker of the House of Commons. That Letter would probably have produced the effect that has since been produced; but, the motion of Mr. Cochran Johnston did it more speedily. That motion drew from the ministers *a full and complete acknowledgment of the innocence of the Princess*; and that acknowledgment has drawn forth, through the channel of a paper, the property of a Reverend Divine, *who has recently been made a Baronet*, a publication of the Depositions AGAINST the Princess; but, with shame for my country, with shame for the English press; and with indignation inexpressible against its conductors, I say it, while the documents *against her* have all been poured forth in hasty succession, *her defence*; her able, her satisfactory, her convincing, her incontrovertible answer to all, and every one of the charges against her, and her exposure of the injustice and malice and baseness of her enemies, have been carefully, by these same prints; the prints attached to *both the political factions*, been kept from the public eye!

Any thing so completely base as this I do not recollect to have before witnessed, even in the conduct of the London press; but, my friend, this nefarious attempt to support injustice will not succeed. In the present Double Number of my Register I have inserted *all* the Evidence against the Princess; in another Number, next week, of the same description, I shall insert *the whole of her defence*; and, thus you will have before you *the whole* of what has been called THE BOOK. You will then be at no loss to decide upon *every point relating to this important affair*, and upon the conduct of all the parties, who, by these documents, will be brought under your view.

In the mean while I must beg leave to point out the necessity of reading all the subjoined documents with great care. Every word will be found to be of importance, when you come to the perusal of the Princess's Defence. I shall have great pleasure in publishing and in circulating it through the world; and when that is done, let her base enemies "*go to*" supper with what appetite they may."

I am your faithful friend,

WM. CORBETT.

P. S. In the placing of the documents in pages 409 and 410, of the second sheet of the present Number, there is a mistake. They should have come into the next Number. The Printer has also erred in supposing and noting that these documents do not make part of THE BOOK. They *do* make part of the Book, and their *proper place* will be pointed out in the next Number.—I hope I shall be excused for sending forth the accusation. Unaccompanied by the defence, but, it has been out of my power to avoid it. Yet, I think it my duty to state here, that, after a careful perusal of the whole of the Book, great part of which I had, indeed, seen long ago, I have no hesitation in saying, that there cannot rest, in the mind of any man of sound judgment and without undue bias, the smallest doubt, that *all*; yes, *all* the accusations against the Princess, were false, and the production of a base and malicious conspiracy against her, the object of which was totally to destroy her reputation and degrade her for ever from all rank and dignity in the country. This is my sincere and decided opinion; and in this opinion I am confident I shall be joined by every impartial person in the kingdom.

THE BOOK.

THE REPORT OF THE FOUR LORDS.

May it please your Majesty.—Your Majesty having been graciously pleased, by an instrument under your Majesty's Royal Sign Manual, a copy of which is annexed to this Report, to "authorize, empower, and direct us to inquire into the truth of certain written declarations, touching the conduct of Her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, an abstract of which had been laid before your Majesty, and to examine upon oath such persons as we should see fit, touching and concerning the same, and to report to Your Majesty the result of such examinations." We have, in dutiful obedience to Your Majesty's commands, proceeded to examine the several witnesses, the copies of whose depositions we have herewith annexed; and, in further execution of the said commands we now most respectfully submit to Your Majesty the report of these examinations as it has appeared to us: But we beg leave at the same time humbly to refer Your Majesty, for more complete information, to the examinations themselves, in order to correct any error of judgment, into which we may have unintentionally fallen, with respect to any part of this business. On a reference to the above-mentioned declarations, as the necessary foundation of all our proceedings, we found that they consisted in certain statements, which had been laid before His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, respecting the conduct of Her Royal Highness the Princess. That these statements, not only imputed to Her Royal Highness great impropriety and indecency of behaviour, but expressly asserted, partly on the ground of certain alleged declarations from the Princess's own mouth, and partly on the personal observation of the informants, the following most important facts; viz. That Her Royal Highness had been pregnant in the year 1802, in consequence of an illicit intercourse, and that she had in the same year been secretly delivered of a male child, which child had ever since that period been brought up by Her Royal Highness, in her own house, and under her immediate inspection.—These allegations thus made, had, as we found, been followed by declarations from other persons, who had not indeed spoken to the important facts of the pregnancy or delivery of Her Royal Highness, but had related other particulars, in themselves extremely suspicious, and still more so when connected with the assertions already mentioned.—In the painful situation, in which His Royal Highness was placed, by these communications, we learnt that His Royal Highness had adopted the only course which could, in our judgment, with propriety be followed. When informations such as these, had been thus confidently alleged, and particularly detailed, and had been in some degree supported by collateral evidence, applying to other points of the same nature (though going to a far less extent,) one line only could be pursued.—Every sentiment of duty to your Majesty, and of concern for the public welfare, required that these particulars should not be withheld from your Majesty, to whom more particularly belonged the cognizance of a matter of State, so nearly touching the honour of your Majesty's Royal Family, and, by possibility, affecting the succession of your Majesty's crown.—Your Majesty had been pleased, on your part, to view the subject in the same light.

Considering it as a matter which, on every account, demanded the most immediate investigation, your Majesty had thought fit to commit into our hands the duty of ascertaining, in the first instance, what degree of credit was due to the informations, and thereby enabling your Majesty to decide what further conduct to adopt concerning them.—On this review therefore of the matters thus alleged, and of the course hitherto pursued upon them, we deemed it proper, in the first place, to examine those persons in whose declarations the occasion for this inquiry had originated. Because if they, on being examined upon oath, had retracted or varied their assertions, all necessity for further investigation might possibly have been precluded.—We accordingly first examined, on oath the principal informants, Sir John Douglas, and Charlotte his wife; who both positively swore, the former to having observed the fact of the pregnancy of Her Royal Highness, and the latter to all the important particulars contained in her former declaration, and above referred to. Their examinations are annexed to this Report, and are circumstantial and positive.—The most material of those allegations, into the truth of which we had been directed to inquire, being thus far supported by the oath of the parties from whom they had proceeded, we then felt it our duty to follow up the inquiry by the examination of such other persons as we judged best able to afford us information, as to the facts in question.—We thought it beyond all doubt that, in this course of inquiry, many particulars must be learnt which would be necessarily conclusive on the truth or falsehood of these declarations. So many persons must have been witnesses to the appearances of an actually existing pregnancy; so many circumstances must have been attendant upon a real delivery; and difficulties so numerous and insurmountable must have been involved in any attempt to account for the infant in question, as the child of another woman, if it had been in fact the child of the Princess; that we entertained a full and confident expectation of arriving at complete proof, either in the affirmative or negative, on this part of the subject.—This expectation was not disappointed. We are happy to declare to your Majesty our perfect conviction that there is no foundation whatever for believing that the child now with the Princess is the child of Her Royal Highness, or that she was delivered of any child in the year 1802; nor has any thing appeared to us which would warrant the belief that she was pregnant in that year, or at any other period within the compass of our inquiries.—The identity of the child, now with the Princess, its parentage, the place and the date of its birth, the time and the circumstances of its being first taken under Her Royal Highness's protection, are all established by such a concurrence both of positive and circumstantial evidence, as can, in our judgment, leave no question on this part of the subject. That child, beyond all doubt, born in the Brownlow-street Hospital, on the 11th day of July, 1802, of the body of Sophia Austin, and was first brought to the Princess's house in the month of November following. Neither should we be more warranted in expressing any doubt respecting the alleged pregnancy of the Princess, as stated in the original declarations—a fact so fully contradicted, and by so many witnesses, to whom, if doubt must, in various ways have been known, that we cannot think it entitled to the smallest credit.

The testimonies on these two points are contained in the annexed depositions and letters. We have not partially abstracted them in this Report, lest, by any unintentional omission, we might weaken their effect; but we humbly offer to your Majesty this our clear and unanimous judgment upon them, formed on full deliberation, and pronounced without hesitation on the result of the whole Inquiry.—We do not however feel ourselves at liberty, much as we should wish it, to close our report here. Besides the allegations of the pregnancy and delivery of the Princess these declarations, on the whole of which your Majesty has been pleased to command us to inquire and report, contain, as we have already remarked, other particulars respecting the conduct of Her Royal Highness, such as must, especially considering her exalted rank and station, necessarily give occasion to very unfavourable interpretations.—From the various depositions and proofs annexed to this Report, particularly from the examinations of Robert Ridgwood, William Cole, Frances Lloyd, and Mrs. Lisle, your Majesty will perceive that several strong circumstances of this description have been positively sworn to by witnesses, who cannot, in our judgment, be suspected of any unfavourable bias, and whose veracity, in this respect, we have seen no ground to question.—On the precise bearing and effect of the facts thus appearing, it is not for us to decide; these we submit to your Majesty's wisdom: but we conceive it to be our duty to report on this part of the Inquiry as distinctly as on the former facts: that, as on the one hand, the facts of pregnancy and delivery are to our minds satisfactorily disproved, so on the other hand we think that the circumstances to which we now refer, particularly those stated to have passed between Her Royal Highness and Captain Manby, must be credited until they shall receive some decisive contradiction; and, if true, are justly entitled to the most serious consideration.—We cannot close this Report, without humbly assuring your Majesty, that it was, on every account, our anxious wish to have executed this delicate trust with as little publicity as the nature of the case would possibly allow; and we entreat your Majesty's permission to express our full persuasion, that if this wish has been disappointed, the failure is not imputable to any thing unnecessarily said or done by us.—All which is most humbly submitted to your Majesty.

(Signed) ERSKINE, GRENVILLE,
SPENCER, ELLENBOROUGH.

July 14th, 1806.—A true Copy, J. Becket.

APPENDIX. (A.)

(No. 1.)—*Copy of His Majesty's Commission.*

George B.—Whereas our right trusty and well-beloved Councillor, Thomas Lord Erskine, our Councillor, has this day laid before us an Abstract of certain written declarations touching the conduct of her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, we do hereby authorize, empower, and direct the said Thomas Lord Erskine, our Councillor, our right trusty and well-beloved Councillor, and Councillor George John Earl Spencer, one of our Principal Secretaries of State, our right trusty and well-beloved Councillor W. W. W., Lord Grenville, First Commissioner of the Treasury, and our right trusty and well-be-

loved Councillor Edward Lord Ellenborough, our Chief Justice, to hold pleas before our self, to inquire into the truth of the same, and to examine, upon oath, such persons as they shall see fit touching and concerning the same, and to report to us the result of such examinations.—Given at our Castle of Windsor, on the 29th day of May, in the 46th year of our Reign. G. R.

A true Copy, J. Becket.

DEPOSITIONS ACCOMPANYING THE REPORT.

(No. 2.)—*Copy of the Deposition of Charlotte Lady Douglas.*

I think I first became acquainted with the Princess of Wales in 1801. Sir John Douglas had a house at Blackheath. One day, in November 1801, the snow was lying on the ground. The Princess and a Lady, who, I believe, was Miss Heyman, came on foot, and walked several times before the door. Lady Stewart was with me, and said, she thought that the Princess wanted something, and that I ought to go to her. I went to her. She said, she did not want any thing, but she would walk in; that I had a very pretty little girl. She came in and staid some time. About a fortnight after Sir J. D. and I received an invitation to go to Montague-house; after that I was very frequently at Montague-house, and dined there. The Princess dined frequently with us. About May or June, 1802, the Princess first talked to me about her own conduct. Sir S. Smith, who had been Sir John's friend for more than twenty years, came to England about November, 1801, and came to live in our house. I understood the Princess knew Sir Sydney Smith before she was Princess of Wales. The Princess saw Sir S. Smith as frequently as ourselves. We were usually kept at Montague-house after the rest of the party, often till three or four o'clock in the morning. I never observed any impropriety of conduct between Sir S. Smith and the Princess. I made the Princess a visit at Montague-house in March, 1802, for about a fortnight. She desired me to come there, because Miss Garth was ill. In May or June following, the Princess came to my house alone: she said she came to tell me something that had happened to her, and desired me to guess. I guessed several things, and at last I said, I could not guess any thing more. She then said she was pregnant, and that the child had come to life. I don't know whether she said on that day or a few days before; that she was at breakfast at Lady Willoughby's; that the milk flowed up to her breast and came through her gown; that she threw a napkin over herself, and went with Lady Willoughby into her room, and adjusted herself to prevent its being observed. She never told me who was the father of the child. She said she hoped it would be a boy. She said, that if it was discovered, she would give the Prince of Wales the credit of being the father, for she had slept two nights at Caston-house within the year. I said that I should go abroad to my mother. The Princess said she should manage it very well, and if things came to the worst, she would give the Prince the credit of it. While I was at Montague-house, in March, I was with child, and one day I said I was very sick, and the Princess desired Mrs. Sander to get me a saline draught. She then said that she was very sick herself, and that she would take a saline draught too. I observed, that she could not want one, and I looked at her. The Princess said, yes, I do. What she

you look at me for with your wicked eyes? you are always finding me out. Mrs. Sander looked very much distressed; she gave me a saline draught each. This was the first time I had any suspicion of her being with child. The Princess never said who was the father. When she first told me she was with child, I rather suspected that Sir S. Smith was the father, but only because the Princess was very partial to him. I never knew he was with her alone. We had constant intercourse with the Princess from the time when I was at Montague-house till the end of October. After she had first communicated to me that she was with child, she frequently spoke upon the subject. She was bled twice during the time. She recommended me to be bled too, and said, it would make you have a better time. Mr. Edmeades bled her; she said, one of the days that Mr. Edmeades bled her, that she had a violent heat in her blood, and that Mr. Edmeades should bleed her. I told the Princess that I was very anxious how she would manage to be brought to bed, without its being known: that I hoped she had a safe person.—She said, yes: she should have a person from abroad; that she had a great horror of having any man about her upon such an occasion—she said, I am confident in my own plans, and I wish you would not speak to me on that subject again. She said, I shall tell every thing to Sander. I think this was on the day on which she told me of what had happened at Lady Willoughby's.—Sander was a very good woman, and might be trusted, and that she must be with her at the labour; that she would send Miss Gough to Brunswick, and Miss Milfield was too young to be trusted, and must be sent out of the way. I was brought to bed on the 25d July, 1802. The Princess insisted on being present. I determined that she should not, but I meant to avoid it without offending her. On the day on which I was brought to bed, she came to my house and insisted on coming in. Dr. Mackie, who attended me, locked the door, and said she should not come in, but there was another door on the opposite side of the room, which was not locked, and she came in at that door, and was present during the time of the labour, and took the child as soon as it was born, and said she was very glad she had seen the whole of it. The Princess's pregnancy appeared to me to be very visible. She wore a cushion behind, and made Miss Sander make one for me. During my lying-in the Princess came one day with Mrs. Fitzgerald. She sent Mrs. F. away, and took a chair, and sat by my bedside. She said, you will hear of my taking children in baskets, but you won't take any notice of it. I shall have them brought by a poor woman in a basket. I shall do it as a cover to have my own brought to me in that way; or, that is the way in which I shall have my own brought when I have it. Very soon after this two children, who were twins, were brought by a poor woman in a basket. The Princess took them, and had them carried up into her room, and the Princess washed them herself. The Princess told me this herself. The father, a few days afterwards, came and insisted on having the children, and they were given to him.—The Princess afterwards said to me, "You see I took the children, and it answered very well."—The father had got them back, and she could not blame him. That she should take other children, and have quite a nursery. I saw the Princess on a Sunday, either the 30th or 31st October, 1802,

walking before her door. She was dressed so as to conceal her pregnancy. She had a long cloak, and a very great muff. She had just returned from Greenwich Church. She looked very ill, and I thought must be very near her time.—About a week or nine or ten days after this, I received a note from the Princess, to desire that I would not come to Montague House, for they were apprehensive that the children she had taken had had the measles in their clothes, and that she was afraid my child might take it. When the Princess came to see me during my lying-in, she told me that, when she should be brought to bed, she wished I would not come to her for some time, for she might be surprised in seeing me. About the end of December I went to Gloucestershire, and stayed there about a month. When I returned, which was in January, I went to Montague House, and was let in. The Princess was packing up something in a black box. Upon the sofa a child was lying, covered over with a piece of red cloth. The Princess got up, and took me by the hand. She then led me to the sofa, and said, there is the child, I had him only two days after I saw you. The words were, either I had him, or I was brought to bed: the words were such as clearly imported that it was her own child. She said she got very well through it; she showed me a mark on the child's hand, it is a pink mark. The Princess said, she has a mark like your little girl. I saw the child afterwards, frequently with the Princess quite till Christmas, 1803, when I left Blackheath. I saw the mark upon the child's hand, and I am sure it was the same child, I never saw any other child there. The Princess Charlotte used to see the child and play with him. The child used to call the Princess of Wales "Mamma." I saw the child looking at the window of the Princess's house about a month ago, before the Princess went into Devonshire, and I am sure that it was the same child. Not long after I had first seen the child, the Princess said, that she had the child at first to sleep with her for a few nights; but it made her nervous, and now they had got a regular nurse for her.—She said, We gave it a little milk at first, but it was too much for me, and now we breed it by hand, and it does very well. I can swear positively that the child I saw at the window is the same child as the Princess told me she had two days after she parted with me. The child was called William. I never heard that it had any other name. When the child was in long clothes, we breakfasted once on with the Princess, and she said to Sir John Douglas, This is the Dufford boy. Independently of the Princess's confessions to me, I can swear that she was pregnant in 1802. In October, 1804, when we returned from Devonshire I left my card at Montague House, and on the 14th of October I received a letter from Mr. Vernon, desiring me not to come any more to Montague House. I had never, at this time mentioned the Princess's being with child, nor I had delivered of a child, to any person, and as to Sir John Douglas. After mentioning Mr. Vernon's letter, I wrote to the Princess on the subject. The letter was sent back undelivered. I then wrote to Mrs. Fitzgerald, saying, I thought myself extremely ill-used. In three days after this, I received an anonymous letter which I produce, and have marked with letter A,* and signed with my name, in the following manner:

* No copy of this letter has been taken by the Royal Highness the Princess of Wales.

letter and the envelope. The Princess of Wales has told me, that she gets bed-fellow whenever she could, that nothing was more wholesome; she said, that nothing was more convenient than her room; it stands at the head of the staircase which leads into the Parls, and I have beds in the inside, and have a bed-fellow whenever I like. I wonder you can be satisfied only with Sir John. She said this more than once. She has told me that Sir Sydney Smith had lain with her. That she believed all men liked a bed-fellow, but Sir Sydney better than any body else; that the Prince was the most complainant man in the world; that she did what she liked, went where she liked, and had what bed-fellow she liked, and the Prince paid for all.

(Signed) CHARLOTTE DOUGLAS.

June 1, 1806.

Sworn before us, June 1st, 1806, at
Lord Grenville's, Downing-street,
Westminster.

(Signed) ERSKINE, GRENVILLE,
SPENCER, ELLENBOROUGH.

A true Copy, J. Decket.

(No. 3.)—The Deposition of Sir J. Douglas, *Knt.*
I had a house at Blackheath, in 1801. Sir Sydney used to come to my house. I had a bed for him. The Princess of Wales formed an acquaintance with Lady Douglas, and came frequently to our house. I thought she came more for Sir Sydney Smith than for us. After she had been some time acquainted with us, she appeared to me to be with child. One day she leaned on the sofa, and put her hand upon her stomach, and said, Sir John, I shall never be Queen of England!—I said, Not if you don't deserve it. She seemed angry at first. In 1804, on the 27th of October, I received two letters by the two-penny post, one addressed to me, which I now produce, and have marked with the letter (B. * Upon the envelope and the enclosure, and the other letter addressed to Lady Douglas, and which I now produce, and have marked with the letter (C. * both on the envelope and enclosure. (Signed) JOHN DOUGLAS.

June 1.

Sworn before us, at Lord Grenville's
house, in Downing-street, West-
minster, June 1, 1806.

(Signed) ERSKINE, GRENVILLE,
SPENCER, ELLENBOROUGH

* No copy of these letters has been sent to
Her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales.

(No. 4.)—The Deposition of Robert Bidgood.
I have lived with the Prince twenty-three years next September, I went to the Princess in March 1798, and have lived with Her Royal Highness ever since. About the year 1802, early in that year, I first observed Sir Sydney Smith come to Montague House; he used to stay very late at night; I have seen him early in the morning there about ten or eleven o'clock. He was at Sir John Douglas's; and was in the habit, as were Sir John and Lady Douglas, of dining, or having luncheon, or supping there almost every day. I saw Sir Sydney Smith one day, in the blue room, about eleven o'clock in the morning, which is full two hours before we were expected to see company. I asked the servants why they did not let me know that he was there. The footman informed me that they had not a person in. There was a private door to the parlour, by which he might have come in if he

had a key to it, and have got into the blue room without any of the servants perceiving him. I never observed any appearance of the Princess which could lead me to suppose that she was with child. I first observed Captain Manby come to Montague House either the end of 1806, or beginning of 1804. I was waiting one day in the anti-room, Captain Manby had his hat in his hand, and appeared to be going away; he was a long time with the Princess, and as I stood on the steps, waiting, I looked into the room in which they were, and in the reflection of the looking-glass, I saw them salute each other, I mean, that they kissed each other's lips. Captain Manby then went away. I then observed the Princess have her handkerchief in her hand, and wipe her eyes as if she was crying, and went into the drawing-room. The Princess went to Southend in May, 1804, I went with her: we were there, I believe, about six weeks before the Africanine came in. Seward was very often watching with a glass to see when the ship would arrive. One day he said he saw the Africanine, and soon after the Captain put off in a boat from the ship. Seward went down the wharfberry to meet him. When the Captain came on shore, Seward conducted him to the Princess's house, and he dined there with the Princess and her Ladies. After this he came very frequently to see the Princess. The Princess had two houses on the Cliff, Nos. 8 and 9. She afterwards took the drawing-room of No. 7, which communicated by the balcony with No. 8, the three houses being adjoining. The Princess used to dine in No. 8, and after dinner to remove with the company into No. 7, and I have several times seen the Princess, after having gone into No. 7 with Captain Manby and the rest of the company, retire alone with Captain Manby from No. 7, through No. 8, into No. 9, which was the house in which the Princess slept; I suspected that Captain Manby slept frequently in the house. It was a subject of conversation in the house. Hints were given by the servants, and I believe that others suspected it as well as myself.—The Princess took a child, which I understood was brought into the house by Stikeman. I waited only one week in three, and I was not there at the time the child was brought, but I saw it there early in 1805. The child who is now with the Princess is the same as I saw there early in 1803; it has a mark on its left hand. Austin is the name of the man who was said to be the father. Austin's wife is, I believe, still alive. She has had another child, and has brought it sometimes to Montague House. It is very like the child who lives with the Princess. Mrs. Gosden was employed as a nurse to the child, and she used to bring the child to the Princess as soon as the Princess awoke, and the child used to stay with Her Royal Highness the whole morning. The Princess appeared to be extremely fond of the child, and still appears so.

(Signed) R. BIDGOOD.

Sworn at Lord Grenville's house, in
Downing-street, the 6th day of
June, 1806.

(Signed) SPENCER,
GRENVILLE.

(No. 5.)—The Deposition of William Cole.

I have lived with the Princess of Wales ever since her marriage. Sir Sydney Smith first visited at Montague House about 1802. I have observed the Princess too familiar with Sir Sydney Smith. One day, I think about February in that

year, the Princess ordered some sandwiches; I carried them into the blue room to her. Sir Sydney Smith was there; I was surprised to see him there, he must have come in from the Park; if he had been let in from Blackheath, he must have passed through the room in which I was in waiting. When I had left the sandwiches, I returned, after some time, into the room, and Sir Sydney Smith was sitting very close to the Princess, on the sofa. I looked at him and at Her Royal Highness. She caught my eye, and saw that I noticed the manner in which they were sitting together. They appeared both a little confused when I came into the room. A short time before this, one night, about twelve o'clock, I saw a man go into the house from the Park, wrapped up in a great coat. I did not give any alarm, for the impression on my mind was, that it was not a thief. Soon after I had seen the Princess and Sir Sydney Smith sitting together on the sofa, the Duke of Kent sent for me, and told me, that the Princess would be very glad if I would do the duty in town, because she had business to do in town which she would rather trust to me than any body else.—The Duke said, that the Princess had thought it would be more agreeable to me to be told this by him than through Sicard. After this I never attended at Montague House, but occasionally, when the Princess sent for me. About July, 1802, I observed that the Princess had grown very large, and in the latter end of the same year she appeared to be grown thin; and I observed it to Miss Sander, who said that the Princess was much thinner than she had been: I had not any idea of the Princess being with child. Mr. Lawrence, the Painter, used to go to Montague House, about the latter end of 1801, when he was painting; the Princess and he have slept in the house two or three nights together. I have often seen him alone with the Princess at eleven and twelve o'clock at night. He has been there as late as one or two o'clock in the morning. One night I saw him with the Princess in the blue room, after the Ladies had retired. Some time afterwards, when I supposed that he had gone to his room, I went to see that all was safe, and I found the blue room door locked, and heard a whispering in it, and I went away.

(Signed)

WM. COLE.

Sworn at Lord Grenville's house, in
Downing-street, the 6th day of
June, 1806, before us,

(Signed)

SPENCER.
GRENVILLE.(No. 6.)—*The Deposition of Frances Lloyd.*

I have lived twelve years with the Princess of Wales next October. I am in the coffee-room; my situation in the coffee-room does not give me opportunities of seeing the Princess. I do not see her sometimes for months. Mr. Milles attended me for a cold. He asked me if the Prince came to Blackheath backwards and forwards, or something to that effect, for the Princess was with child, or looked as if she was with child. This must have been three or four years ago. It may have been five years ago. I think it must have been some time before she child was brought to the Princess. I remember the child being brought, it was brought into my room. I had orders sent to me to give the mother arrow-root, with directions how to make it, to wean the child, and I gave it to the mother, and she took the child away; afterwards

the mother brought the child back again. Whether it was a week, ten days, or a fortnight, I cannot say, but it might be about that time. The second time the mother brought the child, she brought it into my room; I asked her, how a mother could part with her child? I am not sure which time I asked this.—The mother cried, and said she could not afford to keep it. The child was said to be about four months old when it was brought. I did not particularly observe it myself.

(Signed)

FRANCES LLOYD.

I was at Ramsgate with the Princess in 1803. —One morning, when we were in the house at East Cliff, somebody, I do not recollect who, knocked at my door, and desired me to get up, to prepare breakfast for the Princess; this was about six o'clock; I was asleep. During the whole time I was in the Princess's service I had never been called up before, to make breakfast for the Princess. I slept in the housekeeper's room, on the ground-floor; I opened the shutters of the windows for light. I knew at that time that Captain Manby's ship was in the Downs. When I opened the shutters, I saw the Princess walking down the garden with a gentleman; she was walking down the gravel walk towards the sea. No orders had been given me over night to prepare breakfast early. The Gentleman the Princess was walking with, was a tall man; I was surprised to see the Princess walking with a Gentleman at that time in the morning; I am sure it was the Princess. While we were at Blackheath, a woman at Charlton, of the name of Townly, told me that she had some linen to wash from the Princess's house; that the linen was marked with the appearance of a miscarriage, or a delivery. The woman has since left Charlton, but she has friends there. I think it must have been before the child was brought to the Princess, that the woman told up this. I know all the women in the Princess's house. I don't think that any of them were in a state of pregnancy, and if any had, I think I must have known it.—I never told Cole, that Mary Wilson, when she supposed the Princess to be in the Library, had gone into the Princess's bed-room, and had found a man there at breakfast with the Princess; or that there was a great to do about it; and that Mary Wilson was sworn to secrecy, and threatened to be turned away if she divulged what she had seen.

(Signed) FRANCES LLOYD.

Sworn at Lord Grenville's House in
Downing-street, the 7th day of
June, 1806, before us,

(Signed) ERSKINE, GRENVILLE,
SPENCER, ELLENBOROUGH.(No. 7.)—*The Deposition of Mary Ann Wilson.*

I believe it will be ten years next quarter that I have lived with the Princess of Wales as housemaid. I wait on the Ladies who attend the Princess. I remember when the child, who is now with the Princess, was brought there. Before it came I heard say that it was to come. The mother brought the child. It appeared to be about four months old when it was brought. I remember twins being brought to the Princess before this child was brought. I never noticed the Princess's shape to be different in that year from what it was before. I never had a thought that the Princess was with child. I have heard it reported. It is a good while ago. I never myself suspected her being with child. I think

she could not have been with child, and have gone on to her time without my knowing it. I was at South-end with the Princess. Captain Manby used to visit the Princess there. I make the Princess's bed, and have been in the habit of making it ever since I lived with Her Royal Highness. Another maid, whose name is Ann Ewe, assisted with me in making the bed. From what I observed I never had any reason to believe that two persons had slept in the bed; I never saw any particular appearance in it. The linen was washed by Stikeman's wife.

(Signed) MARY WILSON.

Sworn at Lord Grenville's House, in Downing-street, the 7th of June, 1806, before us,

(Signed) **ERSKINE, GRENVILLE,
SPENCER, ELLENBOROUGH.**

(No. 8.)—*The Deposition of Samuel Roberts.*

I am a footman to the Princess of Wales. I remember the child being taken by the Princess. I never observed any particular appearance of the Princess in that year—nothing that led me to believe that she was with child. Sir Sydney Smith used to visit the Princess at Blackheath. I never saw him alone with the Princess. He never stayed after eleven o'clock. I recollect Mr. Cole once asking me, I think three years ago, whether there were any favourites in the family. I remember saying that Captain Manby and Sir Sydney Smith were frequently at Blackheath, and dined there oftener than any other persons. I never knew Sir Sydney Smith to stay later than the ladies. I cannot say exactly at what hour he went, but I never remember his staying alone with the Princess.

(Signed) SAMUEL ROBERTS.

Sworn at Lord Grenville's House, in Downing-street, the 7th of June, 1806, before us,

(Signed) **ERSKINE, GRENVILLE,
SPENCER, ELLENBOROUGH.**

(No. 9.) *The Deposition of Thomas Stikeman.*

I have been Page to the Princess of Wales ever since she has been in England. When I first saw the child who is with the Princess, it is about four years ago. Her Royal Highness had a strong desire to have an infant, which I and all the house knew. I heard there was a woman who had twins, one of which the Princess was desirous to have, but the parents would not part with it. A woman came to the door with a petition to get her husband replaced in the dockyard, who had been removed; she had a child with her; I took the child, I believe, and shewed it to Mrs. Sander. I then returned the child to the woman, and made inquiries after the father, and afterwards desired the woman to bring the child again to the house, which she did. The child was taken to the Princess; after the Princess had seen it, she desired the woman to take it again, and bring it back in a few days, and Mrs. Sander was desired to provide linen for it. Within a few days the child was brought again by the mother, and was left, and has been with the Princess ever since. I do not recollect the child had any mark, but, upon reflection, I do recollect that the mother said he was marked with elder wine on the hand. The father of the child, whose name is Austin, lives with me at Finsbury. My wife is a landress, and washed the linen of the Prince. Austin is employed to turn a mangle for me. The child was born in Brownlow-street; and it was baptized there; but I

only know this from the mother. The mother has since lain in a second time in Brownlow-street. I never saw the woman to my knowledge before she came with the petition to the door. I had no particular directions by the Princess to procure a child; I thought it better to take the child of persons of good character than the child of a pauper. Nothing led me, from the appearance of the Princess, to suppose that she was with child; but from her shape it is difficult to judge when she is with child. When she was with child of the Princess Charlotte, I should not have known it when she was far advanced in her time, if I had not been told it. Sir Sydney Smith, at one time, visited very frequently at Montague House, two or three times a week. At the time the Princess was altering her rooms in the Turkish style, Sir Sydney Smith's visits were very frequent. The Princess consulted him upon them. Mr. Morell was the upholsterer; Sir Sydney Smith came frequently alone. He staid alone with the Princess sometimes till eleven o'clock at night. He has been there till twelve o'clock and after, I believe, alone with the Princess. The Princess is of that lively vivacity, that she makes herself familiar with Gentlemen, which prevented my being struck with his staying so late. I do not believe that at that time any other Gentleman visited the Princess so frequently or stayed so late. I have seen the Princess, when they were alone, sitting with Sir Sydney Smith on the same sofa, in the blue-room. I had access to the blue-room at all times. There was an inner room which opened into the blue-room. When that room was not lighted up, I did not go into it; I did not consider that I had a right to go into it. I had no idea on what account I was brought here. I did not know that the Princess's conduct was questioned, or questionable. I was with the Princess at Ramsgate; when she was at East Cliff, Capt. Manby was very frequently there; went away as late at night as eleven o'clock. I do not remember Fanny Lloyd being called up any morning to make breakfast for the Princess. I did not like Captain Manby's coming so often; and staying so late, and I was uneasy at it. I remember a piece of plate, a silver lamp, being sent to Captain Manby; I saw it in Sicard's possession; he told me, it was for Captain Manby, and he had a letter to send with it. I have never seen Captain Manby at the Princess's, at Ramsgate, before nine o'clock in the morning, but I have heard he has been there earlier. I had never any suspicion of there being any thing improper, either from the frequent visits of Captain Manby, or from his conduct. I was at Catherington with the Princess; she used to go out generally in her own chaise. I think I have once or twice seen her go out with Mr. Hood, in his one-horse chaise; they have been out for two hours, or two hours and a half together. I believe only a day or two elapsed between the time of the child being first brought, and being then brought back again, and left with the Princess. I am sure the child was not weaned after it had been first brought. I do not recollect any Gentleman ever sleeping in the house. I do not remember Lawrence, the painter, ever sleeping there. The Princess seems very fond of the child; it is always called William Austin.

(Signed) THOS. STIKEMAN.

Sworn at Lord Grenville's House, in Downing-street, the 7th day of June, 1806, before us,

(Signed) **ERSKINE, GRENVILLE,
SPENCER, ELLENBOROUGH.**

(No. 10.)—The Deposition of John Sicaud.

I have lived seven years with the Princess of Wales, am house-steward, and have been in that situation from the end of six months after I first lived with Her Royal Highness. I remember the child who is now with the Princess of Wales being brought there; it was about five months old when it was brought, it is about four years ago, just before we went to Ramsgate. I had not the least suspicion of the object of my being brought here. I had opportunity of seeing the Princess frequently; I waited on her at dinner and supper; I never observed that the Princess had the appearance of being with child: I think it was hardly possible that she should have been with child without my perceiving it. Sir Sydney Smith used to visit very frequently at Montague House, in 1802, with Sir John and Lady Douglas. He was very often, I believe, alone with the Princess, and so was Mr. Canning and other Gentlemen. I cannot say that I ever suspected Sir Sydney Smith of any improper conduct with the Princess. I never had any suspicion of the Princess acting improperly with Sir Sydney Smith, or any other Gentleman. I remember Captain Manby visiting at Montague House. The Princess of Wales did not pay for the expense of fitting up his cabin, but the linen furniture was ordered by me, by direction of the Princess, of Newberry and Jones. It was put by Newberry and Jones in the Princess's bill, and was paid for with the rest of the bill by Miss Heyman.—(Signed) JOHN SICAUD.

Sworn at Lord Granville's House, in

Downing-street, the 7th day of

June, 1806, before us,

(Signed) **ERSKINE, GRENVILLE,
SPENCER, ELLENBOROUGH.**

(No. 11.)—The Deposition of Charlotte Sander.

I have lived with the Princess of Wales eleven years. I am a native of Brunswick, and came with the Princess from Brunswick. The Princess has a little boy living with her under her protection; he had a mark on his hand; but it is worn off; I first saw him four years ago, in the Autumn. The father and mother of the child are still alive; I have seen them both; the father worked in the Dock-yard at Deptford, but has now lost the use of his limbs; the father's name is Anstia. The mother brought the child to the Princess when he was four months old; I was present when the child was brought to the Princess; she was in her own room up stairs, when the child was brought; she came out, and took the child herself. I understood that the child was expected before it was brought. I am sure that I never saw the child in the house before it appeared to be four months old. The Princess was not ill or indisposed in the autumn of 1802. I was dresser to Her Royal Highness; she could not be ill or indisposed without my knowing it. I am sure that she was not confined to her room, or to her bed in that autumn; there was not, to my knowledge, any other child in the house; it was hardly possible there could have been a child there without my knowing it. I have no recollection that the Princess had grown bigger in the year 1802 than usual; I am sure the Princess was not pregnant; being her dresser, I must have seen it, if she was. I solemnly and positively swear I have no reason to know or believe that the Princess of Wales has been at any time pregnant during the time I have lived with

Her Royal Highness at Montague House. I may have said to Cole, that the Princess was grown much thinner, but I do not recollect that I did. I never heard any body say any thing about the Princess being pregnant till I came here to-day. I did not expect to be asked any question to-day respecting the Princess being pregnant. Nobody came over to the Princess from Germany, in the autumn of 1802, to my knowledge. Her Royal Highness was generally blooded twice a year, but not lately. I never had any reason to suppose that the Princess received the visits of any Gentleman at improper hours. Sir Sydney Smith visited her frequently, and almost daily. He was there very late, sometimes till two o'clock in the morning. I never saw Sir Sydney Smith in a room alone with the Princess late at night. I never saw any thing which led me to suppose that Sir Sydney Smith was on a very familiar footing with the Princess of Wales. I attended the Princess of Wales to Southend. She had two houses, No. 9 and No. 8. I knew Captain Manby; he commanded the *Africaine*; he visited the Princess while his ship was there; he was frequently with the Princess. I do not know or believe, and I have no reason to believe, that Captain Manby stayed till very late hours with the Princess. I never suspected that there was any improper familiarity between them. I never expressed to any body a wish that Capt. Manby's visits were not so frequent. If the Princess had company, I was never present. The Princess was at Ramsgate in 1803; I have seen Captain Manby there frequently. He came to the Princess's house to dinner; he never stayed till late at night at the Princess's house. I was in Devonshire with the Princess lately; there was no one officer that she saw when she was in Devonshire more than the rest. I never heard from the Princess that she apprehended her conduct was questioned. When I was brought here I thought I might be questioned respecting the Princess's conduct, and I was sorry to come; I don't know why I thought so; I never saw any thing in the conduct of the Princess, while I lived with her, which would have made me uneasy if I had been her husband. When I was at Southend, I dined in the Steward's room. I can't say whether I ever heard any body in the Steward's room say any thing about the Captain (meaning Captain Manby); it is so long ago, I may have forgot it; I have seen Captain Manby alone with the Princess, at No. 9, in the drawing-room, at Southend; I have seen it only once or twice; it was at two or three o'clock in the afternoon, and never later. I slept in a room next to the Princess, in the house No. 2, at Southend; I never saw Captain Manby in any part of that house but the drawing-room; I have no reason to believe he was in any other room in the house. I was at Cathorington with the Princess; she was at Mr. Hood's house; I never saw any familiarity between her and Mr. Hood; I have seen her drive out in Mr. Hood's carriage with him alone; it was a gig; they used to be absent for several hours; a servant of the Princess attended them; I have delivered packets by the order of the Princess, which she gave me, sealed up, to Sicaud, to be by him forwarded to Captain Manby. The birth-day of the child who lives with the Princess is the 11th of July, as his mother told me; she says that he was christened at Deptford. The child had a mark on the hand, the mother told me that it was from red wine; I

believe the child came to the Princess in November.
(Signed) C. SANDER.

Sworn at Lord Grenville's House, in Downing-street, the 7th day of June, 1806.

(Signed) ERSKINE, GRENVILLE,
SPENCER, ELLENBOROUGH.

(No. 12.)—*The Deposition of Sophia Austin.*

I know the child which is now with the Princess of Wales; I am the mother of it; I was delivered of it four years ago the 11th of next July, at Brownlow-street Hospital. I have lain in there three times; William, who is with the Princess, is the second child I laid in of there. It was marked in the right hand with red wine. My husband was a labourer in the Dock-yard at Deptford. When peace was proclaimed a number of the workmen were discharged, and my husband was one who was discharged. I went to the Princess with a petition on a Saturday, to try to get my husband restored. I lived at that time at Deptford-new-row, No. 7; with a person of the name of Bearblock; he was a milkman. The day I went to the Princess with the petition was a fortnight before the 6th of November. Mr. Bennet, a baker, in New-street, was our dealer, and I took the child to Mr. Bennett's, when I went to receive my husband's wages, every week, from the time I left the Hospital till I carried the child to the Princess. I knew Mr. Stikeman only by having seen him once before, when I went to apply for a letter to Brownlow-street Hospital. When I went to Montague-house, I desired Mr. Stikeman to present my petition. He said they were denied to do such things, but seeing me with a baby, he could do no less. He then took the child from me, and was a long time gone; he then brought me back the child, and brought half a guinea, which the Ladies sent me. He said, if the child had been younger, he thought he could have got it taken care of for me, but desired that I would come up again; I went up again on the Monday following, and I saw Mr. Stikeman; Mr. Stikeman afterwards came several times to me, and appointed me to take the child to Montague-house on the 5th of November, but it rained all day, and I did not take it. Mr. Stikeman came down to me on the Saturday, the 6th of November, and I took the child on that day to the Princess's house. The Princess was out, I waited till she returned; she saw the child, and asked its age. I went down into the coffee room, and they gave me some arrow-root to wean the child, for I was suckling the child at this time, and when I had weaned the child, I was to bring it and leave it with the Princess. I did wean the child, and brought it to the Princess's house on the 15th of November, and left it there, and it has been with the Princess ever since. I saw the child last Whit-Monday, and I swear that it is my child.

(Signed) SOPHIA AUSTIN.

Sworn at Lord Grenville's house in Downing-street, the 7th day of June, 1806, before us,

(Signed) ERSKINE, SPENCER,
GRENVILLE, ELLENBOROUGH.

(No. 13.)

20th June, 1806.

My Lord,—In consequence of certain inquiries directed by His Majesty, Lady Douglas, wife of Sir John Douglas, of the Marines, has deposed upon oath, that she was told by Her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, that at a breakfast at Lady Willoughby's house in May or June, 1802, &c.

[Extract from Lady Douglas's Deposition.]

It being material to ascertain, as far as possible, the truth of this fact, I am to request that your Lordship will have the goodness to desire Lady Willoughby to put down in writing every circumstance in any manner relative thereto (if any such there be) of which her Ladyship has any recollection; and also to apprise me, for His Majesty's information, whether at any time, during the course of the above-mentioned year, Lady Willoughby observed any such alteration in the Princess's shape, or any other circumstances, as might induce her Ladyship to believe that Her Royal Highness was then pregnant.—I am, &c.

SPENCER.

(No. 14.)

Sidmouth, 21st June, 1806.

My dear Lord,—In obedience to your commands, I lost no time in communicating to Lady Willoughby the important subject of your private letter, dated the 20th instant, and I have the honour of enclosing a letter to your Lordship from Lady Willoughby.—I have the honour, &c.

GWYDIR.

(No. 15.)

My Lord,—In obedience to the command contained in your Lordship's letter, communicated to me by Lord Gwydir, I have the honour to inform you, that I have no recollection whatever of the fact stated to have taken place during a breakfast at Whitehall, in May or June, 1802; nor do I bear in mind any particular circumstances relative to Her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, at the period to which you allude.—I have the honour, &c.

June 21, 1806.

WILLOUGHBY.

Earl Spencer.

(No. 16.)

Extract from the Register of the Births and Baptisms of Children born in the Brownlow-street Lying-in Hospital.

Born, 1802, Baptised,

8, Thomas, of Richard and Eliza Austin, 20 May,

11, William, of Samuel and Sophia Austin, 15 July,

The above are the only two entries under the name of Austin, about the period in question, and were extracted by me. No description of the children is preserved.

CHARLES WATKIN WILLIAMS WYNN.
June 23, 1806.

(No. 17.)—*The Deposition of Elizabeth Gooden.*

I am the wife of Francis Gooden, who is a servant of the Princess of Wales, and has lived with Her Royal Highness eleven years. In November, 1802, I was sent for to the Princess's house

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to look after a little child. I understood that he had been then nine days in the house. I was nurse to the child. One of the Ladies, I think Miss Sander, delivered the child to me, and told me Her Royal Highness wished me to take care of him. The child never slept with the Princess. I sometimes used to take him to the Princess before she was up, and leave him with her on her bed. The child had a mark on the hand; it appeared to be a stain of wine, but is now worn out. I was about a year and three quarters with the child. The mother used to come often to see him. I never saw the Princess dress the child, or take off its things herself, but she has seen me do it. The child is not so much now with the Princess as he was.

(Signed) ELIZABETH GOSDEN.

Sworn at Lord Grenville's house, in
Downing-street, the 23d day of
June, 1806, before us,

(Signed) ERSKINE, SPENCER,
GRENVILLE, ELLENBOROUGH.

(No. 18.)—*The Deposition of Betty Townley.*

I lived at Charlton sixteen years, and till within the last two years I was a laundress, and used to wash linen for the Princess of Wales's family. After the Princess left Charlton, and went to Blackheath, I used to go over to Blackheath to fetch the linen to wash: I have had linen from the Princess's house the same as other Ladies, I mean, that there were such appearances on it as might arise from natural causes to which women are subject. I never washed the Princess's own bed linen, but once or twice occasionally. I recollect one bundle of linen once coming, which I thought rather more marked than usual. They told me the Princess had been bled with leeches, and it dirtied the linen more. The servants told me so, but I don't remember who the servants were that told me so. I recollect once I came to town and left the linen with my daughter to wash; I looked at the clothes slowly before I went, and counted them, and my daughter and a woman she employed with her, washed them, while I was in town. I thought when I looked them over, that there might be something more than usual; my opinion was, that it was from a miscarriage, the linen had the appearance of a miscarriage. I believed it at the time. They were fine damask napkins, and some of them marked with a little red crown in the corner, and some without marks. I might mention it to Fanny Lloyd. I don't recollect when this was, but it must be more than two years and a half ago, for I did not wash for the Princess's family but very little for the last six months. Mary Wilson used to give me the linen, and I believe it was she who told me the Princess was bled with leeches, but the appearance of the linen which I have spoken of before was different from that which it was said was stained by bleeding with leeches. I remember the child coming, I used to wash the linen for the child; and Mrs. Gosden, who nursed the child, used to pay me for it. I kept a book in which I entered the linen I washed. I am not sure whether I have it still, but if I have, it is in a chest at my daughter's, at Charlton, and I will produce it if I can find it.

(Signed) B. TOWNLEY.

Sworn at Lord Grenville's house, in
Downing-street, the 23d day of June,

(Signed) ERSKINE, SPENCER,
GRENVILLE, ELLENBOROUGH.

(No. 19.)—*The Deposition of Thomas Edmeades, of Greenwich, Surgeon and Apothecary.*

I am a Surgeon and Apothecary at Greenwich, and was appointed the Surgeon and Apothecary of the Princess of Wales in 1801. From that time I have attended Her Royal Highness and her Household. I know Fanny Lloyd who attended in the coffee-room at the Princess's; I have frequently attended her for colds. I do not recollect that I ever said any thing to her respecting the Princess of Wales; it never once entered my thoughts, while I attended the Princess, that she was pregnant; I never said that she was so to Fanny Lloyd. I have bled the Princess twice. The second bleeding was in 1802, and it was in the June quarter, as appears by the book I kept. I do not know what she was bled for; it was at her own desire; it was not by any medical advice. I was unwilling to do it, but she wished it. If I recollect, she complained of a pain in her chest, but I do not remember that she had any illness. I did not use to bleed her twice a year. I certainly saw Her Royal Highness in November, 1802; I saw her on the 16th of November, but I had not any idea of her being then with child. I did not attend her on the 16th of November, but I saw her then. I was visiting a child; (a male child), from Deptford. I have no recollection of having seen the Princess in Oct. 1802. The child must have been from three to five months old, when I first saw it. I have no recollection of the Princess having been ill about the end of October, 1802. I have visited the child very often since, and I have always understood it to be the same child. The Princess used sometimes to send for leeches, and had them from me. I do not think that I attended the Princess, or saw her often in the Summer and Autumn of 1802. I had not the sole care of the Princess's health during the time I have spoken of; Sir Francis Millman attended her occasionally.

(Signed) THOMAS EDMEADES.

Sworn at Lord Grenville's house, in
Downing-street, the 23d day of
June, 1806, before us,

(Signed) ERSKINE, SPENCER,
GRENVILLE, ELLENBOROUGH.

(No. 20.)—*The Deposition of Samuel Gillam M.D., of Greenwich, Surgeon.*

I am a Surgeon at Greenwich, have been in partnership with Mr. Edmeades since 1800; before he was my partner I attended the Princess of Wales's family from the time of her coming to Blackheath from Charlton; I was appointed by the Princess her Surgeon in April, 1801, by a written appointment, and from that time I never attended Her Royal Highness or any of the servants in my medical capacity, except that I once attended Miss Gough, and once Miss Milfield; there was a child brought to the Princess while I attended her; I was called upon to examine the child; it was a girl. It must have been in 1801, or thereabouts. The child afterwards had the measles, and I attended her. When first I saw the child I think it must have been about ten months old; it must have been prior to April, 1801. I understood that the child was taken through charity. I remember that there was a female servant who attended in the coffee-room. I never said to that woman, or to any other person, that the Princess was with child, or looked as if she was with child; and I never thought so, or surmised any thing of the kind. I was once sent for by Her Royal

Highness to bleed her; I was not at home, and Mr. Edmeades bled her. I had bled her two or three times before, it was by direction of Sir Francis Millman, it was for an inflammation she had on the lungs. As much as I knew, it was not usual for the Princess to be bled twice a year. I don't know that any other medical person attended her at the time that I did, nor do I believe that there did. I don't know that Sir Francis Millman had advised that she should be bled at the time that I was sent for, and was not at home, nor what was the cause of her being then bled. I do recollect something of having attended the servant, who was in the coffee-room, for a cold; but I am sure I never said to her that the Princess was with child, or looked as if she was so. I have known that the Princess had frequently sent to Mr. Edmeades for leeches. When I saw the female child, Mrs. Sander was in the room, and some other servants, but I don't recollect who; I was sent for to see, whether there was any disease about the child, to see whether it was a healthy child, as Her Royal Highness meant to take it under her patronage; the child could just walk alone. I saw the child frequently afterwards, it was one time with Bidgood, and another time with Godden and his wife. I don't recollect that the Princess was by at any time when I saw the child; I never saw the child in Montague-house when I attended it as a patient, but when I was first sent for to see if the child had any disease, it was in Montague-house.

(Signed) SAM. GILLAM MILLS.

Sworn at Lord Grenville's house, in Downing-street, the 25th day of June, 1806, before us,

(Signed) ERSKINE, SPENCER,
GRENVILLE, ELLENBOROUGH.

A true Copy, J. Becket.

(No. 21).—*The Deposition of Harriet Fitzgerald.*

I came first to live with the Princess of Wales in 1801, merely as a friend and companion, and have continued to live with Her Royal Highness till this time. I know Lady Douglas; I remember her lying-in; it happened by accident that Her Royal Highness was in the house at the time of Lady Douglas's delivery. I think it was in July, 1802. I was there myself, the Princess was not in the room at the time Lady Douglas was delivered; there was certainly no appearance of the Princess being pregnant at that time. I saw the Princess at that time every day, and at all hours. I believe it to be quite impossible that the Princess should have been with child without my observing it. I never was at a breakfast with the Princess at Lady Willoughby's. The Princess took a little girl into the house about nine years ago. I was not in the house at the time. I was in the house when the boy, who is now there, was brought there. She had said before, openly, that she should like to have a child, and she had asked the servant who brought the child, if he knew of any persons who would part with a child. I was at South End with the Princess. I remember Captain Manby being there sometimes. He was not there very often; he used to come at different hours as the time served; he dined there, but never stayed late; I was at South End all the time the Princess was there, I cannot recollect that I have seen Captain Manby there, or known him to be there later than nine, or half after nine; I never knew of any correspondence by letter

with him when he was abroad. I don't recollect to have seen him ever early in the morning at the Princess's; I was at Ramsgate with the Princess, Captain Manby may have dined there once, he never slept there to my knowledge, nor do I believe he did. The Princess rises at different hours, seldom before ten or eleven. I never knew her up at six o'clock in the morning. If she had been up so early I should not have known it, not being up so early myself. I remember the Princess giving Captain Manby an ink-stand. He had the care of two boys, whom she protected. I cannot say that Captain Manby did not sleep at South End. He may have slept in the village, but I believe he never slept in the Princess's house. I was at Catherington with the Princess. I remember Her Royal Highness going out in an open carriage with the present Lord Hood; I believe Lord Hood's servant attended them; there was only one servant, and no other carriage with them. I was at Dawlish this summer with the Princess, and afterwards at Mount Edgecumbe. The Princess saw a great deal of company there; Sir Richard Strachan used to come there. I do not know what was the cause of his discontinuing his visits there. I remember Sir Sydney Smith being frequently at Montague-house; he was sometimes there as late as twelve or one o'clock in the morning, but never alone that I know of. The Princess was not in the room when Lady Douglas was brought to-bed; I know she was not, because I was in the room myself when Lady Douglas was delivered. Dr. Mackie, of Lewisham, was the accoucher. I do not recollect Sir Sydney Smith ever being alone with the Princess in the evening. It may have happened, but I do not know that it did. I used to sit with the Princess always in the evening, but not in the morning. I was with the Princess in the Isle of Wight; Mr. Hood and Lord Amelius Beaulieu were there with her: she went there from Portsmouth.

(Signed) HARRIET FITZGERALD.

Sworn before us at Lord Grenville's house, in Downing-street, the 27th day of June, 1806, before us,

(Signed) ERSKINE, SPENCER,
GRENVILLE, ELLENBOROUGH.

A true copy, J. Becket.

(No. 22.)

Whitehall, July 1, 1806.

My Lord,—The extreme importance of the business on which I have before troubled your Lordship and Lady Willoughby, makes it the indispensable duty of the persons to whom His Majesty has intrusted the inquiry, further to request that her Ladyship will have the goodness to return in writing, distinct and separate answers to the enclosed Queries. They beg leave to add, that in the discharge of the trust committed to them, they have been obliged to examine upon oath the several persons to whose testimony they have thought it right to have recourse on this occasion. They have been unwilling to give Lady Willoughby the trouble of so long a journey for that purpose, well knowing the full reliance which may be placed on every thing which shall be stated by her Ladyship in this form. But on her return to town it may probably be judged necessary, for the sake of uniformity in this most important proceeding, that she should be so good as to confirm on oath,

the truth of the written answers requested from her Ladyship.

(No Signature in the original.)

(No. 23.)

Sidmouth, July 3, 1806.

My Lord,—I immediately communicated to Lady Willoughby the Queries transmitted to me in the envelope of a letter dated July the first, which I had the honour to receive this day from your Lordship. I return the Queries with Lady Willoughby's Answers in her own hand-writing.—We are both truly sensible of your Lordship's kind attention in not requiring Lady Willoughby's personal attendance. She will most readily obey the order of the Council, should her presence become necessary.—I have the honour, &c.

GWYDIR.

To Earl Spencer, &c. &c. &c.

A true Copy, J. Becket.

(No. 24.)

Queries.

1. Does Lady Willoughby remember seeing the Princess of Wales at breakfast or dinner at her house, either at Whitehall or Beckenham, on or about the months of May or June, 1802?

2. Has her Ladyship any recollection of the circumstance of Her Royal Highness having retired from the company at such breakfast or dinner, on account, or under the pretence, or having spilt any thing over her handkerchief? And if so, did Lady Willoughby attend her Royal Highness on that occasion? and what then passed between them relative to that circumstance?

3. Had Lady Willoughby frequent opportunities in the course of that year to see Her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, and at what periods? And did she at any time during the year, observe any appearance, which led her to suspect that the Princess of Wales was pregnant?

4. Is Lady Willoughby acquainted with any other circumstances leading to the same conclusion, or tending to establish the fact of a criminal intercourse or improper familiarity

Answers.

1. In the course of the last ten years the Princess of Wales has frequently done me the honour to breakfast and dine at Whitehall, and Langley, in Kent. Her Royal Highness may have been at my house in the months of May or June, 1802, but of the periods at which I had the honour of receiving her, I have no precise recollection.

2. I do not remember her Royal Highness having at any time retired from the company either at Whitehall, or at Langley, under the pretence of having spilt any thing over her handkerchief.

3. To the best of my remembrance I had few opportunities of seeing the Princess of Wales in the year 1802, and I do not recollect having observed any particular circumstances relative to her Royal Highness's appearance.

4. During the ten years I have had the honour of knowing the Princess of Wales, I do not bear in mind a single instance of Her Royal Highness's conduct in society towards

between Her Royal Highness and any other person whatever; and if so, what are they? any individual, tending to establish the fact of a criminal intercourse, or improper familiarity, WILLOUGHBY.

(No. 25.)—*Robert Bidgood's farther Deposition.*

The Princess used to go out in her phaeton, with coachman and helper, towards Long Reach, eight or ten times, carrying luncheon and wine with her, when Captain Manby's ship was at Long Reach; always Mrs. Fitzgerald was with her; she would go out about one, and return about five or six, sometimes sooner or later. The day the *Africaine* sailed from South End, the Princess ordered us to pack up for Blackheath next morning. Captain Manby was there three times a week, at least, whilst his ship lay for six weeks off South End, at the Nore; he came as tide served; used to come in a morning, and dine, and drink tea. I have seen him next morning, by ten o'clock. I suspected he slept at No. 9, the Princess's. She always put out the candles herself in the drawing-room, at No. 9, and bid me not wait to put them up. She gave me the orders as soon as she went to South End. I used to see water-jugs, basins, and towels set out opposite the Princess's door in the passage. Never saw them so left in the passage at any other time. I suspected he was there at those times, and there was a general suspicion throughout the house. Mrs. and Miss Fitzgerald there, and Miss Hammond (now Lady Hood). My suspicions arose from seeing them in the glasses kiss each other, as I mentioned before, like people fond of each other, a very close kiss. Her behaviour like that of a woman attached to a man; used to be by themselves at luncheon at South End, when Ladies not sent for, a number of times. There was a pony which Captain Manby used to ride. It stood in the stable ready for him, and which Sicard used to ride. The servants used to talk and laugh about Captain Manby. It was a matter of discourse amongst them. I lived there when Sir Sidney Smith came; her manner with him appeared very familiar; she appeared very attentive to him, but I did not suspect any thing further. All the upper servants had keys of the doors to the Park, to let Her Royal Highness in and out. I used to see Sicard receive letters from Mrs. Sander to put in the post instead of the bag; this was after Captain Manby was gone to sea. I suspected them to be for Captain Manby, and others in the house supposed the same.

(Signed) R. BIDGOOD.

Sworn before us, in Downing-street, this 3d day of July, 1806.

(Signed) ERSKINE, SPENCER.

GRENVILLE, ELLENBOROUGH.

(No. 26.)—*Sir Francis Millman's Deposition.*

I attended the Princess of Wales in the spring, and latter end of the year 1802, i. e. in March and towards the Autumn. Mr. Mills, of Greenwich, attended then as her Royal Highness's Apothecary, and Mr. Mills, and his partner, Mr. Bidmeades have attended since. I do not know that any other medical person attended her at that time, either as apothecary or physician. In March, 1802, I attended her for a sore throat and fever. In 1803, in April, I attended her Royal Highness again with Sir Walter Farquhar. I don't know whether she was bloodied in 1802.

She was, with difficulty, persuaded to be bled in 1803, for a pain in her chest, saying, she had not been bled before, that they could not find a vein in her arm. I saw no mark on her arm of her having been bled before. I observed Her Royal Highness's person at the end of that year 1802. I never observed then, or at any other time, any thing which induced me to think Her Royal Highness was in a pregnant situation. I think it is impossible she should in that year have been delivered of a child without my observing it. She, during that year, and at all times, was in the habit of receiving the visits of the Duke of Gloucester. I never attended Her Royal Highness but in extraordinary illness. Her Royal Highness has for the last year and a half had her prescriptions made up at Walker and Young's, St. James's-street. If she had been a pregnant woman in June, 1802, I could not have helped observing it.

(Signed) FRANCIS MILLMAN.

Sworn before us, in Downing-street,
July 3d, 1806, by the said Sir
Francis Millman.

(Signed) ERSKINE, SPENCER,
GRENVILLE, ELLENBOROUGH.

A true copy, *J. Becket.*

(No. 27.)—*The Deposition of Mrs. Lisle.*

I, Hester Lisle, am in the Princess of Wales's family, have been so ever since Her Royal Highness's marriage. I was not at South End with the Princess; was at Blackheath with her in 1802, but am not perfectly sure as to dates. I am generally a month at a time, three months in the year, with Her Royal Highness, in April, August, and December; was so in August, 1802. I did not observe any alteration in Her Royal Highness's shape which gave me any idea that she was pregnant. I had no reason to know or believe that she was pregnant. During my attendance hardly a day passes without my seeing her. She could not be far advanced in pregnancy without my knowing it. I was at East Cliffe with Her Royal Highness, in August, 1803; I saw Captain Manby only once at East Cliffe, in August, 1803, to the best of my recollection—he might have been oftener; and once again at Deal Castle; Captain Manby landed there with some boys the Princess takes on charity. I saw Captain Manby at East Cliffe one morning, not particularly early. I do not know of any presents which the Princess made Captain Manby. I have seen Captain Manby at Blackheath one Christmas; he used to come to dine the Christmas before we were at Ramsgate. It was the Christmas after Mrs. Austin's child came. He always went away in my presence. I had no reason to think he staid after we (the Ladies) retired. He lodged on the Heath at that time. I believe his ship was fitting up at Deptford. He was there frequently. I think not every day. He generally came to dinner three or four times a week or more. I suppose he might be alone with her. But the Princess is in the habit of seeing Gentlemen and tradesmen without my being present; I have seen him at luncheon and dinner both; the boys came with him, not to dinner, and not generally, not above to or three times,—two boys,—I think. Sir Sidney Smith came also frequently the Christmas before that, to the best of my recollection. At dinner, when Capt. Manby dined, he always sat next Her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales; the constant company were Mrs. and Miss Fitzgerald and myself; we all retired

with the Princess, and sat in the same room, he generally retired about 11 o'clock; he sat with us till then. This occurred three or four times a week, or more. Her Royal Highness, the Lady in Waiting, and her Page, have each a key of the door from the Green-house to the Park. Captain Manby and the Princess used, when we were together, to be speaking together separately, conversing separately, but not in a room alone together, to my knowledge. He was a person with whom she appeared to have greater pleasure in talking than to her Ladies. She behaved to him only as any woman would who likes flirting. I should not have thought any married woman would have behaved properly, who should have behaved as Her Royal Highness did to Captain Manby. I can't say whether she was attached to Capt. Manby, only that it was a flirting conduct. Never saw any gallantries, as kissing her hand, or the like. I was with Her Royal Highness at Lady Sheffield's, last Christmas, in Sussex. I inquired what company was there when I came. She said, only Mr. John Chester, who was there by Her Royal Highness's orders; that she could get no other company to meet her, on account of the roads and season of the year. He dined and slept there that night. The next day other company came. Mr. Chester remained; I heard her Royal Highness say she had been ill in the night, and came and lighted her candle in her servant's room; I returned from Sheffield-place to Blackheath with the Princess. Captain Moore dined there. I left him and the Princess twice alone for a short time; he might be alone half an hour with her. In the room below in which we had been sitting, I went to look for a book to complete a set her Royal Highness was lending Captain Moore. She made him a present of an inkstand, to the best of my recollection. He was there one morning in January last, on the Princess Charlotte's Birth-day. He went away before the rest of the company; I might be absent twenty minutes the second time. I was away the night Captain Moore was there. At Lady Sheffield's Her Royal Highness paid more attention to Mr. Chester than to the rest of the company. I knew of Her Royal Highness walking out twice alone with Mr. Chester in the morning; once a short time it rained—the other not an hour—not long. Mr. Chester is a pretty young man. Her attentions to him were not uncommon, not the same as to Captain Manby. I am not certain whether the Princess answered any letters of Lady Douglas. I was at Catherine with the Princess. Remember Mr. now Lord Hood, there, and the Princess going out airing with him alone in Mr. Hood's little whiskey, and his servant was with them. Mr. Hood drove; and staid out two or three hours, more than once. Three or four times. Mr. Hood dined with us several times, once or twice he slept in a house in the garden. She appeared to pay no attention to him but that of common civility to an intimate acquaintance. I remember the Princess sitting to Mr. Lawrence for her picture, at Blackheath and in London; I have left her at his house in town with him. I think Mrs. Fitzgerald was with her, and she sat alone with him, I think, at Blackheath. I was never in her Royal Highness's confidence, but she has always been kind and good-natured to me. She never mentioned Captain Manby particularly to me. I remember her being bled the day Lady Sheffield's child was christened, not several times that

I recollect, nor any other time, nor believe she was in the habit of being blooded twice a year. The Princess at one time appeared to like Lady Douglas; Sir John came frequently; Sir Sidney Smith visited about the same time with the Douglases; I have seen Sir Sidney there very late in the evening, but not alone with the Princess; I have no reason to suspect he had a key of the Park gate; I never heard of any body being found wandering about at Blackheath. I have heard of somebody being found wandering about late at night at Mount Edgcombe, when the Princess was there. I heard that two women and a man were seen crossing the hall. The Princess saw a great deal of company at Mount Edgcombe. Sir Richard Strachan was reported to have spoken freely of the Princess. I did not hear that he had offered a rudeness to her person. She told me she had heard he had spoken disrespectfully of her, and therefore, I believe, wrote to him by Sir Samuel Hood.

(Signed) **HESTER LISLE.**

Sworn before us, in Downing-street,
this third Day of July, 1806.

(Signed) **ERSKINE, SPENCER,
GRENVILLE, ELLENBOROUGH.**

A true copy, *J. Becket.*

(No. 28).—*Lower Brook-street, July 4, 1806.*

My Lord,—Before your arrival in Downing-street, last night, I bespoke the indulgence of the Lords of His Majesty's council for inaccuracy as to dates, respecting any attendance at Blackheath before 1803. Having only notice in the forenoon of an examination, I could not prepare myself for it, to any period previous to that year, and I now hasten as far as the examination of my papers will permit, to correct an error, into which I fell, in stating to their Lordships that I attended Her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales in the spring of 1802, and that I then met His Royal Highness the late Duke of Gloucester at Blackheath. It was in the Spring of 1801, and not of 1802, that, after attending Her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales for ten or twelve days, I had the honour of seeing the Duke of Gloucester at her house. I have the honour, &c.

(Signed) **FR. MILLMAN.**

A true copy, *J. Becket.*

Earl Cholmondeley, sworn July 16th, 1806.

I have seen the Princess of Wales write frequently, and I think I am perfectly acquainted with her manner of writing.—A letter produced to his Lordship, marked (A).—This letter is not of the Princess's hand-writing.—A paper produced to his Lordship, marked (B), with a kind of drawing with the names of Sir Sydney Smith and Lady Douglas.—This paper appears to me to be written in a disguised hand. Some of the letters remarkably resemble the Princess's writing; but because of the disguise I cannot say whether it be or be not Her Royal Highness's writing.—On the cover being shewn to his Lordship, also marked (B), he gave the same answer.—His Lordship was also shewn the cover marked (C), to which his Lordship answered, I do not see the same resemblance to the Princess's writing in this paper.

CHOLMONDELEY.

Sworn before us, July 16th, 1806.

**ERSKINE, SPENCER,
GRENVILLE.**

A true copy,
John Becket.

APPENDIX (B. No. 2).—Narrative of His Royal Highness the Duke of Kent.

To introduce the following relation, it is necessary for me to premise, that on entering the Prince of Wales's bed-room, where our interview took place, my Brother, after dismissing his attendants, said to me, that some circumstances had come to his knowledge with respect to a transaction with the Princess of Wales, in which he found that I had been a party concerned; that if he had not placed the most entire reliance on my attachment to him, and he was pleased to add, on the well-known uprightness of my character and principles, he should certainly have felt himself in no small degree offended at having learnt the facts alluded to from others, and not in the first instance from me, which he conceived himself every way entitled to expect, but more especially from that footing of confidence on which he had ever treated me through life; but, that being fully satisfied my explanation of the matter would prove that he was not wrong in the opinion he had formed of the honourable motives that had actuated me in observing a silence with regard to him upon the subject. He then was anxiously waiting for me to proceed with a narrative, his wish to hear which he was sure he had only to express to ensure my immediate acquiescence with it. The Prince then gave me his hand, assuring me he did not feel the smallest degree of displeasure towards me, and proceeded to introduce the subject upon which he required information. When, feeling it a duty I owed to him, to withhold from his knowledge no part of the circumstances connected with it, that I could bring back to my recollection, I related the facts to him, as nearly as I can remember, in the following words:—

"About a twelvemonth since, or thereabout, (for I cannot speak positively to the exact date), I received a note from the Princess of Wales, by which she requested me to come over to Blackheath, in order to assist her in arranging a disagreeable matter, between her, Sir Sydney Smith, and Sir John and Lady Douglas, the particulars of which she would relate to me, when I should call. I, in consequence, waited upon her, agreeably to her desire, a day or two after, when she commenced the conversation by telling me, that she supposed I knew she had at one time lived with Lady Douglas on a footing of intimacy, but that she had had reason afterwards to repent having made her acquaintance, and was therefore rejoiced when she left Blackheath for Plymouth, as she conceived that circumstance would break off all further communication between her and that Lady. That, however, contrary to her expectation, upon the return of Sir John and her from Plymouth to London, Lady Douglas had called and left her name twice or three times, notwithstanding she must have seen that admission was refused her; that having been confirmed in the opinion she had before had occasion to form of her Ladyship by an anonymous letter she had received, in which she was very strongly cautioned against renewing her acquaintance with her, both as being unworthy of her confidence, from the liberties she had allowed herself to take with the Princess's name, and the lightness of her character, she had felt herself obliged, as Lady Douglas would not take the hint that her visits were not wished for, to order Miss Vernon to write her a note, spec-

“factly telling her that they would in future be dispensed with; that the consequence of this had been an application, through one of her Ladies, in the joint names of Sir Sydney Smith, Sir John and Lady Douglas, for an audience, to require an explanation of this, which they considered as an affront, and that, being determined not to grant it, or to suffer any unpleasant discussion upon the subject, she entreated me to take whatever steps I might judge best to put an end to the matter, and rid her of all farther trouble about it. I stated in reply, that I had no knowledge of either Sir John or Lady Douglas, and therefore could not, in the first instance, address myself to them, but that I had some acquaintance with Sir Sydney Smith, and if the Princess was not averse to that channel, I would try what I could in that way effect. This being assented to by the Princess, I took my leave, and immediately on my return home, wrote a note to Sir Sydney Smith, requesting him to call on me as soon as he conveniently could, as I had some business to speak to him upon. Sir Sydney in consequence called on me (I think) the next day, when I related to him the conversation, as above stated, that I had had with the Princess. After hearing all I had to say, he observed, that the Princess, in stating to me that her prohibition to Lady Douglas to repeat her visits at Blackheath, had led to the application for an audience of Her Royal Highness, had kept from me the real cause why he, as well as Sir John and Lady Douglas, had made it, as it originated in a most scandalous anonymous letter, of a nature calculated to set on Sir John and him to cut each other's throats, which, from the handwriting and style, they were both fully convinced was the production of the Princess herself. I naturally expressed my sentiments upon such conduct, on the part of the Princess, in terms of the strongest animadversion; but, nevertheless, anxious to avoid the shameful eclat which the publication of such a fact to the world must produce, the effect which its coming to the King's knowledge would probably have on his health, from the delicate state of his nerves, and all the additional misunderstandings between His Majesty and the Prince, which I foresaw would inevitably follow, were this fact, which would give the Prince so powerful a handle to express his feelings upon the countenance shewn by the King to the Princess, at a time when I knew him to be severely wounded by His Majesty's visits to Blackheath on the one hand, and the reports he had received of the Princess's conduct, on the other, to be brought to light, I felt it my bounden duty, as an honest man, to urge all these arguments with Sir Sydney Smith in the most forcible manner. I was master of, adding also as a farther object, worthy of the most serious consideration, the danger of any appearance of ill blood in the family at such an eventful crisis, and to press upon his mind the necessity of his using his best endeavours with Sir John Douglas, notwithstanding all the provocation that had been given them, to induce him to let the matter drop, and pursue it no farther. Sir Sydney observed to me, that Sir John Douglas was a man whom, when once he had taken a line from a principle of honour, it was very difficult to persuade him to depart from it; however,

“as he thought that if any man could prevail upon him, he might flatter himself with being the most likely to persuade him from the weight he had with him; he would immediately try how far he could gain upon him, by making use of those arguments I had brought forward to induce him to drop the matter altogether. About four or five days after this, Sir Sydney called upon me again, and informed me, that upon making use, with Sir John, of those reasons which I had authorized him stating to be those by which I was actuated in making the request that he would not press the business farther, he had not been able to resist their force, but that the whole extent of promise he had been able to obtain of him, amounted to no more than that he would, under existing circumstances, remain quiet, if left unmolested, for that he would not pledge himself not to bring the subject forward hereafter, when the same motive might no longer operate to keep him silent. This result I communicated, to the best of my recollection, the following day, to the Princess, who seemed satisfied with it, and from that day to the present one, (November 10, 1806,) I never have heard the subject named again in any shape, until called upon by the Prince, to make known to him the circumstances of this transaction, as far as I could bring them to my recollection.”

And now having fulfilled what the Prince wished me to do, to the best of my abilities, in case hereafter any one by whom a narrative of all the circumstances as related by Sir John and Lady Douglas, of whom I was informed by my brother, subsequent to our conversation, should imagine that I knew more of them than I have herein stated, I hereby spontaneously declare, that what I have written is the whole extent of what I was apprized of, and had the Princess thought proper to inform me of what, in the Narrative of the Information given by Sir John and Lady Douglas, is alluded to, I should have felt myself obliged to decline all interference in the business, and to have at the same time stated to her, that it would be impossible for me to keep a matter of such importance from the knowledge of the Prince, (Signed) EDWARD.

Dec. 27, 1805.

A true copy, B. Bloomfield. A true copy, J. Becket. Whitehall, 29th August, 1806.

APPENDIX (B.)

No. 3.—For the purpose of confirming the Statement, made by Lady Douglas, of the Circumstances mentioned in her Narrative, the following Examinations have been taken, and which have been signed by the several Persons who have been examined.

SARAH LAMPERT.

N. B. This witness was not examined by the Commissioners; at least, no copy of any examination of her's was transmitted with the other papers; and no observation is made in the Report of the Commissioners, or in the answer of Her Royal Highness upon her examinations. It has, therefore, been thought that there was no necessity for publishing them.—There are two of them; one dated at Cheltenham, 8th January, 1806; the other with no date of place, but dated 29th March, 1806.

MR. WILLIAM LAMPERT.

N. B. The same observations apply to Mr. William Lampert's Examination, as to those of his wife,

with this additional circumstance, that the whole of his Examination is mere hearsay.

11th January, 1806.—William Cole.

Has been with the Prince for 21 years in this month; he went with the Princess on her marriage, and remained till April, 1803.—In 1801, he says, he had reason to be dissatisfied with the Princess's conduct. During the latter part of that year he has seen Mr. Canning several times alone with the Princess, in a room adjoining to the drawing-room, for an hour or two, of which the company took notice.—In January, 1802, Sir Sidney frequently came to dine with the Princess, and their intimacy became familiar; he has frequently dined and supped at the house, and when the ladies have retired, about eleven o'clock, he has known Sir Sidney remain alone with the Princess an hour or two afterwards; his suspicions increased very much; and one night, about twelve o'clock, he saw a person wrapped up in a great coat, go across the park, into the gate to the green house, and he verily believes it was Sir Sidney.—In the month of March, 1803, the Princess ordered some sandwiches, which Cole took into the drawing-room, where he found Sir Sidney talking to the Princess; he sat down the sandwiches, and retired. In a short time he went again into the room, where he found the gentleman and lady sitting close together, in so familiar a posture as to alarm him very much, which he expressed by a start back, and a look at the gentleman. He dates his dismissal from this circumstance; for, about a fortnight afterwards, he was sent for by the Duke of Kent, who told him he had seen the Princess at court the day before: that she had expressed the greatest regard for him, and that she intended to do something for him, by employing him, as a confidential person, to do her little matters in town; and his attendance at Montague House would not be required. He received this intimation with much concern; but said, her Royal Highness's pleasure must govern him.—He says, that the cordiality between the Princess and Lady D. was very soon brought about; and, he supposes, on Sir Sidney's account; that the Princess frequently went across the heath to Lady D., where she staid till late in the evening, and that, sometimes, Lady D. and Sir Sidney have come with the Princess to Montague House late in the evening, when they have supped.—Sometime after he left Montague House, he went down, when he spoke to Fanny Lloyd, and asked her how things went on amongst them; she said, she wished he had remained amongst them; there was strange goings on; that Sir Sidney was frequently there; and that one day, when Mary Wilson supposed the Princess to be gone into the library, she went into the bed-room, where she found a man at breakfast with the Princess; that there was a great do about it; and that Mary Wilson was sworn to secrecy, and threatened to be turned away if she divulged what she had seen.—He does not know much of what passed at Margate in 1803.—In 1804, the Princess was at Southend, where Fanny Lloyd also was; when Cole saw her after her return, he asked how they had gone on; she said, "Delightful doings, always on slip-board, or the Captain at our house."—She told him, that one evening, when all were supposed to be in bed, Mrs. Lisle met a man in the passage; but no alarm was made—this was Captain Manby; he was constantly in the house. Mr. Cole says, that Mrs.

Sander knows every thing; that she has appeared in great distress on many occasions, and has said to him, the Princess is an altered woman; he believes Sander to be a very respectable woman.—He says, that he believes Roberts to be an honest man; that Roberts has said to him—(*As Roberts himself was examined by the Commissioners, and his deposition is given in Appendix A, No. 8, what Cole says he heard him say is omitted here.*)—That Arthur, the gardener, is a decent man, but does not know if he is privy to any thing.—That Bidgood is a deaf quiet man, but thinks he has not been confidentially trusted.—That Mrs. Gosden was nurse to the child, and was always up-stairs with it; she is a respectable woman; but after some time, took upon herself much consequence, and refused to dine in the servants' hall.—In 1801, Lawrence, the painter, was at Montague House, for four or five days at a time, painting the Princess's picture; that he was frequently alone late in the night, with the Princess, and much suspicion was entertained of him.

WM. COLE.

14th January, 1806.—William Cole.

Says, that the Princess was at Mr. Hood's, at Satherington, near Portsmouth, for near a month in the last summer, where she took her footman and servants. That the house in which Mr. Hood lived was given up to the Princess, and he, and his family, went to reside in a small house adjoining. That the Princess and Mr. Hood very frequently went out in the forenoon, and remained out for four or five hours at a time. That they rode in a gig, attended by a boy, (a country lad) servant to Mr. Hood, and took with them cold meat; that they used to get out of the gig, and walk into the wood, leaving the boy to attend the horse and gig till their return. This happened very frequently; that the Duke of Kent called one day, and seeing the Princess's attendants at the window, came into the house, and after waiting some time, went away without seeing the Princess, who was out with Mr. Hood. This information Mr. Cole had from Fanny Lloyd. When Mr. Cole found the drawing-room, which led to the staircase to the Princess's apartments, locked, he does not know whether any person was with her, but it appeared odd to him, as he had formed some suspicions. Mr. Cole says, that he saw the Princess at Blackheath about four times in the year 1802, after he left her in April, and five or six times in London; that he had heard a story of the Princess's being with child, but cannot say that he formed an opinion that she was so; that she grew lusty, and appeared large behind; and that at the latter end of the year he made the observation, that the Princess was grown thinner. That he cannot form an opinion about the child; that he has seen an old man and woman (about 50 years of age) at Montague House on a Sunday, and has inquired who they were, when he was answered by the servants in the hall, "That is little Billy's mother;" (meaning the child the Princess had taken, and which was found by Stikeman.)

WM. COLE.

Temple, 30th January, 1806.—William Cole.

Says, that on the 17th of January instant, he walked from Blackheath to London with Mr. Stikeman, and, in the conversation on the road, Cole mentioned the circumstance of the little child, saying, that he was grown a fine interest-

ing boy; to which Stikeman replied, What, do you mean Billy Austin? Cole said, Yes. Pray do the old man and woman come to see the child as usual? Stikeman said, "Old man and woman! they are not old; we have not seen them much lately; they live at Deptford;" but he appeared to avoid any conversation on the subject. Cole says, that the account of the correspondence between the Princess and Captain Manby was communicated to him by Fanny Lloyd, but she never mentioned any such correspondence having taken place through Sicard, since Captain Manby went abroad. Cole says, that he has not been in the company, or presence, of the Prince alone, or had any conversation with him on this, or any other subject, since the Princess went to live at Charlton, which is near nine years ago.

WM. COLE.

23d February, 1806.—*William Cole.*

Says, that a Gentleman and Lady were sitting close together on the sofa; but there was nothing particular in their dress, position of legs or arms, that was extraordinary; he thought it improper that a single Gentleman should be sitting quite close to a married Lady on the Sofa; and from that situation, and former observations, he thought the thing improper. The person who was alone with the Lady at late hours of the night (twelve and one o'clock), and whom he left sitting up after he went to bed, was Mr. Lawrence the painter, which happened two different nights at least. As to the observation made about Sir Sidney having a key of every door about the gardens, it was a gardener, who was complaining of the door of the green-house being left open, and the plants damaged, and who made the same to Mr. Lampert, the servant of Sir John Douglas, and which he mentioned at Cheltenham to Sir John and Mr. Lowten. Lampert said he should know the gardener again.

Temple, 4th April, 1806.

ROBERT BIDGOOD.

Have lived with the Prince 23 years on the 10th of September next, and have been with the Princess since 21st of March, 1798. In 1802 we were at Blackheath, and did not go to any other place: in 1801 Sir Sidney Smith left his card at Montague House, and he was afterwards invited to dinner; and, in the spring of 1802, Lady Douglas came to reside at the Tower, where she stayed about three weeks. During this time Sir Sidney was frequently at the House, both morning and evening, and remained till three or four o'clock in the morning. He has seen Sir Sidney in the blue parlour early (by ten o'clock) in the morning; and, on inquiring from the footmen how he came there without his knowledge, they said, they had not let him in, and knew nothing of his being there. He does not know of Sir Sidney being alone till three or four o'clock in the morning, as there were other ladies in the house. During the year 1802 the Princess used to ride out in her phaeton, attended by Mrs. Fitzgerald, and took out cold meat, and went towards Dartford, where she spent the day, and returned about six or seven in the evening.—Williams, the coachman, always attended the Princess.—Lady Douglas, during the year 1802, was constantly at Montague House, and was admitted at all times. The Princess was used frequently to go to Lady Douglas's House, where Sir Sidney resided; at the end of that year there

was a misunderstanding between Lady Douglas and the Princess; and one day he saw Lady Douglas leave the house in tears, and afterwards she has not visited the Princess. Mr. Bidgood's wife has lately told him, that Fanny Lloyd told her, that Mary Wilson told Lloyd, that one day, when she went into the Princess's room, she found the Princess and Sir Sidney in the fact; that she (Wilson) immediately left the room, and fainted at the door.—In the winter of 1802, and the spring of 1803, Captain Manby became a visitor at Montague House; his frigate was sitting out at Deptford, and Bidgood has reason to believe, that the Princess fitted up his cabin, for he has seen the cotton furniture brought to the Princess to chuse the pattern, which was sent to Blake, her upholsterer, in London-street, Greenwich. When Captain Manby was about to sail, he was walking in the anti-room, to let Captain Manby out: and, as he stayed some time, Bidgood looked into the room, and from a mirror on the opposite side of the room to where Captain Manby and the Princess stood, he saw Captain Manby kissing the Princess's lips; and soon afterwards he went away. He saw the Princess, with her handkerchief to her face, and go into the drawing-room, apparently in tears.—In 1803, was not with the Princess at Margate.—In 1804, was with the Princess at Southend. We went there on the 2d of May: Sicard was constantly on the look-out for the Africaine, Captain Manby's ship: and about a month afterwards, Sicard descried the ship, before she came to the Nore. The instant the ship cast anchor, the Captain came on shore in his boat to the Princess. The Princess had two houses, Nos. 8 and 9. She lived at No. 9: and on Sicard seeing Captain Manby come on shore, he ran down the shrubbery to meet, and shewed him into the house, No. 9; Captain Manby was constantly at No. 9; and used to go in the evening on board his ship, for some weeks; but afterwards he did not return on board the ship in the evening, and Bidgood had seen him in the morning, by ten o'clock, in the House, No. 9; and, from the circumstance of towels, water, and glasses, being placed in the passage, he had reason to believe that Manby had slept there all night.—In 1805, Bidgood was not with the Princess in Hampshire.—After the Princess returned from Hampshire, Captain Hood used to visit the Princess at Blackheath alone, without his wife. Captain Hood used to come about twelve o'clock, and was shewn into the blue room, where luncheon was ordered; and the Princess and the Captain were alone together, without a lady or other attendant. He used to stay dinner, and sometimes in boots; about an hour afterwards coffee was ordered; after which the Princess retired, and Captain Hood had also left the room, and had not been let out of the house by any of the servants. Bidgood has not seen Captain Hood since about Christmas last.—Bidgood has strong suspicions that Mrs. Sander used to deliver letters to Sicard, which he conceived to be from the Princess to Captain Manby, as Sicard used to put the letters into his pocket, and not into the common bag for letters.—Mrs. Sander must be fully informed of all the circumstances above alluded to. Mary Wilson and Miss Mielfield must also know all the circumstances.—Bidgood has seen the mother (as she is called) of the little boy frequently at Montague House; the child was about three weeks old when he first saw it. The mother

was at Montague House on Monday last. The husband worked at Deptford Yard; but was discharged, and Stikeman has since employed him at his house in town. The mother appears to be better dressed than usual.

(Signed) R. BIDGOOD.

SARAH BIDGOOD.

About six months ago, in a conversation with Fanny Lloyd, respecting the general conduct of the Princess, she said, that whilst Sir Sidney visited the Princess, that Mary Wilson had gone into the bed-room to make up the fire, and found the Princess and Sir Sidney in such an indecent situation, that she immediately left the room, and was so shocked that she fainted away at the door.

(*This witness was not examined before the Commissioners; at least, no Copy of such Examination, if there was any, was transmitted with the other Papers. The first paragraph in her examination is, however, stated above, as it is observed upon in the Princess's answer; but the remainder, not being ad- verted to, either by the Commissioners' Report, or by the Answer, and being all hearsay, is omitted.*)

Temple, 12th May, 1806.

Frances Lloyd,—From Ripley in Surrey.

To the best of my knowledge, Mary Wilson said, that she had seen the Princess and Sir Sidney in the blue room; but she is so close a woman, that she never opens her mouth on any occasion; never heard Mary Wilson say she was so alarmed as to be in a fit.—Heard the gardener at Ramsgate say one day, at dinner, that he had seen Mr. Sicard and Captain Manby go across the lawn towards a subterraneous passage leading to the sea.—When Her Royal Highness was going to the launch, Sir Andrew Hammond and his son came the day before, and dined with her, and in the next morning, about four o'clock, after the doors of the house were open, she saw Captain Manby sitting in the drawing-room of the adjoining house to Her Royal Highness, which room belonged to her.

—One morning, about six o'clock, she was called to get breakfast for Her Royal Highness, when she saw Captain Manby and her walking in the garden, at Ramsgate.—Heard from Mrs. Lisle's maid, that the Princess, when at Lady Sheffield's, went out of her bed-room, and could not find her way back; but nothing more.—About four years ago, as I think, Mr. Mills attended me for a cold, and, in conversation, he asked me if the Prince visited at our house? I said, not to my knowledge. He said the Princess certainly was with child.

FRANCES LLOYD.

A true Copy.

(Signed) J. Becket.

Whitehall, 29th August, 1806.

Blackheath, Aug. 12, 1806.

Sire,—With the deepest feelings of gratitude to your Majesty, I take the first opportunity to acknowledge having received, as yesterday only, the Report from the Lords Commissioners, which was dated from the 14th of July. It was brought by Lord Erskine's footman, directed to the Princess of Wales; besides a note enclosed, the contents of which were, that Lord Erskine sent the Evidences and Report by commands of His Majesty. I had reason to flatter myself that the Lords Commissioners would not have given in the Report before they had been

properly informed of various circumstances, which must, for a feeling and delicate-minded woman, be very unpleasant to have spread, without having the means to exculpate herself. But I can, in the face of the Almighty, assure your Majesty that your Daughter-in-law is innocent, and her conduct unquestionable; free from all the indecorums and improprieties which are imputed to her at present by the Lords Commissioners, upon the evidence of persons who speak as falsely as Sir John and Lady Douglas themselves. Your Majesty can be sure that I shall be anxious to give the most solemn denial in my power to all the scandalous stories of Bidgood and Cole; to make my conduct be cleared in the most satisfactory way for the tranquillity of your Majesty, for the honour of your illustrious family, and the gratification of your afflicted daughter-in-law. In the mean time I can safely trust your Majesty's gracious justice to recollect, that the whole of the evidence on which the Commissioners have given credit to the infamous stories charged against me, was taken behind my back, without my having any opportunity to contradict or explain any thing, or even to point out those persons who might have been called, to prove the little credit which was due to some of the witnesses, from their connexion with Sir John and Lady Douglas; and the absolute falsehood of parts of the evidence, which could have been completely contradicted. Oh! gracious King, I now look for that happy moment, when I may be allowed to appear again before your Majesty's eyes, and receive once more the assurance from your Majesty's own mouth that I have your gracious protection; and that you will not discard me from your friendship, of which your Majesty has been so condescending to give me so many marks of kindness; and which must be my only support, and my only consolation, in this country. I remain with sentiments of the highest esteem, veneration and unfeigned attachment, Sire, your Majesty's most dutiful, submissive, and humble Daughter-in-law and Subject,

(Signed)

CAROLINE.

To the King.

Montague House, Aug. 17th, 1806.

The Princess of Wales desires the Lord Chancellor to present her humble duty to the King, and to lay before His Majesty the accompanying letter and papers. The Princess makes this communication by his Lordship's hands, because it relates to the papers with which she has been furnished through his Lordship by His Majesty's commands.

To the Lord Chancellor.

Aug. 17th, 1806.

Sire,—Upon receiving the copy of the Report, made to your Majesty, by the Commissioners, appointed to inquire into certain charges against my conduct, I lost no time, in returning to your Majesty, my heartfelt thanks for your Majesty's goodness in commanding that copy to be communicated to me.—I wanted no adviser, but my own heart, to express my gratitude for the kindness, and protection which I have uniformly received from your Majesty. I needed no caution or reserve, in expressing my confident reliance, that that kindness and protection would not be withdrawn from me, on this trying occasion; and that your Majesty's justice would not suffer your mind to be affected, to my dis-

advantage, by any part of a Report, founded upon partial evidence, taken in my absence, upon charges, not yet communicated to me, until your Majesty had heard, what might be alleged in my behalf, in answer to it. But your Majesty will not be surprised nor displeased, that I, a woman, a stranger to the laws, and usages of your Majesty's kingdom, under charges, aimed, originally, at my life and honour, should hesitate to determine, in what manner I ought to act, even under the present circumstances, with respect to such accusations, without the assistance of advice in which I could confide. And I have had submitted to me the following observations, respecting the copies of the papers with which I have been furnished. And I humbly solicit from your Majesty's gracious condescension and justice a compliance with the requests, which arise out of them.—In the first place, it has been observed to me, that these copies of the Report, and of the accompanying papers, have come unauthenticated by the signature of any person, high, or low, whose veracity, or even accuracy, is pledged for their correctness, or to whom resort might be had, if it should be necessary, hereafter, to establish, that these papers are correct copies of the originals. I am far from insinuating that the want of such attestations was intentional. No doubt it was omitted through inadvertence; but its importance is particularly confirmed by the state, in which the copy of Mrs. Lisle's examination has been transmitted to me. For in the third page of that examination there have been two erasures; on one of which, some words have been, subsequently introduced, apparently in a different hand-writing from the body of the examination; and the passage, as it stands, is probably incorrect, because the phrase is unintelligible. And this occurs in an important part of her examination.—The humble, but earnest request, which I have to make to your Majesty, which is suggested by this observation, is, that your Majesty would be graciously pleased to direct, that the Report, and the papers which accompany it, and which, for that purpose, I venture to transmit to your Majesty with this letter, may be examined, and then returned to me, authenticated as correct, under the signature of some person, who, having attested their accuracy, may be able to prove it.—In the second place, it has been observed to me, that the Report proceeds, by reference to certain written declarations, which the Commissioners describe as the necessary foundation of all their proceedings, and which contain, as I presume, the charge or information against my conduct. Yet copies of these written declarations have not been given to me. They are described, indeed, in the Report, as consisting in certain statements, respecting my conduct, imputing not only, gross impropriety of behaviour, but extremely asserting facts of the most confirmed, and abandoned criminality, for which, if true, my life might be forfeited. These are stated to have been followed by declarations from other persons, who, though not speaking to the same facts, had related other particulars, in themselves extremely suspicious, and still more so, as connected with the assertions already mentioned. On this, it is observed to me, that it is most important that I should know the extent, and the particulars of the charges or informations against me, and by what accusers they have been made; whether I am answering the charges of one set of accusers, or more. Whether the

authors of the original declarations, who may be collected from the Report to be Sir John and Lady Douglas, are my only accusers; and the declarations which are said to have followed, are the declarations of persons adduced as witnesses by Sir John and Lady Douglas, to confirm their accusation; or whether such declarations are the charges of persons, who have made themselves also, the authors of distinct accusations against me.—The requests, which, I humbly hope, your Majesty will think reasonable, and just to grant, and which are suggested by these further observations are,—*First*, That your Majesty would be graciously pleased to direct, that I should be furnished with copies of these declarations; and, if they are rightly described, in the Report, as the necessary foundation of all the proceedings of the Commissioners, your Majesty could not, I am persuaded, but have graciously intended, in directing that I should be furnished with a copy of the Report, that I should also see this essential part of the proceeding, the foundation on which it rests.—*Secondly*, That I may be informed whether I have one or more, and how many accusers; and who they are; as the weight and credit of the accusation cannot but be much affected by the quarter from whence it originates.—*Thirdly*, That I may be informed of the time when the declarations were made. For the weight and credit of the accusation must, also, be much affected by the length of time, which my accusers may have been contented to have been the silent depositories of those heavy matters of guilt, and charge; and,—*Lastly*, That your Majesty's goodness will secure to me a speedy return of these papers, accompanied, I trust, with the further information which I have solicited; but at all events a speedy return of them. And your Majesty will see, that it is not without reason, that I make this last request, when your Majesty is informed, that, though the Report appears to have been made upon the 14th of July, yet it was not sent to me, till the 11th of the present month. A similar delay, I should, of all things, deplore. For it is with reluctance, that I yield to those suggestions, which have induced me to lay, these my humble requests, before your Majesty, since they must, at all events, in some degree, delay the arrival of that moment, to which, I look forward with so earnest, and eager an impatience; when I confidently feel, I shall completely satisfy your Majesty, that the whole of these charges are alike unfounded; and are all parts of the same conspiracy against me. Your Majesty, so satisfied, will, I can have no doubt, be as anxious as myself, to secure to me that redress, which the laws of your kingdom (administering, under your Majesty's just dispensation, equal protection and justice, to every description of your Majesty's subjects), are prepared to afford to those, who are so deeply injured as I have been. That I have in this case, the strongest claim to your Majesty's justice, I am confident I shall prove; but I cannot, as I am advised, so satisfactorily establish that claim, till your Majesty's goodness shall have directed me, to be furnished with an authentic statement of the actual charges against me, and that additional information, which it is the object of this letter most humbly, yet earnestly, to implore.—I am, Sir, your Majesty's most dutiful, submissive, and humble Daugh'er-in-law.

Montague-house.
To the King.

(Signed) C. P.

Aug. 20th, 1806.

The Lord Chancellor has the honour to return, to Her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, the box, as he received it this morning from His Majesty. It contains the papers he formerly sent to Her Royal Highness, and which he sends as they are, thinking that it may be, in the mean time, most agreeable to her Royal Highness.—The reason of their not having been authenticated by the Lord Chancellor, was, that he received them as copies from Earl Spencer, who was in possession of the originals; and he could not, therefore, with propriety, do so, not having himself compared them; but her Royal Highness may depend upon having other copies sent to her, which have been duly examined and certified to be so.—The box will be delivered to one of Her Royal Highness's Pages in waiting, by the principal officer attendant upon the Lord Chancellor, and he trusts he shall find full credit with Her Royal Highness; that in sending a servant formerly with the papers the moment he received them (no messenger being in waiting, and the officers who attend him being detained by their duties in court), he could not be supposed to have intended any possible disrespect, which he is incapable of shewing to any lady, but most especially to any member of His Majesty's Royal family.

To Her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales.

Lincoln's Inn Fields, Aug. 24th, 1806.

His Majesty has been pleased to transmit to me the letter which he has received from your Royal Highness, dated the 17th instant; and to direct that I should communicate the same to the Lords Commissioners who had been commanded by His Majesty to report to His Majesty on the matters therein referred to; and I have now received His Majesty's further commands, in consequence of that letter, to acquaint your Royal Highness, that when I transmitted to your Royal Highness, by the King's commands, and under my signature, the copies of official papers, which had been laid before His Majesty, those papers were judged thereby duly authenticated, according to the usual course and forms of office; and sufficiently so, for the purposes for which His Majesty has been graciously pleased to direct them to be communicated to your Royal Highness.—That, nevertheless, there does not appear to be any reason for His Majesty's declining a compliance with the request which your Royal Highness has been advised to make, that those copies should, after being examined with the originals, be attested by some person to be named for that purpose: and that, if your Royal Highness will do me the honour to transmit them to me, they shall be examined and attested accordingly, after correcting any errors that may have occurred in the copying.—His Majesty has further authorized me to acquaint your Royal Highness, that he is graciously pleased, on your Royal Highness's request, to consent that copies of the written declarations referred to in the Report of the Lords Commissioners, should be transmitted to your Royal Highness, and that the same will be transmitted accordingly, so soon as they can be transcribed.

(Signed)

ERSKINE, C.

The Lord Chancellor has the honour to add to the above official communication, that his Purse-bearer respectfully waits her Royal Highness's

commands, in case it should be Her Royal Highness's pleasure to return the papers by him.

Her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales.

Lincoln's Inn Fields, Aug. 19th, 1806.

The Lord Chancellor has the honour to transmit to Her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales the papers desired by Her Royal Highness, just as he received them a few minutes ago from Earl Spencer, with the note accompanying them.

* N. B. These papers, being the original declarations, on which the inquiry proceeded, will be found in Appendix (A.)

Aug. 31, 1806.

Her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales acquaints the Lord Chancellor, that the gentleman with whom Her Royal Highness advises, and who had possession of the copies of the official papers communicated to Her Royal Highness by the Lord Chancellor, returned from the country late yesterday evening. Upon the subject of transmitting these papers to the Lord Chancellor, for the purpose of their being examined and authenticated, and then returned to Her Royal Highness, he states, that in consequence of the Lord Chancellor's assurance, contained in his note of the 20th instant, that Her Royal Highness might depend upon having other copies sent to her, which had been duly examined and certified to be so; he has relied upon being able to refer to those already sent, and therefore it would be inconvenient to part with them at present: and Her Royal Highness therefore hopes, that the Lord Chancellor will procure for her the other authenticated copies, which his Lordship promised in his note of the 20th inst.—With respect to the copies already sent, being, as the Lord Chancellor expresses it, in his letter of the 24th instant, "judged to be duly authenticated" according to the usual course and forms of office, and sufficiently so for the purpose for which His Majesty had been graciously pleased to direct them to be communicated to His Royal Highness, because they were transmitted to her, by the King's commands, and under "his Lordship's signature."—Her Royal Highness could never have wished for a more authentic attestation, if she had conceived that they were authenticated under such signature. But she could not think that the mere signature of his Lordship, on the outside of the envelope which contained them, could afford any authenticity to the thirty papers which that envelope contained; or could, in any manner, identify any of those papers as having been contained in that envelope. And she had felt herself confirmed in that opinion, by his Lordship's saying in his note of the 20th instant, "that the reason of their not having been authenticated by the Lord Chancellor was, that he received them as copies from Earl Spencer, who was in possession of the originals, and he could not, therefore, with propriety do so, not having himself compared them."—Her Royal Highness takes this opportunity of acknowledging the receipt of the declarations referred to in the Commissioners' Report.

To the Lord Chancellor.

Lincoln's Inn Fields, Sept. 2d, 1806.

The Lord Chancellor has taken the earliest opportunity in his power of complying with the wishes of Her Royal Highness the Princess of

Wales. He made the promise of other copies, without any communication with the other Commissioners, wholly from a desire to shew every kind of respect and accommodation to Her Royal Highness, in any thing consistent with his duty, and not at all from any idea that the papers, as originally sent, (though there might be errors in the copying), were not sufficiently authenticated; an opinion, which, he is obliged to say, he is not removed from; nevertheless, the Lord Chancellor has a pleasure in conforming to Her Royal Highness's wishes, and has the honour to enclose the attested copies of the Depositions, as he has received them from Earl Spencer.

To Her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales.

[*The two following Letters, not in the Book, copied from Morning Herald, March 17, 1813.*]

Her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales to the King.

SIRE—In discharge of the duty I owe to myself, and the great duty I owe to your Majesty and your Illustrious Family, I have herewith transmitted a statement, which I confidently trust will appear to prove me not unworthy of the protection and favour with which your Majesty has pleased to honour me.—To be restored to that favour and protection, in consequence of a conviction in your Majesty's mind of my innocence, produced by the Papers I now humbly lay before your Majesty, is the first wish of my heart.—Grieved, Sire, deeply grieved as I cannot but be, that your Majesty should be exposed to so much trouble on so painful an occasion, and, on my account, it is yet my humble trust that your Majesty will graciously forgive me, if extreme anxiety about my honour, and your Majesty's favourable opinion, leads me humbly to solicit, as an act of justice, that scrupulous attention on your Majesty's part to these Papers, which cannot fail, I think, to produce, in your Majesty's mind, a full conviction of my innocence, and a due sense of the injuries I have suffered.—One other prayer I with all possible humility and anxiety address to your Majesty, that, as I can hope for no happiness, nor expect to enjoy the benefit of that fair reputation to which I know I am entitled, till I am re-admitted into your Majesty's presence, and as I am in truth without guilt, suffering what to me is heavy punishment, whilst I am denied access to your Majesty, your Majesty will be graciously pleased to form an early determination whether my conduct and my sufferings do not authorize me to hope that the blessing of being restored to your Majesty's presence may be conferred upon, Sire, your Majesty's dutifully attached, affectionate, and afflicted daughter-in-law and subject.

(Signed) CAROLINE.

Blackheath, Oct. 2, 1806.

Her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales to the King.

SIRE—I received yesterday, and with inexpressible pain, your Majesty's last verbal communication. The duty of stating, in a representation to your Majesty, the various grounds upon which I feel the hardships of my case, and upon which, I confidently think, that upon a review of it, your Majesty will be disposed to recal your last determination, is one I owe to myself; and I cannot forbear, at the moment when I acknowledge the receipt of your Majesty's letter, to announce to your Majesty, that I propose to execute that duty without delay.—After having suffered the punishment of banishment from

your Majesty's presence for seven months, pending an inquiry which your Majesty had directed to be made into my conduct, affecting both my life and my honour—after that inquiry had at length terminated in the advice of your Majesty's Confidential and Sworn Servants, that there was no longer any reason for your Majesty's declining to receive me—after your Majesty's gracious communication, which led me to rest assured that your Majesty would appoint an early day to receive me—if, after all this, by a renewed application on the part of the Prince of Wales (upon whose communications the first inquiry had been directed), I now find, that that punishment to which I had been condemned during the same seven months' inquiry previous to the determination in my favour, should, contrary to the opinion of your Majesty's Servants, be continued after that determination, to await the result of some new proceeding, to be suggested by the Lawyer of the Prince of Wales, it is impossible that I can fail to assert to your Majesty, with the effort due to truth, that I am, in the consciousness of my own innocence, and with a strong sense of my unmerited sufferings, Sire, your Majesty's most dutiful and affectionate, but much injured, subject and daughter-in-law,

(Signed) CAROLINE.

Montague-house, Blackheath,

Feb. 12, 1807.

Copy of a Letter from Her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales to the King.

SIRE.—When I last troubled your Majesty upon my unfortunate business, I had raised my mind to hope that I should have the happiness of hearing from your Majesty, and receiving your gracious commands to pay my duty in your Royal presence before the expiration of the last week; and, when that hope was disappointed, eagerly clinging to any idea which offered me a prospect of being saved from the necessity of having recourse (for the vindication of my character) to the publication of the proceedings upon the inquiry into my conduct, I thought it just possible, that the reason for my not having received your Majesty's commands to that effect might have been occasioned by the circumstance of your Majesty's staying at Windsor through the whole of the week. I, therefore, determined to wait a few days longer before I took a step which, when once taken, could not be recalled. Having, however, now assured myself that your Majesty was in town yesterday,—as I have received no command to wait upon your Majesty, and no intimation of your pleasure,—I am reduced to the necessity of abandoning all hope that your Majesty will comply with my humble, my earnest, and anxious request.—Your Majesty, therefore, will not be surprised to find that the publication of the proceedings alluded to will not be withheld beyond Monday next.—As to any consequences which may arise from such publication, unpleasant or hurtful to my own feelings and interests, I may perhaps be properly responsible,—and in any event have no one to complain of but myself, and those with whose advice I have acted; and whatever those consequences may be, I am fully and unalterably convinced that they must be incalculably less than those which I should be exposed to from my silence. But as to any other consequences, unpleasant or hurtful to the feelings and interests of others, or of the Public, my conscience will certainly acquit me of them.—I am confident that I have not acted impa-

sionly or precipitately. To avoid coming to this painful extremity, I have taken every step in my power, except that which would abandon my character to utter infamy, and my station and life to no uncertain danger, and possibly to no very distant destruction.—With every prayer for the lengthened continuance of your Majesty's health and happiness, for every possible blessing which a gracious God can bestow upon the beloved Monarch of a loyal people, and for the continued prosperity of your dominions, under your Majesty's propitious reign, I remain, your Majesty's most dutiful, loyal, and affectionate, but most unhappy and most injured, daughter-in-law, subject and servant,

(Signed)

C. P.

Montague-house, March 5, 1807.

To the King.

Sire,—Impressed with the deepest sentiments of gratitude for the countenance and protection which I have hitherto uniformly received from your Majesty, I approach you with a heart undimmed upon this occasion, so awful and momentous to my character, my honour, and my happiness. I should indeed, (under charges such as have now been brought against me,) prove myself undeserving of the continuance of that countenance and protection, and altogether unworthy of the high station, which I hold in your Majesty's illustrious family, if I sought for any partiality, for any indulgence, for any thing more than what is due to me in justice. My entire confidence in your Majesty's virtues assures me that I cannot meet with less. The situation, which I have been so happy as to hold in your Majesty's good opinion and esteem; my station in your Majesty's august family; my life, my honour, and, through mine, the honour of your Majesty's family have been attacked. Sir John and Lady Douglas have attempted to support a direct and precise charge, by which they have dared to impute to me, the enormous guilt of High Treason, committed in the foul crime of Adultery. In this charge, the extravagance of their malice has defeated itself. The Report of the Lords Commissioners, acting under your Majesty's warrant, has most fully cleared me of that charge. But there remain imputations, strangely sanctioned and countenanced by that Report, on which I cannot remain silent, without incurring the most fatal consequences to my honour and character. For it states to your Majesty, that "The circumstances detailed against me must be credited, till they are decisively contradicted." To contradict, with as much decision as the contradiction of an accused can convey; to expose the injustice and malice of my enemies; to shew the utter impossibility of giving credit to their testimony; and to vindicate my own innocence, will be the objects, Sire, of this letter. In the course of my pursuing these objects, I shall have much to complain of, in the substance of the Proceeding itself, and such in the manner of conducting it. That any of these charges should ever have been entertained upon testimony so little worthy of belief, which betrayed, in every sentence, the malice in which it originated; that, even if they were entertained at all, Your Majesty should have been advised to pass by the ordinary legal modes of Inquiry into such high crimes, and to refer them to a Commission, open to all the objection, which I shall have to state to such a mode of Inquiry; that the Commissioners, after having ne-

gated the principal charge of substantive crime, should have entertained considerations of matters that amounted to no legal offence, and which were adduced, not as substantive charges in themselves, but as matters in support of the principal accusation; That through the pressure and weight of their official occupations, they did not, perhaps could not, bestow that attention on the case, which, if given to it, must have enabled them to detect the villany and falsehood of my accusers, and their foul conspiracy against me; and must have preserved my character from the weighty imputation which the authority of the Commissioners has, for a time, cast upon it; but, above all, that they should, upon this *ex parte* examination, without hearing one word that I could urge, have reported to your Majesty an opinion on these matters, so prejudicial to my honour, and from which I can have no appeal to the laws of the country, (because the charges, constituting no legal offence, cannot be made the ground of a judicial inquiry);—These and many other circumstances connected with the length of the Proceeding, which have cruelly aggravated, to my feelings, the pain necessarily attendant upon this Inquiry, I shall not be able to refrain from stating, and urging, as matters of serious lamentation at least, if not of well-grounded complaint. In commenting upon any part of the circumstances, which have occurred in the course of this Inquiry, whatever observations I may be compelled to make upon any of them, I trust, I shall never forget what is due to officers in high station and employment, under your Majesty. No apology, therefore, can be required for any reserve in my expressions towards them. But if, in vindicating my innocence against the injustice and malice of my enemies, I should appear to your Majesty not to express myself with all the warmth and indignation which innocence, so foully calumniated, must feel, your Majesty will, I trust, not attribute my forbearance to any insensibility to the grievous injuries I have sustained; but will graciously be pleased to ascribe it to the restraint I have imposed upon myself, lest in endeavouring to ascribe in just terms the motives, the conduct, the perjury, and all the foul circumstances, which characterize and establish the malice of my accusers, I might use language, which, though not unjustly applied to them, might be improper to be used by me to any body, or unfit to be employed by any body, humbly, respectfully, and dutifully addressing your Majesty.—That a fit opportunity has occurred for laying open my heart to your Majesty, perhaps, I shall, hereafter, have no reason to lament. For more than two years, I had been informed, that, upon the presumption of some misconduct in me, my behaviour had been made the subject of investigation, and my neighbours and servants had been examined concerning it. And for some time I had received mysterious and indistinct intimations, that some great mischief was meditated towards me. And, in all the circumstances of my very peculiar situation, it will not be thought strange, that however conscious I was, that I had no just cause of fear, I should yet feel some uneasiness on this account. With surprise certainly (because the first tidings were of a kind to excite surprise), but without alarm, I received the intelligence, that, for some reason, a formal investigation of some parts of my conduct had been advised, and had actually

taken place. His Royal Highness the Duke of Kent, on the 7th of June, announced it to me. He announced to me, the Princess of Wales, in the first communication made to me, with respect to this proceeding, the near approach of two attorneys (one of them, I since find, the solicitor employed by Sir John Douglas), claiming to enter my dwelling, with a warrant, to take away one half of my household, for immediate examination upon a charge against myself. Of the nature of that charge I was then uninformed. It now appears, it was the charge of High Treason, committed in the infamous crime of adultery. His Royal Highness, I am sure, will do me the justice to represent to your Majesty, that I betrayed no fear, that I manifested no symptoms of conscious guilt, that I sought no excuses to prepare, or to tutor, my servants for the examination which they were to undergo. The only request which I made to His Royal Highness was, that he would have the goodness to remain with me till my servants were gone; that he might bear witness, that I had no conversation with them before they went. In truth, Sir, my anxieties, under a knowledge that some serious mischief was planning against me, and while I was ignorant of its quality and extent, had been so great that I could not but rejoice at an event, which seemed to promise me an early opportunity of ascertaining what the malice of my enemies intended against me.—It has not been, indeed, without impatience the most painful, that I have passed the interval, which has since elapsed. When once it was not only known to me, but to the world (for it was known to the world), that Inquiry of the gravest nature had been instituted into my conduct, I looked to the conclusion with all the eagerness that could belong to an absolute conviction, that my innocence and my honour, to the disgrace and confusion of my accusers, would be established; and that the groundless malice and injustice of the whole charge would be manifested to the world, as widely as the calumny had been circulated. I knew that the result of an *ex parte* inquiry, from its very nature, could not, unless it fully asserted my entire innocence, be in any degree just. And I had taught myself most firmly to believe, that it was utterly impossible that any opinion which could, in the smallest degree, work a prejudice to my honour and character, could ever be expressed in any terms, by any persons, in a Report upon a solemn formal Inquiry, and more especially to your Majesty, without my having some notice and some opportunity of being heard. And I was convinced that, if the proceeding allowed me, before an opinion was expressed, the ordinary means which accused persons have, of vindicating their honour and their innocence, my honour and my innocence must, in any opinion which could then be expressed, be fully vindicated and effectually established. What then, Sir, must have been my astonishment and my dismay, when I saw, that notwithstanding the principal accusation was found to be utterly false, yet some of the witnesses to these charges were brought in support of the principal accusation,—witnesses whom any person, interested to have protected my character, would easily have shewn, out of their own mouths, to be utterly unworthy of credit, and confederates in foul conspiracy with my false accusers, are reported to be “free from all suspicion of unfavourable bias;” their veracity, “in the judgment of the Commissioners, not to

“be questioned;” and their infamous stories and insinuations against me, to be “such as deserve “the most serious consideration, and as must be “credited till decisively contradicted.”—The Inquiry, after I thus had notice of it, continued for above two months. I venture not to complain, as if it had been unnecessarily protracted. The important duties and official avocations of the Noble Lords, appointed to carry it on, may naturally account for and excuse some delay. But however excusable it may have been, your Majesty will easily conceive the pain and anxiety which this interval of suspense has occasioned; and your Majesty will not be surprised if I further represent, that I have found a great aggravation of my painful sufferings, in the delay which occurred in communicating the Report to me. For though it is dated on the 14th July, I did not receive it, notwithstanding your Majesty’s gracious commands, till the 11th of August. It was due unquestionably to your Majesty, that the result of an Inquiry, commanded by your Majesty, upon advice which had been offered, touching matters of the highest import, should be first and immediately communicated to you. The respect and honour due to the Prince of Wales, the interest which he must necessarily have taken in this Inquiry, combined to make it indisputably fit that the result should be forthwith also stated to His Royal Highness. I complain not, therefore, that it was too early communicated to any one; I complain only (and I complain most seriously, for I felt it most severely), of the delay in its communication to me.—Rumour had informed the world, that the Report had been early communicated to your Majesty and to His Royal Highness. I did not receive the benefit intended for me by your Majesty’s gracious command, till a month after the Report was signed. But the same rumour had represented me, to my infinite prejudice, as in possession of the Report during that month; and the malice of those, who wished to stain my honour, has not failed to suggest all that malice could infer, from its remaining in that possession so long unnoticed. May I be permitted to say, that if the Report acquits me, my innocence entitled me to receive from those, to whom your Majesty’s commands had been given, an immediate notification of the fact that it did acquit me. That if it condemned me, the weight of such a sentence should not have been left to settle in any mind, much less upon your Majesty’s, for a month, before I could even begin to prepare an answer, which, when begun, could not speedily be concluded; and that, if the Report could be represented as both acquitting and condemning me, the reasons, which suggested the propriety of an early communication in each of the former cases, combined to make it proper and necessary in the latter.—And why all consideration of my feelings was thus cruelly neglected; why was I kept upon the rack, during all this time, ignorant of the result of a charge, which affected my honour and my life; and why, especially in a case where such grave matters were to continue to be “credited, to the preju-

* The time that the Inquiry was pending, after this notice of it, is here confounded with the time which elapsed before the Report was communicated to her Royal Highness. The Inquiry itself only lasted to the 14th or 16th of July, which is but between five and six weeks from the 7th of June.

"dice of my honour," till they were "decidedly contradicted;" the means of knowing what it was, that I must, at least, endeavour to contradict, were withholden from me, a single unnecessary hour, I know not, and I will not trust myself in the attempt to conjecture.—On the 11th of August, however, I at length received from the Lord Chancellor a packet, containing copies of the Warrant or Commission authorizing the Inquiry; of the Report; and of the Examinations on which the Report was founded. And your Majesty will be graciously pleased to recollect, that on the 13th I returned my grateful thanks to your Majesty, for having ordered these papers to be sent to me.—Your Majesty will readily imagine that, upon a subject of such importance, I could not venture to trust only to my own advice; and those with whom I advised suggested, that the written Declarations, or Charges, upon which the Inquiry had proceeded, and which the Commissioners refer to in their Report, and represent to be the essential foundation of the whole proceeding, did not accompany the Examinations and Report; and also that the papers themselves were not authenticated. I, therefore, ventured to address your Majesty upon these supposed defects in the communication, and humbly requested that the copies of the papers, which I then returned, might, after being examined and authenticated, be again transmitted to me; and that I might also be furnished with copies of the written Declarations, so referred to, in the Report. And my humble thanks are due for your Majesty's gracious compliance with my request. On the 29th of August I received, in consequence, the attested copies of those Declarations, and of a Narrative of His Royal Highness the Duke of Kent; and a few days after, on the 3rd of September, the attested copies of the Examinations which were taken before the Commissioners.

The Papers which I have received are as follow:—

"The Narrative of His Royal Highness the Duke of Kent, dated 27th of December, 1805.

A Copy of the written Declaration of Sir John and Lady Douglas, dated December 3, 1805.

A Paper containing the written Declarations, or Examinations, of the persons hereafter enumerated:—The title to these Papers is,

"For the purpose of confirming the Statement made by Lady Douglas, of the circumstances mentioned in her Narrative. The following Examinations have been taken, and which have been signed by the several persons who have been examined."

Two of Sarah Lampert;—one, dated Cheltenham, 8th January, 1806,—and, the other, 29th March, 1806.

One of William Lampert, baker, 114, Cheltenham, apparently of the same date with the last of Sarah Lampert's.

Four of William Cole, dated respectively, 11th January, 14th January, 30th January, and 23d February, 1806.

One of Robert Bidgood, dated Temple, 4th April, 1806.

One of Sarah Bidgood, dated Temple, 23d April, 1806; and,

One of Frances Lloyd, dated Temple, 12th May, 1806.

The other Papers and Documents which accompanied the Report, are,*

1806.	No.	
29 May,	1.	The King's Warrant or Commission.
1 June,	2.	Deposition of Lady Douglas.
1	3.	of Sir John Douglas.
6	4.	of Robert Bidgood.
6	5.	of W. Cole.
7	6.	of Frances Lloyd.
7	7.	of Mary Wilson.
7	8.	of Samuel Roberts.
7	9.	of Thos. Stikeman.
7	10.	of J. Sicard.
7	11.	of Charlotte Sander.
7	12.	of Sophia Austin.
20	13.	Letter from Lord Spencer to Lord Gwydir.
21	14.	from Lord Gwydir to Lord Spencer.
21	15.	from Lady Willoughby to Lord Spencer.
23	16.	Extract from Register of Brownlow-street Hospital.
23	17.	Deposition of Eliz. Goaden.
23	18.	of Betty Townley.
25	19.	of Thos. Edmeades.
25	20.	of Samuel G. Mills.
27	21.	of Harriet Fitzgerald.
1 July,	22.	Letter from Lord Spencer to Lord Gwydir.
3	23.	from Lord Gwydir to Lord Spencer.
3	24.	Queries of Lady Willoughby and Answers.
3	25.	Further Deposition of R. Bidgood.
3	26.	Deposition of Sir Fm. Millman.
3	27.	of Mrs. Lisle.
4	28.	Letter from Sir Francis Mordaunt to the Lord Chancellor.
16	29.	Deposition of Lord Cholmondeley.
14	30.	The Report.

By the Copy, which I have received, of the Commission, or Warrant, under which the Inquiry has been prosecuted, it appears to be an instrument under your Majesty's Sign Manual, not countersigned, not under any Seal.—It recites, that an Abstract of certain written Declarations touching my conduct (without specifying by whom those Declarations were made, or the nature of the matters touching which they had been made, or even by whom the Abstract had been prepared), had been laid before your Majesty; into the truth of which it purports to authorize the four noble Peers, who are named in it, to inquire and to examine, upon oath.

(To be continued.)

* See Appendix (B).

* See Appendix (A).

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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"Heav'n has no curse like love to hatred turn'd,
"Nor Hell a fury like a woman scorn'd."
CONGREVE.

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NOTICE.

Having been unable to resist the desire to submit my own remarks to the reader at considerable length, I have been compelled to adopt the measure of publishing a *third Double Number next week*, when I shall close the publication of **THE BOOK**, and shall, at the same time, have sufficient room to prefix the further remarks that I have to make upon this important subject.

TO JAMES PAUL,

OF BURSLEDON, IN LOWER DUBLIN TOWNSHIP, IN PHILADELPHIA COUNTY, IN THE STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA; ON MATTERS RELATING TO HER ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCESS OF WALES.

Letter V.

My dear Friend,

In my last Letter I gave you a brief history of **THE BOOK**, and showed you, as clearly as I was able, what effects it had produced as to political changes in the government. I, at the same time, laid before you all the depositions against Her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, together with the beginning of her defence. The remaining part of that defence I continue to this Letter; and, when you have read it, together with Her Royal Highness's Letter to the King of the 16th of February, 1807, you will have the whole of the case before you.

So satisfactory to my mind is that defence; so completely does it do away every charge against her honour; so quickly does it dissipate, in my view of it, every doubt that could have been raised in the mind of any rational man, that I am utterly at a loss to find words to express my astonishment, that His Royal Highness, the Prince of Wales, should have found advisers, weak enough, (for I will forbear to apply to them any harsh epithet) to recommend the raising of any obstacle to the giving of the injured Princess those external marks of complete acquittal, which she so justly demanded,

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and with which, it appears, her moderation would have been contented. Indeed, when you take an impartial view of the case up to the close of her Letter of the 16th of February, 1807, you will be at a loss to say which feeling is strongest in your bosom: that of admiration of her moderation and magnanimity; or, of indignation against the wretches who had manifestly conspired, with the most deliberate malice, against her reputation and even against her life.

Exalted as the parties concerned are in rank, important as every thing must be which is so closely connected with their character and honour; yet, such is the ability with which this defence was conducted, that, merely as a specimen of excellence in this sort of productions, it will, I am persuaded, live and be admired, long after the cause of it shall have become of no interest to the world. I hated Perceval when living; I hate his memory now that he is dead; because I regard him as having been a bitter enemy of the liberties of my country. But, I should tacitly belie my conviction, I should commit an act of violence on my own mind, were I to abstain from expressing my admiration of this defence, as doing equal honour to the heart and to the talents of its author; who, from the first page to the last, shines, not only as a wise counsellor, an able and zealous advocate, but as an ardent, a steady, and disinterested friend; and, really, I look upon it as a fortunate circumstance for the character of the country, that, while England had produced wretches so vile as to conspire against the life of an innocent and friendless woman, England also furnished the man able and willing to be her protector.

This defence being, in all its parts, so complete, I should not trouble you with any observations of my own on any part of the evidence or proceedings, and should merely give you my reasons for believing, that the conduct of the Princess, up to this very hour, has been such as to merit full approbation; but, as endeavours are still making, in some of the detestable newspapers in London, to give the air of truth to the refuted calumnies of the Douglasses

and others, I think it right to point out for your special notice some few of the circumstances of the case.

There is an observation, made by some persons, in these words: "There, surely, must be *something* in all this. How could such a story as that of Lady Douglas have been *all* invented?" This is a very absurd way of reasoning; for, if *one part* of a story be hatched, *why not the whole*? It is not the practice either of courts of justice or of individuals to give credit to any part of a story, upon the principal facts of which the narrator has been fully proved to have spoken wilfully false. If any man were to tell you, that I had defrauded him of a ten pound note, and that, upon the same occasion, I had been guilty of blasphemy, would you, when you had seen the former clearly disproved, attach any credit to the latter? Would the man, who could invent the former charge, scruple to invent the latter also? Would that malice, which proved the mother of the one, be insufficient for the producing of the other? The *consistency* of the different parts of a story, all coming from the same person, or from a set of conspirators, argues little in support of its credibility; for, if one sits down to *invent*, especially when there is an abundance of time, it is entirely one's own fault if the several parts of the story do not agree. You do not read Romances and Plays; but, if you did, you would not set any part of them down for realities, because all the parts corresponded with each other. They are fabulous, they are the work of invention, from the beginning to the end; and so, it appears to me, were all the minor circumstances, related by the Douglasses and others, tending to corroborate the main facts, and to render complete and successful the great plot of this disgraceful drama. The main allegations having been proved to be false, and none of the rest having been proved to be true, we must necessarily, in common justice to the accused, regard the whole as a mass of falsehoods.

Indeed, it is impossible for any man, when he has read the whole of the documents, to entertain the smallest doubt of the innocence of the Princess as to *every thing* which has been alleged against her; but, it appears to me to be very essential for us to inquire, *how these infamous charges came to be made*. And, here, I think, we shall find all the marks of a deliberate and settled *conspiracy* against her, originating, to all outward appearance, with the Douglasses.

We see, that, from 1801 to 1804, there was an intercourse of friendship existing between Sir John and Lady Douglas and the Princess; and, it is not till after the former are discarded by the latter that the accusations appear to have been hatched; or, at least, to have assumed any thing of a systematic form. Soon after this, we find Sir John Douglas receiving, as his wife says, anonymous letters, containing lewd drawings, exhibiting Lady Douglas as committing adultery with Sir Sydney Smith; and of these she says, the Princess of Wales was the author. This fact of the authorship is clearly disproved by the most satisfactory of evidence, positive as well as circumstantial. And, now, mark; this fact being proved to be false, what other conclusion can we draw from its having been advanced, than that the Douglasses wrote the letters themselves to themselves with a design of imputing them to her Royal Highness, and thus to furnish themselves with some excuse for the treachery, to say the very least of it, of Lady Douglas? For, you will observe, that, upon the supposition of all the allegations of Lady Douglas being *true*, nothing could clear her of the charge of *perfidiousness* to the person, who, in the warmth of her friendship and the plenitude of her confidence, had committed to her breast secrets affecting her life.

Having thus prepared the way; having provided themselves with an excuse though a very unsatisfactory one, for the divulging of secrets, which they could not in any case, and under any degree of provocation, divulge without subjecting themselves to the charge of perfidy, they appear to have set themselves to work to get a way opened for their information to the Prince of Wales; and, at last, in December, 1805, they draw up and sign their STATEMENT in order to its being laid before him.

If this Statement was believed, as it appears to have been, by His Royal Highness's advisers; for, may respect for the person, whom I obey as my sovereign, will permit me to speak, in this case, only of his *advisers*. If this statement was *believed* by them, there can be no doubt of the propriety, and, indeed, of the absolute necessity, of submitting the matter to the consideration of the King. Different men see the same thing in a different light; and, for my part, I am convinced, that if my own sister had laid such a statement before me, relative to the conduct of even a suspected wife, I should, at once, have treated it as a tissue of abominable falsehoods.

hoods; the reasons for which I will now give you.

The Statement of Lady Douglas, as well as her deposition, clearly shew, that her making of it originated in *revenge*. There are those, who, roused in the way of suspicion, by a view of the whole affair, are inclined to ascribe the accusation to another origin, and to suppose, that the Douglasses went to live at Blackheath for the express purpose of carrying on a conspiracy against the Princess. But, an impartial examination of the several parts of the proceeding rejects this opinion; and, it is manifest that the charges had their origin in the revenge of this woman. Therefore, if her statement had been laid before me, as an adviser of the Prince, I should, without going into the utter improbability of the story itself, have said, that a woman, in whose bosom the passion of revenge was so strong as to goad her on to take away the life of another woman, after months and years for cooling and reflecting; I should have said, that a woman, in whose bosom the passion of revenge was so strong as this, *was a person not to be believed* in any thing that she might say with regard to the object of that revenge.

Then, I should have observed, that she sets out with a *self-evident falsehood*; for she asserts, that it was *a sense of duty*; the fear of seeing spurious issue on the throne, her loyalty, her gratitude towards her Sovereign and the Royal family; she asserts, that it is this *sense of duty*, which has wrung the awful secret from her, and induced her to be guilty of a most atrocious breach of confidence. But, with this sense of duty in her mind; with all this loyalty and gratitude in her heart; and with this patriotic fear of seeing spurious issue on the throne, she keeps the secret locked up in her breast from 1802 to 1805. Was that to be believed? If she really were under the influence of the motives, which she pretends to have been under when she made the statement; how came that influence to have had no weight at an earlier period?—If such had really been her motives in making the communication, the year 1802 was the time for making it, when she first was told of the pregnancy, or, at any rate, when she saw the child, especially as that child was a *male*, and, of course, *the heir to the throne*; and when she reflected, moreover, that she might die, and that, from the death of herself or other persons, the impossibility of preventing the danger she feared might soon arrive. Therefore,

it is manifest, that, in making the communication to the Prince, she could not be actuated by motives of duty and of loyalty; and, seeing her declaration thus bottomed in falsehood; seeing it thus ushered in by a flagrant though hypocritical lie; I should, if I had been an adviser of the Prince, said, that nothing flowing from such a source is to be believed, or paid the smallest attention to.

Then, as to what she says about the licentious behaviour of the Princess, and her disrespectful language towards the King, the Queen, and the Royal Family, I should have observed, that, though the informant pretends to have been shocked at the indecencies and immoralities of all this, and though people were obliged to send their daughters out of the room to prevent them from hearing the language of the Princess, the informant continued to be intimate with her, and even to *court her acquaintance*, for years after she was the eye and ear witness of these indecencies; and, what is singular enough, one ground of her pretended complaints against the Princess, is, *her children were not admitted*, upon a particular occasion, to that, as she paints it, scene of open indecency and debauchery, Montague House! Upon a view of all these circumstances, could I have believed, that she had seen any thing to *shock* her in the behaviour of the Princess? Could I have believed a word of her story; and could I have refrained from advising the Prince, not to believe a word of that story?

Upon her own showing, I should have seen in Lady Douglas a traitor to her friend from motives of revenge; I should have seen in her a hypocritical pretender to loyalty and patriotism; and should have seen part of her revenge arising from *her children not being admitted* where she herself had been shocked at the constant indecencies of the scene, and where other persons had sent away their children from a fear of their being corrupted. But, besides all this, I must have believed Her Royal Highness to have been wholly bereft of her senses before I could believe, or give the smallest degree of credit to, the story of her accuser. For could I believe, that any woman in her senses, though the most profligate of her sex, would have imparted the facts of pregnancy and delivery to another, without any possible motive, and afterwards behave to that other in a way the best calculated in the world to provoke that other to a disclosure of those facts? I can suppose it possible, and barely possible,

that there may be found in the world a married woman in common life, so very shameless, being in a state of separation from her husband in consequence of no fault of her own; I can suppose it barely possible, that such a woman, so situated, might, out of a mere inclination to communicate a secret, or to shew that she was not without a paramour, tell a confidant that she was with child, and, I will even go so far as to suppose it possible, that there may be found one in the whole world, in such a place as St. Giles's or Billingsgate, to go up to a man, and proclaim her crime in words, while she put her hand to the depository of the half-matured fruit of that crime. It is not without begging pardon of every thing bearing the name and form of woman, that I venture upon this supposition. What then must have been my conclusion upon hearing conduct like this attributed to a Princess of Wales, whose crime, in this case, went to take away her life, and who, according to the showing of Lady Douglas herself, could have no possible motive in making known to her the fact of that crime?

Away, I should have said, if I had been an adviser of the Prince, with this mass of atrocious falsehoods; these overflowings of black-hearted revenge; these self-evident proofs of a foul and detestable conspiracy against life and honour. I should have said, that, knowing the Princess to be in her senses, it was impossible for me to believe, that she would first make known her pregnancy and delivery to Lady Douglas without any motive; that she would so contrive her delivery as to have it take place in her own house, surrounded as she was by the servants of the Prince; and that, having brought the child into the world, she would even attempt to suckle it herself, and actually do it for some time; I should have said, that it was impossible for me, or for any man in his senses, to believe this for one single moment. And, therefore, I should have advised His Royal Highness not to give, by any act of his, the smallest countenance to so incredible, so malicious, so detestable a charge, made against an unprotected woman, not to say, that, though separated from his bed, that woman was still his wife.

While you observe, however that the advice given to His Royal Highness, upon this occasion, was precisely the opposite of that, which, as I have said, I should have given, you will not, in fairness to those who gave that advice, fail to suppose, that they might possibly be actuated by a de-

sire to rescue the character of the Princess from any future danger, which, from the death of witnesses, or from other causes, might arise out of the charges preferred by Lady Douglas. Willing as I am to go along with you in this supposition, I must, nevertheless say, that the means they adopted were not the best calculated in the world to arrive at so amiable and desirable an end.

These advisers did not, it appears, recommend to His Royal Highness to lay the statement of the Douglasses before the King at once, and unaccompanied with any corroboratory evidence. That statement, as appears from its date, was made on the 3rd of December, 1805; and it appears, that it, or rather an abstract of it, was not laid before the King till the 29th of May, 1806. In the mean while, the advisers of the Prince of Wales appear to have recommended, the obtaining of other statements, from different persons, relating to the conduct of Her Royal Highness; and, as you will have seen, there were obtained the written Declarations of Sarah Lampert, William Lampert, William Cole, Robert Bidgood, Sarah Bidgood, and Frances Lloyd, which were also laid before the King, together with the Statement of the Douglasses. And, it is with great pain that I perceive these papers to have been said, in their title, to be "For the purpose of confirming the Statement made by Lady Douglas." I perceive this with pain, because it admits of the interpretation, that the advisers of the Prince wished to see that horrible Statement confirmed, while, you will agree with me, that they ought to have been anxiously desirous to see it wholly refuted. If the object of the advisers of the Prince was to rescue the character of the Princess from all future danger, to which, from the death of witnesses, or other causes, this Statement might be thought to expose it, they took, as I said before, means not well adapted to their end. This error (not to call it by any other name) it was, which produced all the disagreeable consequences that followed.

We must now take a look at the source of these confirmatory declarations, and of the time and manner of their being communicated to the King, and upon which communication his warrant was founded.

The two Lamperts were, it appears, old servants of Sir John Douglas, and, it also appears, that Sir John himself was the person, who went from London to Cheltenham, in Gloucestershire, to take down their declarations. These two declarations do not, however, appear to have been of any

importance, seeing that the persons, who made them, were not afterwards examined upon oath by the Commissioners. Bidgood, Cole and Lloyd were *old servants of the Prince*, and, it appears that Cole has been at Carleton House, in performance of his service, ever since the time to which his information refers. Bidgood appears to have been still with the Princess when the Inquiry was going on; but, you will remark, that there is an affidavit, produced by the Princess, shewing, that, while the Inquiry was going on, Bidgood was, upon one occasion, at least, in conversation with *Lady Douglas*; and, that, too, at a time when he must have well known what *that Lady had been doing with regard to his Royal Mistress*, because he himself had been previously examined for the purpose of confirming her Statement.

When you have read the defence of the Princess, you will want nothing to convince you, that the evidence of Bidgood and Cole is of no unequivocal description. Indeed, it is quite impossible for you to entertain the smallest doubt as to its character. With respect to *Fanny Lloyd's* declaration there are some remarks to be made of very great interest and importance.

You will bear in mind, that all the declarations, of which we are speaking, were taken, as their title imported, "for the Purpose of confirming the statement made" by *Lady Douglas*." Cole voluntarily underwent four separate examinations; Bidgood one, and Fanny Lloyd one, all which you will have read in the foregoing Number. At what place Cole was examined and signed his declarations is not stated in their dates; but, those of Bidgood and Fanny Lloyd are dated at *the Temple*, a place in London where Lawyers and Attorneys reside; and it is pretty fairly presumed by the Princess, in her defence, that they were drawn up and signed at *Mr. Lowten's*, who is an Attorney, living in the Temple, and who, as appears from one of Cole's declarations, was at Cheltenham with *Sir John Douglas* to take the declaration of the two Lamperts.

These are very material circumstances for you to bear in mind, and it would be useful to have it clearly ascertained, *who it was that actually employed Mr. Lowten*. At any rate, we see him at Cheltenham employed in taking declarations with *Sir John Douglas*, "for the purpose of confirming the Statement of *Lady Douglas*;" and it is at *the Temple* where we find that the declarations of Bidgood and Fanny Lloyd were made. Observe another thing, too,

with respect to the declarations of Cole, Bidgood and Fanny Lloyd. They do not come forth with *attested*, or *witnessed*, signatures, as in the case of the Statement of *Sir John and Lady Douglas*. The signature of that famous Statement is, as you will see, verified by the Duke of *Sussex*, who signs his name as having seen the paper signed; a very necessary precaution in so momentous a case, but not less necessary with regard to the *confirmatory* declarations than with regard to the statement itself. It is a pity that this requisite is wanting to these documents; because, if they had been regularly witnessed, we should have seen *who were the persons engaged in taking them down*, a circumstance of no trifling import, when we are endeavouring to unravel the thread of these memorable proceedings.

Carrying all these circumstances along in your mind, you will now accompany me in some remarks touching the declaration of *Fanny Lloyd*. This part of the subject has very much interested the public here, and will not, I dare say, be uninteresting to you, a lover of truth and justice as you always were, and who always felt a deep interest in every thing connected with the peace, happiness and honour of the country of your forefathers. *Fanny Lloyd* says, in her declaration, taken at the Temple, and she afterwards swears nearly to the same amount before the Four Lords; but, it is with her declaration that we now have to do. She says, in her declaration, that a *Mr. Mills*, a Surgeon and Apothecary, at Greenwich (a place near Blackheath), being in attendance upon her for a cold, asked her if the *Prince* visited at the Princess's house; and, *Fanny Lloyd* having answered, that he did not to her knowledge, said that, THE PRINCESS WAS CERTAINLY WITH CHILD. Now, mind, this declaration is taken down at *the Temple*, on the 12th of May, 1806; (keep the dates constantly in your eye;) it is signed at the Temple on that day, but in the presence of whom we are not informed.

Luckily for the character of the Princess a new witness was here introduced. *Mr. Mills* was named; and he was to be examined, of course. He was examined, not at the Temple, indeed, but at the House of the *Earl of Moira*, and by that nobleman himself, but, in the presence of *Mr. Lowten*, who is a person of some consideration, being, besides an attorney, an officer in the Court of King's Bench.

Fanny Lloyd's declaration, confirmatory of *Lady Douglas's* Statement, was of great importance, as it went directly to establish

the fact of the alleged pregnancy; but, unfortunately for Miss Lloyd's veracity, Mr. Mills declared to Lord Moira and Mr. Lowten, that her declaration, as far as related to him, was "*an infamous falsehood*." Now mind, this was on the 14th of May, 1806, two days only after Miss Lloyd had made her declaration. Upon hearing this from Mr. Mills, Lord Moira said (as Mr. Mills states in his affidavit) that he supposed there must be some mistake, and that Fanny Lloyd must have meant Mr. Edmeades, who was the partner of Mr. Mills, and who, having at the request of Lord Moira, waited on his Lordship, at his house, on the 20th of May, 1806, (mind the *dates*) declared (as you will see by his affidavit) to his Lordship, in the presence of a Mr. Conant, a Police Magistrate, that the declaration of Fanny Lloyd, if he was the person meant by her, was *wholly false*; for, that he, at no time, had said that the Princess was pregnant, and that such a *thought* had never for a single moment, entered his mind.

Here, then, we see Fanny Lloyd's *confirmatory* declaration, or, at least, the only important part of it, blown, at once into the dark regions of malicious invention. The whole of the affidavits of Messrs. Mills and Edmeades, the facts stated by those gentlemen, the *place, time, and manner* of their being examined, are worthy of your most careful attention; but, at present, let us pursue the destination of the declaration of Fanny Lloyd; and, as you are about to see, our pursuit will soon be at an end. That declaration was taken, you will observe, on the 12th of May, 1806, at the Temple; on the 14th it was flatly falsified by Mr. Mills; on the 20th it was flatly falsified by Mr. Edmeades; on the 29th, as appears from the Report, Fanny Lloyd's declaration was laid before the King; but, it does NOT appear any where, THAT THAT DECLARATION WAS ACCOMPANIED BY THE FALSIFICATION FIXED ON IT BY MR. MILLS AND MR. EDMEADES.

As her Royal Highness, in her defence, avows, that she dares not trust herself with any *inferences* from this proceeding, I cannot be expected to draw any; but, I cannot, at any rate refrain from expressing my deep regret, that this omission should have taken place; because, if the falsification of Fanny Lloyd's declaration had accompanied the declaration itself, the King might, probably, have not issued the commission for that inquiry, which has led to all this serious mischief. The Princess, in her defence,

seems very reluctant to fix the blame of this omission upon any one. She says, "I know not whether it was *Lord Moira*, or *Mr. Lowten*, who should have communicated this circumstance to his Royal Highness" (who is stated to have laid the declarations before the King): "but," she adds, in all fairness, it ought unquestionably to have been communicated *by some one*." And so it certainly should; for Fanny Lloyd's was one of those important declarations, upon which confessedly the inquiry was founded.

It is my business to fix your attention upon *great points*, it being impossible for me, in my limited space, to go over the whole of the case with you, and it being also quite unnecessary, seeing that the documents themselves are so full and satisfactory.

One of these great points is, the credibility, which the *Four Lords* gave to the evidence of *Cole* and *Fanny Lloyd*, and the effect of that credibility. You will perceive, that the facts of *pregnancy* and *delivery* were so completely disproved, that their Lordships, in their REPORT to the King, declare, in the most explicit and the most forcible terms, that the charge was *wholly false*; that it was utterly destitute of foundation. But, they leave a *sting in the tail of this Report*. They say, that other particulars, respecting the conduct of her Royal Highness, must "necessarily give occasion to VERY UNFAVOURABLE INTERPRETATIONS;" and these particulars, they say, rest especially upon the evidence of Bidgood and Cole, Fanny Lloyd and Mrs. Lisle; "who," say the Lords, "cannot, in our judgment, be suspected of an *unfavourable bias*, and whose *VERY RACITY*, in this respect, we have seen *no ground to question*."

As to Bidgood, you will see by the defence and by his own declarations and depositions, whether he was likely to be under any unfavourable bias. Mrs. Lisle's evidence amounts to little, and of that little I shall leave you to judge with only this remark: that, if every married woman in the world were to be liable to be admonished upon grounds similar to those to be found in that evidence, there would not be one, even amongst you Quakers, that would escape an admonition. If it be faulty in a married woman to prefer talking to a man rather than to her attendants; if it be a fault in a married woman to smile or laugh in conversation with any other man than her husband; if it be a fault in her to endeavour to appear witty or agreeable in the eyes of any man except those of her husband; if

this be the case, point me out, if you can, a single brother Broad-brim, who has not a right to complain.

Fanny Lloyd and Cole are two of the persons, whose *veracity*, in this respect, it appears, the Four Lords saw no ground to question. With regard to *Fanny Lloyd*, you will bear in mind, that she had positively sworn to the most important fact about the pregnancy; and that Messrs. Mills and Edmeades had sworn before these same Lords, that *that fact was false*. She swore on the 7th of June, 1806, that Mr. Mills told her the Princess was with child, or looked, as if she was with child. The two gentlemen (there appearing to be a mistake as to which of the two it was) both swear, on the 25th of the same month, that they never did and never could say any such thing to her; for that such a thought never came into their heads. And, yet, as you will perceive, the Four Lords, in their report to the King, say, that *Fanny Lloyd* is a witness, whose *veracity*, in this respect, they see no ground to question. To be sure, they are here reporting upon the improprieties of conduct, and not upon the pregnancy, and they qualify their opinion of the veracity of the witness, by the words, "*in this respect*;" but, as her evidence relative to the pregnancy as well as to the improprieties was all contained in the same deposition, it was not very easy to regard her as a person of veracity in respect to the latter, and not as a person of veracity in respect to the former. Therefore, it appears to me, that their Lordships must have given more credit to her oath than to the oath of Mr. Mills, or Mr. Edmeades, and, in that case, they would, of course, see no ground to question her veracity. Be their view upon this point, however, what it might, you, having all the documents before you, will form your own opinion as to *Fanny Lloyd's* veracity, and you will always bear in mind, that she was one of the four persons, whose evidence, the Four Lords say, "must necessarily give occasion to very unfavourable interpretations."

Mr. Cole was another of the four witnesses, whose evidence is said, by the Four Lords, to give occasion to these interpretations. Now, observe, then, as to *Cole*, that he, in his declaration of the 11th of January, 1806, positively says, that *Fanny Lloyd* told him, that, one day, "when *Mary Wilson* supposed the Princess to be gone to the Library, she went into the bed-room, where she found a man at breakfast with the Princess; that there was a great to do about it; and that

"*Mary Wilson* was sworn to secrecy, and threatened to be turned away if she divulged what she had seen." This, you will observe, was a most important fact; and these are the very words in which *Cole* stated it in his declaration, which declaration was one of the papers on which the Inquiry was founded. Now, then, what says *Fanny Lloyd* to this fact? Why, as you will see, at the close of her deposition, she swears, **THAT SHE NEVER DID TELL COLE ANY SUCH THING.** Which of these two witnesses spoke falsely, it is impossible for me to say, but that one of the two did speak falsely there can be no doubt; indeed, the fact is certain, for the two witnesses flatly contradict each other. And yet, they are both, yes, both, mentioned as persons, whose veracity the Four Lords see no grounds to question. You will please to observe, that the qualification by the words, "*in this respect*," does not apply here, as in the former case; for, the fact here mentioned does not relate to the pregnancy, or the delivery, but merely to the improprieties of conduct; so that the flat contradiction given by *Fanny Lloyd* to the declaration of *Cole* appears not to have been, in the opinion of the Four Lords, sufficient ground to cause the veracity of either of them to be questioned as to the matter to which, it is clear, that their evidence related. Against the opinion of four such persons as Lord Erskine, Lord Ellenborough, Lord Grenville, and Lord Spencer, it is not for me to set up mine; and, indeed, my only object is to draw your particular attention to the point, to induce you to read with care all the documents referred to, and then to leave you, as a sensible and impartial man, far removed from the heated atmosphere of our politics and parties, to form your own judgment; always bearing in mind, however, that *Cole* and *Fanny Lloyd* were two out of the four persons, from whose evidence these particulars arose, which, as the Four Lords say, "must necessarily give rise to very unfavourable interpretations."

As the present double Number of my Register contains nearly the whole of the Defence of Her Royal Highness, and as I know you, who are a lover of truth and justice, will read the whole of it, I will not trouble you with any further remarks upon the case itself, being well assured, that there will not, when you have gone through the whole, as you will be enabled to do by my next Number, in an attentive manner, remain in your mind, the smallest doubt, that Her Royal Highness was perfectly in-

nocent of every charge preferred against her; not only of every charge of criminality, but also of every charge of indecency or impropriety or indiscretion of conduct; and I am further assured, that you will agree with me, that there are comparatively very few married women, though living happily with their husbands, whose conduct would bear such a scrutiny as that which the conduct of this calumniated Lady has been compelled to undergo. Tried and retried and tried again and again; rummaged and sifted and bolted as it has been, through statements and declarations and depositions and minutes and debates and pamphlets and paragraphs, it comes out at last without any thing sticking to it, which the most modest and happy married woman in the world might not own without a blush; and, after having carefully read and impartially weighed every word of these documents, I most solemnly declare, that, if I had a daughter twenty years married, I should think myself a happy and a fortunate father, if as little could be said against her conduct as has been proved against the conduct of the Princess of Wales.

You will naturally be anxious to know, whether any measure, and what, has been adopted by the ministry, the parliament, or the people, in consequence of the disclosure, which has now, fortunately for the cause of truth, taken place. By the ministry no measure has, as yet, been adopted. In parliament there have been some movements, but, hitherto, without producing any measure of a decided character. A motion has been brought forward by Mr. Whitbread for the prosecution of Sir John and Lady Douglas for perjury; but was given up, upon its appearing, that they could not be so prosecuted, having given their oaths before persons, acting in a capacity which did not make it perjury for any one to swear falsely before them. Of this, as you will perceive, the Princess complains in her defence. And, surely, it was very hard for her to have her conduct tried, to have evidence touching her honour and her life, taken down before a tribunal, whose competence did not extend far enough to allow of false swearers being prosecuted for perjury. This should have been thought of before the warrant was issued; for, it seems to me, that the hardness of the case is without a parallel. If the oaths had been taken before the Privy Council, or before magistrates, a prosecution for perjury might have followed; and, it is to be greatly regretted, that this most important circumstance was not taken into time;

more especially as the Report and the Depositions must necessarily find their way to the knowledge of so many persons. It was impossible, that, when so many persons were examined, the purport of the accusations should remain a secret. Indeed it was very well known; and it is also very well known, that it gave rise to very serious doubts and unfavourable impressions. Was it not, then, very hard upon the accused party, that the accusation should have been received and recorded, and reported upon by a tribunal, whose incompetence on her side was such as not to constitute perjury any thing that might be sworn falsely against her? Such, however, now appears to have been the fact; and upon that fact I shall not, for I am sure it is quite unnecessary, offer you any further observation of mine, being convinced that you will want no one to assist you in forming a correct opinion with respect to it.

Sir John Douglas, however, has presented a petition to the House of Commons, on behalf of himself and of Charlotte, his wife, praying the House to put them in a situation to re-swear all that they have before sworn. That the prayer of this petition could not be granted, they know very well. However, as the petition was upon the Table of the House, Mr. COCHRANE JOHNSTONE, one of the members, upon the ground, that, while it so lay, without any opinion of the House pronounced upon it, it seemed to receive some degree of countenance from the House, moved, on the 24th instant, the following resolution: "That the petition of Sir John Douglas, in behalf of himself and of Charlotte his wife, is regarded by this House as an audacious effort, to give, in the eyes of the nation, the colour of truth to falsehoods before sworn to, during the prosecution of a foul and detestable attempt against the peace and happiness, the honour and life of Her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales." This motion, upon the ground of there being no documents regularly before the House, whereon to ground such a resolution, was got rid of by a motion to adjourn; but, during the debate that took place, it was avowed on all hands, that the opinion which the resolution expressed was perfectly just. Not a single man was found in the House to attempt to justify, to excuse, or to palliate the conduct of the petitioners; and, therefore, the effect of the motion of Mr. COCHRANE JOHNSTONE upon the public mind has been just the



same as it would have been if the motion had been carried by an unanimous vote of the House.

The public feeling, which was before strong on the side of the injured Princess, has now received the sanction of the conviction of her perfect innocence; and, which is well worthy of remark, this conviction has been produced, in general, by the reading of the *Evidence* only; for, there is not, up to this hour, one person out of fifty thousand in the kingdom, who has read the *Defence*, contained in the letter of the 2d of Oct., the greater part of which I now publish in this Double Number. What, then, must be the feelings of the people, when time and circumstances shall have enabled them to read and well reflect on that *Defence* and the Affidavits in support of it?

Another thing worthy of remark, is, that those news-papers, which, upon the appearance of Her Royal Highness's Letter to the Prince, and upon that of the far-better letter which she addressed to the Speaker of the House of Commons; those news-papers, which called her a misguided woman, an unfortunate woman, a rash woman, who taunted her with the evidence of Cole, Bidgood, and Fanny Lloyd, and who menaced her with a new Inquiry; those same news-papers, perceiving the universal cry excited by their baseness, accompanied with a disclosure of all the dark machinations of her vindictive enemies, have, all of a sudden, turned round, and, while they have become her panygerists, have fallen, in the most violent manner, upon Sir John and Lady Douglas; just as if the conduct of these persons were not now what it always had been known to be! You will be shocked to hear of such a perversion of that noble instrument, the Press; but, my friend, you must be here, and be acquainted with the means made use of to move that instrument; you must see the working of the secret wheels, before you can have a sufficient horror of the cause of so apparently unaccountable an effect.

For my own part, I confess, that, without any motive whatever to bias my judgment, I, for a long while, for several years, thought the Princess guilty to some considerable extent. The very existence of a commission to inquire into her conduct was sufficient to produce that impression in my mind; and this, added to the tales and anecdotes which were circulated with an industry and in a way, of which you, who live in a happy ignorance of the crafty intrigues of this scene, cannot form the most distant idea, had left me in little

doubt, that, though acquitted upon all capital points, she was still an immoral woman; an opinion, too, which I will fairly avow, was neither removed nor shaken by her public reception at court and her restoration to apartments in one of the Royal Palaces; acts which, without being over-suspicious, I might, and indeed, I did, ascribe to mere prudence, which must have dictated to the whole of the Royal Family to use all the means in their power to cause a veil to be drawn for ever over the whole transaction. I was, moreover, influenced in the forming of this opinion by the total silence of the Princess herself; for, one must have actual experience of forbearance and magnanimity like hers, before one can possibly believe in their existence. If I viewed the matter in this light, how must others, with less opportunity of getting at the truth, have viewed it? Certainly in a light less advantageous to the Princess, who, it appears to me, must have had very faithless advisers; or, she could not, for so long a time, have remained silent.

The fact which first led me to suppose, that I had formed a wrong opinion upon this point, I was informed of about eighteen months ago. It was this; that a certain Noble Earl, well known to be much attached to the Prince, had expended, through the hands of a gentleman, some hundreds of pounds in purchasing up a stray copy of THE BOOK. What could this be for? What could be the motive? From that time I began to think, that the Princess was not so very guilty; and, when, soon afterwards, Mr. Perceval, who was well known to have been the author of the Book; when he, who was now become the prime Minister of the Prince, and who had been chosen to that office to the exclusion of the Prince's old friends; when, in open parliament, he explicitly declared, the Princess to be perfectly innocent of all the charges that had been preferred against her, I could no longer doubt of her perfect innocence; and, from that hour, as the pages of my Register will show, I did all in my little power to inculcate the same opinion on my readers.

When the Prince was addressed by the City of London upon his being constituted Regent, I thought that the Princess ought to have been addressed too. I think so still; and, if she had, at that time, been placed in a situation to hold a court, THE BOOK would still, in all human probability, have slept in quiet. The want of wisdom in the advisers of the Prince and the sense and courage of the Princess have combined to order it otherwise; and, I should be a very great hypocrite if I were now to affect to be sorry for it. The disclosure will do great good in many ways, while to the nation at large, and especially to the calumniated Princess, it is impossible that it should do any harm. With this remark I leave you to the perusal of the Princess's defence, well satisfied, that you will need nothing more to enable you to form a correct judgment upon every part of this memorable transaction.

I remain your faithful friend,

Batley, 26 Mar. 1813,

WM. COBBETT.

THE BOOK.

(Continued from page 416.)

such persons as they think fit: and to report to your Majesty the result of their Examination. By referring to the written Declarations, it appears that they contain allegations against me, amounting to the charge of High Treason, and also other matters, which, if understood to be as they seem to have been acted and reported upon, by the Commissioners, not as evidence confirmatory (as they are expressed to be in their title) of the principal charge, but as distinct and substantive subjects of examination, cannot, as I am advised, be represented as in law, amounting to crimes. How most of the Declarations referred to were collected, by whom, at whose solicitation, under what sanction, and before what persons, magistrates, or others, they were made, does not appear. By the title, indeed, which all the written Declarations, except Sir John and Lady Douglas's bear, viz. "That they had been taken for the purpose of confirming Lady Douglas's Statement," it may be collected that they had been made by her, or, at least, by Sir John Douglas's procurement. And the concluding passage of one of them, I mean the fourth declaration of W. Cole, strengthens this opinion, as it represents Sir John Douglas, accompanied by his Solicitor Mr. Lowten, to have gone down as far as Cheltenham for the examination of two of the witnesses, whose declarations are there stated. I am, however, at a loss to know, at this moment, whom I am to consider, or whom I could legally fix, as my false accuser. From the circumstance last mentioned, it might be inferred, that Sir John and Lady Douglas, or one of them, is that accuser. But Lady Douglas, in her written Declaration, so far from representing the information which she then gives, as moving voluntarily from herself, expressly states that she gives it under the direct command of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, and the papers leave me without information, from whom any communication to the Prince originated, which induced him to give such commands. Upon the question, how far the advice is agreeable to law, under which it was recommended to your Majesty to issue this Warrant or Commission, not countersigned, nor under Seal, and without any of your Majesty's advisers, therefore, being, on the face of it, responsible for its issuing, I am not competent to determine. And undoubtedly, considering that the two high legal authorities, the Lord Chancellor, and the Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, consented to act under it, it is with the greatest doubt and diffidence that I can bring myself to express any suspicion of its illegality. But if it be, as I am given to understand it is, open to question, whether, consistently with law, your Majesty should have been advised to command, by this warrant or commission, persons (not to act in any known character, as Secretaries of State, as Privy Counsellors, as Magistrates otherwise empowered, but to act as Commissioners, and under the sole authority of such warrant) to inquire, (without any authority to hear and determine any thing upon the subject of those inquiries) into the known crime of high treason, under the sanction of oath, to be administered by them as such Commissioners, and to report the result thereof to your Majesty. If, I say, there

can be any question upon the legality of such a Warrant or Commission, the extreme hardship with which it has operated upon me, the extreme prejudice which it has done to my character, and to which such a proceeding must ever expose the person who is the object of it, obliges me, till I am fully convinced of its legality, to forbear from acknowledging its authority; and, with all humility and deference to your Majesty, to protest against it, and against all the proceedings under it. If this, indeed, were matter of mere form, I should be ashamed to urge it. But the actual hardships and prejudice which I have suffered by this proceeding are most obvious; for, upon the principal charge against me, the Commissioners have most satisfactorily, and "without the least hesitation," for such is their expression, reported their opinion of its falsehood. Sir John and Lady Douglas, therefore, who have sworn to its truth, have been guilty of the plainest falsehood; yet upon the supposition of the illegality of this Commission their falsehood must, as I am informed, go unpunished. Upon that supposition, the want of legal authority in the Commissioners to inquire and to administer an oath, will render it impossible to give to this falsehood the character of perjury. But this is by no means the circumstance which I feel the most severely. Beyond the vindicating of my own character, and the consideration of providing for my future security, I can assure your Majesty, that the punishment of Sir John and Lady Douglas would afford me no satisfaction. It is not, therefore, with regard to that part of the charge which is negatived, but with respect to those which are sanctioned by the Report, those, which, not aiming at my life, exhaust themselves upon my character, and which the Commissioners have, in some measure, sanctioned by their Report, that I have the greatest reason to complain. Had the Report sanctioned the principal charge, constituting a known legal crime, my innocence would have emboldened me, at all risks (and to more no person has ever been exposed from the malice and falsehood of accusers) to have demanded that trial, which could legally determine upon the truth or falsehood of such charge. Though I should even then, indeed, have had some cause to complain, because I should have gone to that trial under the prejudice necessarily raised against me by that Report; yet, in a proceeding before the just, open, and known tribunals of your Majesty's kingdom, I should have had a safe appeal from the result of an *ex parte* investigation; an investigation which has exposed me to all the hardships of a secret inquiry, without giving me the benefit of secrecy, and to all the severe consequences of a public investigation, in point of injury to my character, without affording me any of its substantial benefits in point of security. But the charges which the Commissioners do sanction by their Report, describing them with a mysterious obscurity and indefinite generality, constitute, as I am told, no legal crime. They are described as "instances of great impropriety and indecency of behaviour," which must "occasion the most unfavourable interpretations," and they are reported to your Majesty, and they are stated to be, "circumstances which must be credited," till they are decisively contradicted. From this opinion, this judgment of the Commissioners bearing so hard upon my character (and that a female character, how delicate, and how easily to be affected by the breath of calumny, your

Majesty well knows), I can have no appeal; for, as the charges constitute no legal crimes, they cannot be the subjects of any legal trial, I can call for no trial. I can, therefore, have no appeal; I can look for no acquittal. Yet this opinion, or this judgment, from which I can have no appeal, has been pronounced against me upon mere *ex parte* investigation. —This hardship, Sir, I am told to ascribe to the nature of the proceeding under this Warrant or Commission; for had the inquiry been entered into before your Majesty's Privy Council, or before any magistrates, authorised by law as such, to inquire into the existence of treason, the known course of proceeding before that Council, or such magistrates, the known extent of their jurisdiction over crimes, and not over the proprieties of behaviour, would have preserved me from the possibility of having matters made the subjects of inquiry, which had in law no substantive criminal character, and from the extreme hardship of having my reputation injured by calumny altogether unfounded, but rendered at once more safe to my enemies, and more injurious to me, by being uttered in the course of a proceeding assuming the grave semblance of legal form. And it is by the nature of this proceeding (which could alone have countenanced or admitted of this licentious latitude of inquiry into the proprieties of behaviour in private life, with which no court, no magistrate, no public law has any authority to interfere), that I have been deprived of the benefit of that entire and unqualified acquittal and discharge from this accusation, to which the utter and proved falsehood of the accusation itself so justly entitled me. —I trust, therefore, that your Majesty will see, that if this proceeding is not one to which, by the known laws of your Majesty's kingdom, I ought to be subject, that it is no cold formal objection which leads me to protest against it. —I am ready to acknowledge, Sir, from the consequences which might arise to the public from such misconduct as have been falsely imputed to me, that my honour and virtue are of more importance to the State than those of other women. That my conduct, therefore, may be fitly subjected, when necessary, to a severer scrutiny. But it cannot follow, because my character is of more importance, that it may, therefore, be attacked with more impunity. And as I know, that this mischief has been pending over my head for more than two years, that private examinations of my neighbours' servants, and of my own, have, at times, during that interval, been taken, for the purpose of establishing charges against me, not, indeed, by the instrumentality of Sir John and Lady Douglas alone, but by the sanction, and in the presence of the Earl of Moira (as your Majesty will perceive by the deposition of Jonathan Partridge, which I submit); and as I know also, and make appear to your Majesty likewise by the same means, that declarations of persons of unquestionable credit respecting my conduct, attesting my innocence, and directly falsifying a most important circumstance respecting my supposed pregnancy, mentioned in the declarations, on which the Inquiry was instituted; as I know, I say, that these declarations, so favourable to me, appear, to my infinite prejudice, not to have been communicated to your Majesty when that Inquiry was commenced; and as I know not how soon nor how often proceedings against me may be meditated by my enemies, I take leave to express my humble trust, that, before any

other proceedings may be had against me (desirable as it may have been thought that the Inquiry should have been of the nature which has, in this instance, obtained), your Majesty would be graciously pleased to require to be advised, whether my guilt, if I were guilty, could not be as effectually discovered and punished, and my honour and innocence, if innocent, be more effectually secured and established by other more known and regular modes of proceeding. —Having, therefore, Sir, upon these grave reasons, ventured to submit, I trust without offence, these considerations upon the nature of the Commission and the proceedings under it, I will now proceed to observe upon the Report and the examinations; and, with your Majesty's permission, I will go through the whole matter, in that course which has been observed by the Report itself, and which an examination of the important matters that it contains, in the order in which it states them, will naturally suggest. —The Report, after referring to the Commission or Warrant under which their Lordships were acting, after stating that they had proceeded to examine the several witnesses, whose depositions they annexed to their report, proceeds to state the effect of the written declarations, which the Commissioners considered as the essential foundation of the whole proceeding. "That they were statements which had been laid before His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, respecting the conduct of Her Royal Highness the Princess; that these statements not only imputed to Her Royal Highness great impropriety and indecency of behaviour, but expressly asserted, partly on the ground of certain alleged declarations from the Princess's own mouth, and partly on the personal observation of the informants, the following most important facts, viz. that Her Royal Highness had been pregnant in the year 1809, in consequence of an illicit intercourse, and that she had in the same year been secretly delivered of a male child, which child had ever since that period been brought up by Her Royal Highness in her own house, and under her immediate inspection. These allegations thus made, had, as the Commissioners found, been followed by declarations from other persons, who had not, indeed, spoken to the important facts of the pregnancy or delivery of her Royal Highness, but had related other particulars, in themselves extremely suspicious, and still more so, when connected with the assertions already mentioned. The Report then states, that, in the painful situation in which His Royal Highness was placed by these declarations, they learnt that he had adopted the only course which could, in their judgment, with propriety be followed, when informations such as these had been thus confidently alleged and particularly detailed, and had in some degree been supported by collateral evidence, applying to other points of the same nature (though going to a far less extent), one line could only be pursued." —"Every sentiment of duty to your Majesty, and of concern for the public welfare, required that these particulars should not be withheld from your Majesty, to whom more particularly belonged the cognizance of a matter of state, so nearly touching the honour of your Majesty's Royal Family, and by possibility affecting the succession to your Majesty's crown." —The Commissioners, therefore, your Majesty observes, going, they must permit me to say, a little out of their way, begin their Report by expressing a clear and decided opinion, that

His Royal Highness was properly advised (for your Majesty will undoubtedly conclude, that, upon a subject of this importance, His Royal Highness could not but have acted by the advice of others), in referring this complaint to your Majesty, for the purpose of its undergoing the investigation which has followed. And unquestionably, if the charge referred to in this Report, as made by Sir John and Lady Douglas, had been presented under circumstances in which any reasonable degree of credit could be given to them, or even if they had not been presented in such a manner as to impeach the credit of the informers, and to bear internal evidence of their own incredibility, I should be the last person who would be disposed to dispute the wisdom of the advice which led to make them the subject of the gravest and most anxious inquiry. And your Majesty, acting upon a mere abstract of the declarations, which was all that, by the recital of the warrant, appears to have been laid before your Majesty, undoubtedly could not but direct an inquiry concerning my conduct. For though I have not been furnished with that abstract, yet I must presume that it described the criminatory contents of these declarations, much in the same manner as they are stated in the Report. And the criminatory parts of these declarations, if viewed without reference to those traces of malice and resentment with which the declarations of Sir John and Lady Douglas abound; if abstracted from all these circumstances, which shew the extreme improbability of the story, the length of time which my accuser had kept my alleged guilt concealed, the contradictions observable in the declarations of the other witnesses, all which, I submit to your Majesty, are to an extent to cast the greatest discredit upon the truth of these declarations;—abstracted, I say, from these circumstances, the criminatory parts of them were unquestionably such as to have placed your Majesty under the necessity of directing some inquiry concerning them. But that those, who had the opportunity of reading the long and malevolent narration of Sir John and Lady Douglas, should not have hesitated before they gave any credit to it, is matter of the greatest astonishment to me.—The improbability of the story would of itself, I should have imagined (unless they believed me to be as insane as Lady Douglas imputes), have been sufficient to have staggered the belief of any unprejudiced mind: for, to believe that story, they were to begin with believing, that a person guilty of so foul a crime; so highly penal, so fatal to her honour, her station, and her life, should gratuitously and unselfishly have confessed it. Such a person, under the necessity of concealing her pregnancy, might have been indispensably obliged to confide her secret with those, to whom she was to look for assistance in concealing its consequences. But Lady Douglas, by her own account, was informed by me of this fact, for no purpose whatever. She makes me, as those who read her declarations cannot fail to have observed, state to her, that she should, on no account, be intrusted with any part of the management by which the birth was to be concealed. They were to believe also, that, anxious as I must have been to have concealed the birth of any such child, I had determined to bring it up in my own house; and what would exceed, as I should imagine, the extent of all human credulity, that I had determined to suckle it myself: that I had laid my plan, if discovered, to have imposed it

upon His Royal Highness as his child. Nay, they were to believe, that I had stated, and that Lady Douglas had believed the statement to be true, that I had in fact attempted to suckle it, and only gave up that part of my plan, because it made me nervous, and was too much for my health. And, after all this, they were then to believe, that having made Lady Douglas, thus unnecessarily, the confidant, of this most important and dangerous secret; having thus put my character and my life in her hands, I sought an occasion, wantonly, and without provocation, from the mere fickleness and wilfulness of my own mind, to quarrel with her, to insult her openly and violently in my own house, to endeavour to ruin her reputation; to expose her in infamous and indecent drawings enclosed in letters to her husband. The letters, indeed, are represented to have been anonymous, but, though anonymous, they are stated to have been written with my own hand, so undisguised in penmanship and style, that every one who had the least acquaintance with either, could not fail to discover them, and (as if it were through fear, lest it should not be sufficiently plain from whom they came) that I had sealed them with a seal, which I had shortly before used on an occasion of writing to her husband. All this they were to believe upon the declaration of a person, who, with all that loyalty and attachment which she expresses to your Majesty and His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, with all her obligation to the whole Royal Family (to whom she expresses herself to be bound by ties of respectful regard and attachment, which nothing can ever break), with all her dread of the mischievous consequences to the country which might arise from the disputed succession to the crown, on the pretensions of an illegitimate child of mine, nevertheless continued, after this supposed avowal of my infamy and my crime, after my supposed acknowledgment of the birth of this child, which was to occasion all this mischief, to preserve, for near a twelvemonth, her intimacy and apparent friendship with me. Nay, for two years more, after that intimacy had ceased, after that friendship had been broken off, by my alleged misbehaviour to her, continued still faithful to my secret, and never disclosed it till (as her declaration states it) “The Princess of Wales recommenced a fresh torrent of outrage against Sir John; and Sir John discovered that she was attempting to undermine his and Lady Douglas’s character.”

Those, then, who had the opportunity of seeing the whole of this Narrative, having had their jealousy awakened by these circumstances to the improbability of the story, and to the discredit of the informer, when they came to observe, how maliciously every circumstance that imagination could suggest, as most calculated to make a woman contemptible and odious, was scraped and heaped up together in this Narrative, must surely have had their eyes opened to the motives of my accusers, and their minds cautioned against giving too easy a credit to their accusation, when they found my conversation to be represented as most loose, and infamous, my mind uninstructed and unwilling to learn; my language, with regard to your Majesty and the whole of your Royal Family, foully disrespectful and offensive; and all my manners and habits of life most disgusting, I should have flattered myself, that I could not have been, in character, so wholly unknown to them, but that they must have observed a spirit, and a

colouring at least in this representation, which must have proved much more against the disposition and character of the informers, and the quality of their information, than against the person who was the object of their charge. But when, in addition to all this, the Declaration states, that I had, with respect to my unfortunate and calamitous separation from His Royal Highness, stated that I had acknowledged myself to have been the aggressor, from the beginning, and myself alone; and when it further states, that if any other woman had so played and sported with her husband's comfort and popularity, she would have been turned out of his house, or left alone in it, and have deservedly forfeited her place in society; and further still, when, alleging that I had once been desirous of procuring a separation from His Royal Highness, and had pressed former Chancellors to accomplish this purpose, it flippantly adds, that "The Chancellor may now perhaps be able to grant her request." The malicious object of the whole must surely have been most obvious. For supposing these facts to have been all true; supposing this infamous and libellous description of my character had been nothing but a correct and faithful representation of my vices and my iniquity, would it not have been natural to have asked why they were introduced into this Declaration? What effect could they have had upon the charge of crime, and of adultery, which it was intended to establish? If it was only, in execution of a painful duty, which a sense of loyalty to your Majesty, and obedience to the commands of the Prince of Wales at length reluctantly drew from them, why all this malicious accompaniment? "His Royal Highness" indeed, they say, "desired that they would communicate the whole circumstances of their acquaintance with me, from the day they first spoke with me till the present time; a full detail of all that passed during our acquaintance;" and "how they became known to me, it appearing to His Royal Highness, from the representation of his Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex, that His Majesty's dearest interests, and those of this country, were very deeply interested in the question," and "that he particularly commanded them to be very circumstantial in their detail respecting all they might know relative to the child that I affected to adopt."—But from the whole of this it is sufficiently apparent, that the particularity of this detail was required, by His Royal Highness, in respect of matters connected with that question, in which the dearest interests of your Majesty and this country were involved; and not of circumstances which could have no bearing on those interests. If it had been therefore true, as I most solemnly protest it is not, that I had in the confidence of private conversation, so far forgot all sense of decency, loyalty, and gratitude, as to have expressed myself with that disrespect of your Majesty which is imputed to me;—if I had been what I trust those who have lived with me, or ever have partaken of my society, would not confirm, of a mind so uninformed and uncultivated, without education or talents, or without any desire of improving myself, incapable of employment, of a temper so furious and violent, as altogether to form a character, which no one could bear to live with, who had the means of living elsewhere;—What possible progress would all this make towards proving that I was guilty of adultery? These, and such like insinuations, as

false as they are malicious, could never have proved crime in me, however manifestly they might display the malice of my accusers.—Must it not, then, have occurred to any one, who had seen the whole of this Narrative, if the motive of my accusers was, as they represent it, merely that of good patriots, of attached and loyal subjects, bound, in execution of a painful duty, imposed upon them by His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, to disclose, in detail, all the facts which could establish my guilt, that these circumstances never would have made a part of their detail? But on the other hand, if their object was to traduce me;—if, falsely attributing to His Royal Highness, sentiments which could belong to no generous bosom, but measuring his nature by their own, they thought, vainly and wickedly, to ingratiate themselves with him, by being the instruments of accomplishing my ruin;—if aiming at depriving me of my rank and station, or of driving me from this country, they determined to bring forward a charge of treason against me, which, though they knew in their consciences it was false, yet they might hope would serve at least as a cover, and a pretence, for such an imputation upon my character, as, rendering my life intolerable in this country, might drive me to seek a refuge in another; if, the better to effectuate this purpose, they had represented all my misfortunes as my faults, and my faults alone, drawn an odious and disgusting picture of me, to extinguish every sentiment of pity and compassion, which, in the generosity, not only of your Majesty's royal bosom, and of the members of your Royal Family, but of all the inhabitants of your kingdom, might arise to commiserate the unfortunate situation of a stranger, persecuted under a charge originating in their malice;—if, for this, they flung out, that I had justly forfeited my station in society, and that a separation from my husband was, what I myself had once wished, and what the Chancellor might now perhaps procure for me;—or, if, in short, their object was to obtain my condemnation by prejudice, inflamed by falsehood, which never could be obtained by justice informed by truth, then the whole texture of the declaration is consistent, and it is well contrived and executed for its purpose. But it is strange, that its purpose should have escaped the detection of intelligent and impartial minds. There was enough at least to have made them pause before they gave such a degree of credit to informations of this description, as to have made them the foundations of so important and decisive a step, as that of advising them to be laid before your Majesty.—And, indeed, such seems to have been the effect which this declaration at first produced. Because if it had been believed, the only thing to have been done (according to the judgment of the Commissioners,) would have been to have laid it immediately before your Majesty, to whom, upon every principle of duty, the communication was due. But the declaration was made on the 2d of December, in the last year, and the communication was not made to your Majesty till the very end of May. And that interval appears to have been employed in collecting those other additional declarations, which are referred to in the Report, and which your Majesty has likewise been pleased, by your gracious commands, to have communicated to me.—These additional declarations do not, I submit, appear to furnish much additional reason for believing the

incredible story. They were taken indeed "for the purpose," (for they are so described, this is the title which is prefixed to them in the authentic copies, with which I have been furnished,) "for the purpose of confirming the statement made by Lady Douglas of the circumstances mentioned in her narrative," and they are the examinations of two persons, who appear to have formerly lived in the family of Sir John and Lady Douglas, and of several servants of my own; they are filled with the hearsay details of other servants' declarations. And one of them, W. Cole, seems to have been examined over and over again. No less than four of his examinations are given, and some of these evidently refer to other examinations of his, which are not given at all.

These, I submit to your Majesty, are rendered from this marked circumstance, particularly undeserving of credit; because, in the only instance in which the hearsay statement, related to one servant, was followed by the examination of the other, who was stated to have made it, (I mean an instance in which Cole relates what he had heard said by F. Lloyd) F. Lloyd does not appear to have said any such thing, or even to have heard what she is by him related to have said, and she relates the fact that she really did hear, stripped of all the particulars with which Cole had coloured it, and which alone made it in any degree deserving to be mentioned. Besides this, the parents of the child which is ascribed to me by Lady Douglas, are plainly pointed out, and a clue is afforded, by which if followed, it would have been as easy to have ascertained, that that child was no child of mine, (if indeed it ever had been seriously believed to be so) and to have proved whose child it was, before the appointment of the Commissioners, as it had been found to be afterwards.—So far, therefore, from concurring with the Commissioners in approving the advice, under which His Royal Highness had acted, I conceive it to have been at least cruel and inconsiderate, to have advised the transmission of such a charge to your Majesty, till they had exhausted all the means which private inquiry could have afforded, to ascertain its falsehood or its truth.—And when it appears that it was not thought necessary, upon the first statement of it, as the Commissioners seem to have imagined, forthwith to transmit to your Majesty; but it was retained for near six months, from the beginning of December till near the end of May; what is due to myself obliges me to state, that if there had but been in that interval, half the industry employed to remove suspicions, which was exerted to raise them, there would never have existed a necessity for troubling your Majesty with this charge at all. I beg to be understood as importing this solely to the advice given to His Royal Highness. He must, of necessity, have left the detail and the determination upon this business to others. And it is evident to me, from what I now know, that His Royal Highness was not fairly dealt with; that material information was obtained to disprove part of the case against me, which, not appearing in the declarations that were transmitted to your Majesty, I conclude was never communicated to His Royal Highness.—Feeling, Sir, strongly, that I have much to complain of, that this foul charge should have been so readily credited to my great prejudice, as to have occasioned that advice to be given which recommended the

transmission of it to your Majesty, (who, once formally in possession of it, could not fail to subject it to some inquiry.) I have dwelt, perhaps, at a tedious length, in disputing the propriety of the Commissioners' judgment, in thus approving the course which was pursued: And, looking to the event, and all the circumstances connected with it, perhaps I have reason to rejoice that the Inquiry has taken place. For if three years' concealment of my supposed crime could not impeach the credit of my accusers, three times that period might perhaps be thought to have left that credit still unimpaired. And, had the false charge been delayed till death had taken away the real parents of the child, which Lady Douglas charges to be mine; if time had deprived me of those servants and attendants who have been able so fully to disprove the fact of my alleged pregnancy, I know not where I could have found the means of disproving facts and charges, so falsely, so confidently, and positively sworn to, as those to which Lady Douglas has attested.—Following, as I proposed, the course taken in the Report, I next come to that part of it, to which unquestionably I must recur with the greatest satisfaction; because it is that part, which so completely absolves me of every possible suspicion, upon the two material charges, of pregnancy and child-birth.—The Commissioners state in their Report, that they began by examining "on oath the two principal informants, Sir John and Lady Douglas, who both positively swore, the former to his having observed the fact of pregnancy, and the latter to all the important particulars contained in her former declaration, and above referred to, "Their examinations are annexed to the Report, and are circumstantial and positive." The most material of "the allegations into the truth of which they had been directed to inquire, being thus far supported by the oath of the parties from whom they had proceeded," they state, "that they felt it their duty to follow up the Inquiry by the examination of such other persons, as they judged best able to afford them information, as to the facts in question." "We thought," they say, "beyond all doubt, that in this course of Inquiry many particulars must be learnt which would be necessarily conclusions on the truth or falsehood of these declarations. So many persons must have been witnesses to the appearances of an actual existing pregnancy, so many circumstances must have been attendant upon a real delivery, and difficulties so numerous and insurmountable must have been involved in any attempt to account for the infant in question, as the child of another woman, if it had been in fact the child of the Princess; that we entertained a full and confident expectation of arriving at complete proof, either in the affirmative, or negative, on this part of the subject. "This expectation," they proceeded to state, "was not disappointed. We are happy to declare to your Majesty, our perfect conviction that there is no foundation whatever for believing that the child now with the Princess is the child of Her Royal Highness, or that she was delivered of any child in the year 1802; nor has any thing appeared to us which would warrant the belief that she was pregnant in that year, or at any other period within the compass of our inquiries." They then proceed to refer to the circumstantial ev-

dance, by which they state that it was proved that the child was, beyond all doubt, born in Brownlow-street Hospital, on 11th July, 1802, of the body of Sophia Austin, and brought to my house in the month of November following. "Neither should we," they add, "be more warranted in expressing any doubt respecting the alleged pregnancy of the Princess, as stated in the original declarations; a fact so fully contradicted, and by so many witnesses, to whom, if true, it must, in various ways, have been known, that we cannot think it entitled to the smallest credit." Then, after stating that they have annexed the depositions from which they have collected these opinions, they add—"We humbly offer to your Majesty our clear and unanimous judgment upon them, formed on full deliberation, and pronounced without hesitation, on the result of the whole Inquiry."—These two most important facts, therefore, which are charged against me, being so fully, and satisfactorily, disposed of, by the unanimous and clear judgment of the Commissioners; being so fully and completely disproved by the evidence which the Commissioners collected, I might, perhaps, in your Majesty's judgment, appear well justified, in passing them by without any observation of mine.—But though the observations which I shall make shall be very few, yet I cannot forbear just dwelling upon this part of the case, for a few minutes; because, if I do not much deceive myself, upon every principle which can govern the human mind, in the investigation of the truth of any charge, the fate of this part of the accusation must have decisive weight upon the determination of the remainder. I therefore must beg to remark, that Sir John Douglas swears to my having appeared, some time after our acquaintance had commenced, to be with child, and that one day I leaned on the sofa, and put my hand upon my stomach, and said, "Sir John, I shall never be Queen of England;" and he said, "not if you don't deserve," and I seemed angry at first.

This conversation, I apprehend, if it has the least relation to the subject on which Sir John was examined, must be given for the purpose of insinuating that I made an allusion to my pregnancy, so if there was a sort of understanding between him and me upon the subject, and that he made me angry, by an expression which implied that what I alluded to would forfeit my right to be Queen of England.—If this is not the meaning which Sir John intends to be annexed to this conversation, I am perfectly at a loss to conceive what he can intend to convey.—Whether at any time, when I may have felt myself unwell I may have used the expression which he here imputes to me, my memory will not enable me, with the least degree of certainty to state. The words themselves seem to me to be perfectly innocent; and the action of laying my hand upon my breast, if occasioned by any sense of internal pain at the moment, neither unnatural, nor, as it appears to me in any way censurable. But that I could have used these words, intending to convey to Sir John Douglas the meaning which I suppose him to insinuate, surpasses all human credulity to believe. I could not, however, forbear to notice this passage in Sir John's examination, because it must serve to demonstrate to your Majesty how words, in themselves most innocent, are endeavoured to be tortured, by being brought into the context with his opi-

tion of my pregnancy, to convey a meaning most contrary to that which I could by possibility have intended to convey, but which it was necessary that he should impute to me, to give the better colour to this false accusation.—As to Sir John Douglas, however, when he swears to the appearances of my pregnancy, he possibly might be only mistaken. Not that mistake will excuse or diminish the guilt of so scandalous a falsehood upon oath. But for Lady Douglas there cannot be even such an excuse. Independent of all those extravagant confessions which she falsely represents me to have made, she states, upon her own observation and knowledge, that I was pregnant in the year 1802. Now, in the habits of intercourse and intimacy, with which I certainly did live with her, at that time, she could not be mistaken as to that fact. It is impossible, therefore, that in swearing positively to that fact, which is so positively disproved, she can fail to appear to your Majesty to be wilfully and deliberately sworn.

—As to the conversations which she asserts to have passed between us, I am well aware, that those, who prefer her word to mine, will not be satisfied to disbelieve her upon my bare denial; nor, perhaps, upon the improbability and extravagance of the supposed conversations themselves. But as to the facts of pregnancy and delivery, which are proved to be false, in the words of the report, "by so many witnesses, to whom, if true, they must in various ways have been known," no person living can doubt that the crime of adultery and treason, as proved by these facts, has been attempted to be fixed upon me, by the deliberate and wilful falsehood of this my most forward accuser. And when it is once established, as it is, that my pregnancy and delivery are all Sir John and Lady Douglas's invention, I should imagine that my confessions of a pregnancy which never existed; my confession of a delivery which never took place; my confession of having suckled a child which I never bore, will hardly be believed upon the credit of her testimony. The credit of Lady Douglas, therefore, being thus destroyed, I trust your Majesty will think that I ought to scorn to answer to any thing which her examination may contain, except so far as there may appear to be any additional and concurrent evidence to support it.—This brings me to the remaining part of the Report, which I read, I do assure your Majesty, with a degree of astonishment and surprise, that I know not how to express. How the Commissioners could, upon such evidence, from such witnesses, upon such an information, and in such an *ex parte* proceeding, before I had had the possibility of being heard, not only suffer themselves to form such an opinion, but to report it to your Majesty with all the weight and authority of their great names, I am perfectly at a loss to conceive. Their great official and judicial occupations, no doubt, prevented that full attention to the subject which it required. But I am not surely without just grounds of complaint, if they proceeded to pronounce an opinion upon my character, without all that consideration and attention which the importance of it to the peace of your Majesty's mind, to the honour of your Royal Family, and the reputation of the Princess of Wales, seem indispensably to have demanded.—In the part of the Report already referred to, the particulars of the charge, exclusive of these two important facts, which have been so satisfactorily

disposed of, are, as I have already observed, variously described by the Commissioners; as, "matters of great impropriety and indecency of behaviour," as "other particulars in themselves extremely suspicious, and still more so, when connected with the assertions already mentioned;" and as "points of the same nature, though going to a much less extent." But they do not become the subject of particular attention in the Report, till after the Commissioners had concluded that part of it, in which they give so decisive an opinion against the truth of the charge upon the two material facts. They then proceed to state—"That they cannot close their report there," much as they could wish it; that besides the allegations of the pregnancy and delivery of the Princess, those declarations on the whole of which your Majesty had required their Inquiry and Report, contain other particulars respecting the conduct of Her Royal Highness, such as must, especially considering her exalted rank and station, necessarily give occasion to very unfavourable interpretations. That from various depositions and proofs annexed to their Report, particularly from the examination of Robert Bidgood, W. Cole, F. Lloyd, and Mrs. Lisle, several strong circumstances of this description, have been positively sworn to by witnesses, who cannot, in the judgment of the Commissioners, be suspected of any unfavourable bias, and whose veracity in THIS RESPECT, they had seen no ground to question." They then state that "on the precise bearing and effect of the facts thus appearing, it is not for them to decide, these they submit to your Majesty's wisdom. But they conceive it to be their duty to report on this part of the Inquiry, as distinctly as on the former facts; that as, on the one hand, the facts of pregnancy and delivery are, in their minds satisfactorily disproved, so on the other hand they think, that the circumstances to which they now refer, particularly those stated to have passed between Her Royal Highness and Captain Manby, must be credited until they shall receive some decisive contradiction, and if true, are justly entitled to the most serious consideration."—Your Majesty will not fail to observe, that the Commissioners have entered into the examination of this part of the case, and have reported upon it, not merely as evidence in confirmation of the charges of pregnancy and delivery which they have completely negatived and disposed of, but as containing substantive matters of charge in itself.—That they consider it indeed as relating to points "of the same nature, but going to a much less extent," not therefore as constituting actual crime, but as amounting to "improprieties and indecencies of behaviour, aggravated by the exalted rank which I hold," as "occasioning unfavourable interpretations," and as "entitled to the most serious consideration." And when they also state that it is not for them to decide on their precise bearing and effect, I think I am justified in concluding that they could not class them under any known head of crime; as, in that case, upon their bearing and effect they would have been fully competent to have pronounced.—I have, to a degree, already stated to your Majesty, the unprecedented hardship to which I conceive myself to have been exposed, by this *ex parte* Inquiry into the decorum of my private conduct. I have already stated the prejudices done to my character, by this recorded censure, from which I can have no appeal; and I press these considerations

no further upon your Majesty at present, than to point out, in passing this part of the Report, the just foundations which it affords me for making the complaint.—Your Majesty will also, I am persuaded, not fail to remark the strange obscurity and reserve, the mysterious darkness, with which the Report here expresses itself; and every one must feel how this aggravates the severity and cruelty of the censure, by rendering it impossible distinctly and specifically to meet it. The Commissioners state indeed that some things are proved against me, which must be credited till they shall receive a decisive contradiction, but what those things are they do not state. They are "particulars and circumstances which, especially considering my exalted rank, must give occasion to the most unfavourable interpretations. They are several strong circumstances of this description," "they are, if true, justly deserving of most serious consideration," and they "must be credited till decidedly contradicted." But what are these circumstances? What are these deeds without a name? Was there ever a charge so framed? Was ever any one put to answer any charge, and decidedly to contradict it, or submit to have it credited against him, which was conceived in such terms without the means of ascertaining what these things are, except as conjecture may enable me to surmise, to what parts of the examinations of the four witnesses on whom they particularly rely, they attach the importance and the weight which seem to them to justify these dark and ambiguous censures on my conduct? But such as they are, and whatever they may be, they must, your Majesty is told, be credited unless they are decidedly contradicted.—Circumstances respecting Captain Manby, indeed are particularized; but referring to the depositions which apply to him, they contain much matter of opinion, of hearsay, of suspicion. Are these hearsays, are these opinions, are these suspicions and conjectures of these witnesses to be believed against me, unless decidedly contradicted? How can I decidedly contradict another person's opinion? I may reason against its justice, but how can I contradict it? Or how can I decidedly contradict any thing which is not precisely specified, nor distinctly known to me?—Your Majesty will also observe that the Report states that it is not for the Commissioners to decide upon the bearing and effect of these facts; these are left for your Majesty's decision. But they add, that if true, they are justly entitled to the most serious consideration. I cannot, Sir, but collect from these passages, an intimation that some further proceedings may be meditated. And perhaps, if I acted with perfect prudence, seeing how much reason I have to fear, from the fabrications of falsehood, I ought to have waited till I knew what course, civil or criminal, your Majesty might be advised to pursue before I offered any observations or answer. To this alternative however I am driven. I must either remain silent, and reserve my defence, leaving the imputation to operate most injuriously and fatally to my character; or I must, by entering into a defence against so extended a charge, expose myself with much greater hazard to any future attacks. But the fear of possible danger, to arise from the perverted interpretation of my answer, cannot induce me to acquiesce under the certain mischief of the unjust censure and judgment which stands against

me, as it were, recorded in this Report. I shall therefore, at whatever hazard, proceed to submit to your Majesty, in whose justice I have the most satisfactory reliance, my answer and my observations upon this part of the case.—And here, Sire, I cannot forbear again presuming to state to your Majesty, that it is not a little hard, that the Commissioners (who state in the beginning of their Report, that certain particulars, in themselves, extremely suspicious, were, in the judgment which they had formed upon them, before they entered into the particulars of the Inquiry, rendered still more suspicious from being connected with the assertion of pregnancy and delivery) should have made no observation upon the degree in which that suspicion must be proportionably abated, when those assertions of pregnancy and delivery, have been completely falsified and disproved; that they should make no remark upon the fact, that all the witnesses (with the exception of Mrs. Lisle), on whom they specifically rely, were every one of them, brought forward by the principal informers, for the purpose of supporting the false statement of Lady Douglas; that they are the witnesses therefore of persons, whom, after the complete falsification of their charge, I am justified in describing as conspirators who have been detected in supporting their conspiracy by their own perjury. And surely where a conspiracy, to fix a charge upon an individual, has been plainly detected, the witnesses of those who have been so detected in that conspiracy,—witnesses that are brought forward to support this false charge,—cannot stand otherwise than considerably affected in their credit, by their connexion with those who are detected in that conspiracy. But instead of pointing out this circumstance, as callings, at least for some degree of caution and reserve, in considering the testimony of these witnesses, the Report on the contrary, holds them up as worthy of particular credit, as witnesses, who, in the judgment of the Commissioners, cannot be suspected of unfavourable bias; whose veracity, in that respect, they have seen no ground to question; and who must be credited till they receive some decided contradiction.—Now, Sire, I feel the fullest confidence that I shall prove to your Majesty's most perfect satisfaction, that all of these witnesses (of course I still exclude Mrs. Lisle) are under the influence, and exhibit the symptoms of the most unfavourable bias;—that their veracity is in every respect to be doubted;—and that they cannot, by any candid and attentive mind, be deemed worthy of the least degree of credit; upon this charge, your Majesty will easily conceive, how great my surprise and astonishment must have been at this part of the Report. I am indeed a little at a loss to know, whether I understand the passage, which I have cited from the Report. “The witnesses in the judgment of the Commissioners, are not to be suspected of unfavourable bias, and their veracity in that respect they have seen no reason to question.” What is meant by their having seen no reason to suspect their veracity in that respect? Do they mean, what the qualification seems to imply, that they have seen reason to question it

in other respects? Is it meant to be insinuated that they saw reason to question their veracity, not in respect of an unfavourable bias, but of a bias in my favour? I cannot impute to them such an insinuation, because I am satisfied that the Commissioners would never have intended to insinuate any thing so directly contrary to the truth.—The witnesses specifically pointed out, as thus particularly deserving of credit, are W. Cole, R. Bidgood, F. Lloyd, and Mrs. Lisle. With respect to Mrs. Lisle, I trust your Majesty will permit me to make my observations upon her examination, as distinctly and separately, as I possibly can, from the others. Because, as I ever had, and have now, as much as ever, the most perfect respect for Mrs. Lisle, I would avoid the possibility of having it imagined that such observations, as I shall be under the absolute necessity of making, upon the other witnesses, could be intended, in any degree, to be applied to her.—With respect to Cole, Bidgood, and Lloyd, they have all lived in their places for a long time; they had lived with His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales before he married, and were appointed by him to situations about me; Cole and Lloyd immediately upon my marriage, and Bidgood very shortly afterwards. I know not whether from this circumstance they may consider themselves as not owing that undivided duty and regard to me, which servants of my own appointment might possibly have felt; but if I knew nothing more of them than that they had consented to be voluntarily examined, for the purpose of supporting the statement of Lady Douglas on a charge so deeply affecting my honour, without communicating to me the fact of such examination, your Majesty would not, I am sure, be surprised, to find, that I saw, in that circumstance alone, sufficient to raise some suspicions of an unfavourable bias. But when I find Cole, particularly, submitting to this secret and voluntary examination against me, no less than four times, and when I found, during the pendency of this Inquiry before the Commissioners, that one of them, R. Bidgood, was so far connected, and in league, with Sir John and Lady Douglas, as to have communication with the latter, I thought I saw the proof of such decided hostility and confederacy against me, that I felt obliged to order the discontinuance of his attendance at my house till further orders. Of the real bias of their minds, however, with respect to me, your Majesty will be better able to judge from the consideration of their evidence.—The imputations which I collect to be considered as cast upon me, by these several witnesses, are too great familiarity and intimacy with several gentlemen,—Sir Sidney Smith, Mr. Lawrence, Captain Manby, and I know not whether the same are not meant to be extended to Lord Hood, Mr. Chester, and Captain Moore.—With your Majesty's permission, therefore, I will examine the depositions of the witnesses, as they respect these several gentlemen, in their order, keeping the evidence, which is applicable to each case, as distinct from the others, as I can.—And I will begin with those which respect Sir Sidney Smith, as he is the person first mentioned in the deposition of W. Cole.

—W. Cole says, "that Sir Sidney Smith first visited at Montague House in 1803; that he observed that the Princess was too familiar with Sir Sidney Smith. One day, he thinks in February, he (Cole) carried into the Blue Room to the Princess some sandwiches which she had ordered, and was surprised to see that Sir Sidney was there. He must have come in from the Park. If he had been let in from Blackheath he must have passed through the room in which he (Cole) was waiting. When he had left the sandwiches, he returned, after some time, into the room, and Sir Sidney Smith was sitting very close to the Princess on the sofa; he (Cole) looked at Her Royal Highness, she caught his eye, and saw that he noticed the manner in which they were sitting together, they appeared both a little confused."—R. Bidgood says also, in his deposition on the 6th of June, (for he was examined twice) "that it was early in 1803 that he first observed Sir Sidney Smith come to Montague House. He used to stay very late at night; he had seen him early in the morning there; about ten or eleven o'clock. He was at Sir John Douglas's, and was in the habit as well as Sir John and Lady Douglas of dining or having luncheon, or supping there every day. He saw Sir Sidney Smith one day in 1802 in the Blue Room, about 11 o'clock in the morning, which was full two hours before they expected ever to see company. He asked the servants why they did not let him know that Sir Sidney Smith was there; the footmen told him that they had let no person in. There was a private door to the Park, by which he might have come in if he had a key to it, and have got into the Blue Room without any of the servants perceiving him. And in his second deposition taken on the 3d of July, he says he lived at Montague House when Sir Sidney came. Her (the Princess's) manner with him appeared very familiar; she appeared very attentive to him, but he did not suspect any thing further. Mrs. Lisle says that the Princess at one time appeared to like Sir John and Lady Douglas. "I have seen Sir Sidney Smith there very late in the evening, but not alone with the Princess. I have no reason to suspect he had a key of the Park gate; I never heard of any body being found wandering about at Blackheath."—Fanny Lloyd does not mention Sir Sidney Smith in her deposition.—Upon the whole of this evidence then, which is the whole that respects Sir Sidney Smith, in any of these depositions (except some particular passages in Cole's evidence which are so important as to require very particular and distinct statement) I would request your Majesty to understand that, with respect to the fact of Sir Sidney Smith's visiting frequently at Montague House, both with Sir John and Lady Douglas, and without them; with respect to his being frequently there, at luncheon, dinner, and supper; and staying with the rest of the company till twelve, one o'clock, or even sometimes later, if these are some of the facts "which must give occasion to unfavourable interpretations, and must be credited till they are contradicted," they are facts, which I never can contradict for they are perfectly true. And I trust it will imply the confession of no guilt, to admit that Sir Sidney Smith's conversation, his account of the various and extraordinary events, and heroic achievements in which he had been concerned, amused and interested me; and the circumstance of his living so much with his

friends, Sir John and Lady Douglas, in my neighbourhood on Blackheath, gave the opportunity of his increasing his acquaintance with me.—It happened also that about this time I fitted up, as your Majesty may have observed, one of the rooms in my house after the fashion of a Turkish tent. Sir Sidney furnished me with a pattern for it, in a drawing of a tent of Murat Bey, which he had brought over with him from Egypt. And he taught me how to draw Egyptian Arabesques, which were necessary for the ornaments of the ceiling; this may have occasioned, while that room was fitting up, several visits, and possibly some, though I do not recollect them, as early in the morning as Mr. Bidgood mentions. I believe also that it has happened more than once, that, walking with my ladies in the Park, we have met Sir Sidney Smith, and that he has come in, with us, through the gate from the Park. My ladies may have gone up to take off their cloaks, or to dress, and have left me alone with him: and, at some one of these times, it may very possibly have happened that Mr. Cole and Mr. Bidgood may have seen him, when he has not come through the waiting room, nor been let in by any of the footmen. But I solemnly declare to your Majesty that I have not the least idea or belief that he ever had a key of the gate into the Park, or that he ever entered in or passed out, at that gate, except in company with myself and my ladies. As for the circumstance of my permitting him to be in the room alone with me; if suffering a man to be so alone is evidence of guilt, from whence the Commissioners can draw any unfavourable inference, I must leave them to draw it. For I cannot deny that it has happened, and happened frequently; not only with Sir Sidney Smith, but with many, many others; gentlemen who have visited me; tradesmen who have come to receive my orders; masters whom I have had to instruct me, in painting, in music, in English, &c. that I have received them without any one being by. In short, I trust I am not confessing a crime, for unquestionably it is a truth, that I never had an idea that there was any thing wrong, or objectionable, in thus seeing men, in the morning, and I confidently believe your Majesty will see nothing in it, from which any guilt can be inferred. I feel certain that there is nothing immoral in the thing itself; and I have always understood, that it was perfectly customary and usual for ladies of the first rank, and the first character, in the country, to receive the visits of gentlemen in a morning, though they might be themselves alone at the time. But, if, in the opinions and fashions of this country, there should be more impropriety ascribed to it, than what it ever entered into my mind to conceive, I hope your Majesty, and every candid mind, will make allowance for the different notions which my foreign education and foreign habits may have given me.—But whatever character may belong to this practice, it is not a practice which commenced after my leaving Carleton House. While there, and from my first arrival in this country, I was accustomed, with the knowledge of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, and without his ever having hinted to me the slightest disapprobation, to receive lessons from various masters, for my amusement and improvement; I was attended by them frequently, from twelve o'clock till five in the afternoon;—Mr. Atwood for music, Mr. Gessadiere for

English, Mr. Townshend for painting, Mr. Tutove for imitating marble, Mr. Elwes for the harp. I saw them all alone; and indeed, if I were to see them at all, I could do no otherwise than see them alone. Miss Garth, who was then sub-governess to my daughter, lived, certainly, under the same roof with me, but she could not be spared from her duty and attendance on my daughter. I desired her sometimes to come down stairs, and read to me, during the time when I drew or painted, but my Lord Cholmondely informed me that this could not be. I then requested that I might have one of my bed-chamber women to live constantly at Carleton House, that I might have her at call whenever I wanted her; but I was answered that it was not customary, that the attendants of the Royal Family should live with them in town; so that request could not be complied with. But, independent of this, I never conceived that it was offensive to the fashions and manners of the country to receive gentlemen who might call upon me in a morning, whether I had or had not any one with me; and it never occurred to me to think that there was either impropriety or indecorum in it, at that time, nor in continuing the practice at Montague House. But this has been confined to morning visits, in no private apartments in my house, but in my drawing-room, where my ladies have at all times free access, and as they usually take their luncheon with me, except when they are engaged with visitors or pursuits of their own, it could but rarely occur that I could be left with any gentleman alone for any length of time, unless there were something, in the known and avowed business, which might occasion his waiting upon me, that would fully account for the circumstance.—I trust your Majesty will excuse the length at which I have dwelt upon this topic. I perceived, from the examinations, that it had been much inquired after, and I felt it necessary to represent it in its true light. And the candour of your Majesty's mind will, I am confident, suggest that those who are the least conscious of intending guilt, are the least suspicious of having it imputed to them; and therefore that they do not think it necessary to guard themselves at every turn with witnesses to prove their innocence, fancying their character to be safe as long as their conduct is innocent, and that guilt will not be imputed to them from actions quite indifferent.—The deposition, however, of Mr. Cole, is not confined to my being alone with Sir Sidney Smith; the circumstances in which he observed ~~us~~ together he particularizes, and states his opinion. He introduces, indeed, the whole of the evidence, by saying that I was too familiar with Sir Sidney Smith; but as I trust I am not yet so far degraded as to have my character decided by the opinion of Mr. Cole, I shall not comment upon that observation. He then proceeds to describe the scene which he observed on the day when he brought in the sandwiches, which I trust your Majesty did not fail to notice, *I had myself ordered to be brought in*—for there is an obvious insinuation that Sir Sidney must have come in through the Park, and that there was great impropriety in his being alone with me: and at least the witness's own story proves, whatever impropriety there might be in this circumstance, that I was not conscious of it, nor meant to take advantage of his clandestine entry from the Park, to conceal the fact from my servant's observation; for if I had had such consciousness, as such meaning, I never could have ordered

sandwiches to have been brought in, or any other act to have been done, which must have brought myself under the notice of my servants, while I continued in a situation which I thought improper and wished to conceal. Any of the circumstances of this visit, to which this part of the deposition refers, my memory does not enable me in the least degree to particularize and recal. Mr. Cole may have seen me sitting on the same sofa with Sir Sidney Smith; nay, I have no doubt he must have seen me, over and over again, not only with Sir Sidney Smith, but with other gentlemen, sitting upon the same sofa; and I trust your Majesty will feel it the hardest thing imaginable, that I should be called upon to account what corner of a sofa I sat upon four years ago, and how close Sir Sidney Smith was sitting to me. I can only solemnly aver to your Majesty, that my conscience supplies me with the fullest means of confidently assuring you, that I never permitted Sir Sidney Smith to sit on any sofa with me in any manner, which, in my own judgment, was in the slightest degree offensive to the strictest propriety and decorum. In the judgment of many persons, perhaps, a Princess of Wales should at no time forget the elevation of her rank, or descend in any degree to the familiarities and intimacies of private life. Under any circumstances, this would be a hard condition to be annexed to her situation. Under the circumstances in which it has been my misfortune to have lost the necessary support to the dignity and station of a Princess of Wales, to have assumed and maintained an unbending dignity would have been impossible, and if possible, could hardly have been expected from me.—After these observations, Sir, I must now request your Majesty's attention to those written declarations which are mentioned in the Report, and which I shall never be able sufficiently to thank your Majesty for having condescended, in compliance with my earnest request, to order to be transmitted to me. From observations upon those declarations themselves, as well as upon comparing them with the depositions made before the Commissioners, your Majesty will see the strongest reason for discrediting the testimony of W. Cole, as well as others of these witnesses, whose credit stands, in the opinion of the Commissioners, so unimpeachable. They supply important observations, even with respect to that part of Mr. Cole's evidence which I am now considering, though in no degree equal in importance to those which I shall afterwards have occasion to notice.—Your Majesty will please to observe, that there are no less than four different examinations, or declarations, of Mr. Cole. They are dated on the 11th, 14th, and 30th of January, and on the 23rd of February. In these four different declarations, he twice mentions the circumstance of finding Sir Sidney Smith and myself on the sofa, and he mentions it not only in a different manner at each of those times, but at both of them in a manner which materially differs from his deposition before the Commissioners. In his declaration on the 11th of January, he says, that he found us in so familiar a posture, as to alarm him very much, which he expressed by a *start back* and a look at the gentleman.—In that dated on the 22d of February, however (being asked, I suppose, as to that which he had dared to assert, of the familiar posture which had alarmed him so much), he says, "there was nothing particular in our dress, position of legs, or arms, that was extraordinary;

he thought it improper that a single gentleman should be sitting quite close to a married lady on the sofa; and from *that* situation, and *former observations*, he thought the thing improper. In this second account, therefore, your Majesty perceives he was obliged to bring in his former observation to help out the statement, in order to account for his having been so shocked with what he saw, as to express his alarm by "starting back." But unfortunately he accounts for it, as it seems to me at least, by the very circumstance which would have induced him to have been less surprised, and consequently less startled by what he saw; for had his former observations been such as he insinuates, he would have been prepared the more to expect, and the less to be surprised at, what he pretends to have seen.—But your Majesty will observe, that in his deposition before the Commissioners (recollecting, perhaps, how awkwardly he had accounted for his starting in his former declaration), he drops his starting altogether. Instead of looking at the gentleman only, he looked at us both, that I caught his eye, and saw that he noticed the manner in which we were sitting, and instead of his own starting, or any description of the manner in which he exhibited his own feelings, we are represented as both appearing a *little confused*. Our *confusion* is a circumstance, which, during his four declarations, which he made before the appointment of the Commissioners, it never once occurred to him to recollect. And now he does recollect it, we appeared, he says, "a little confused."—A little confused!—The Princess of Wales detected in a situation such as to shock and alarm her servant, and so detected as to be sensible of her detection, and so conscious of the impropriety of the situation as to exhibit symptoms of confusion; would not her confusion have been extreme? would it have been so little as to have slipped the memory of the witness who observed it, during his first four declarations, and at last to be recalled to his recollection in such a manner as to be represented in the faint and feeble way in which he here describes it?—What weight your Majesty will ascribe to these differences in the accounts given by this witness I cannot pretend to say. But I am ready to confess that, probably, if there was nothing stronger of the same kind to be observed, in other parts of his testimony, the inference which would be drawn from them, would depend very much upon the opinion previously entertained of the witness. To me, who know many parts of his testimony to be absolutely false, and all the colouring given to it to be wholly from his own wicked and malicious invention, it appears plain, that these differences in his representations, are the unsteady, awkward shuffles and prevarications of falsehood. To those, if there are any such, who from preconceived prejudices in his favour, or from any other circumstances, think that his veracity is free from all suspicion, satisfactory means of reconciling them may possibly occur. But before I have left Mr. Cole's examinations, your Majesty will find that they will have much more to account for, and much more to reconcile.—Mr. Cole's examination before the Commissioners goes on thus:—"A short time before this, one night about twelve o'clock, I saw a man go into the house from the Park, wrapt up in a great coat. I did not give any alarm, for the impression on my mind was, that it was not a thief." When I read this passage,

Sire, I could hardly believe my eyes; when I found such a fact left in this depositions, without any further explanation, or without a trace in the examination of any attempt to get it further explained. How he got this impression on his mind that this was not a thief? Whom he believed it to be? What part of the house he saw him enter? If the drawing-room, or any part which I usually occupy, who was there at the time? Whether I was there? Whether alone, or with my Ladies? or with other company? Whether he told any body of the circumstance at the time? or how long after? Whom he told? Whether any inquiries were made in consequence? These, and a thousand other questions, with a view to have penetrated into the mystery of this strange story, and to have tried the credit of this witness, would, I should have thought, have occurred to any one; but certainly must have occurred to persons so experienced, and so able in the examination of facts, and the trying of the credit of witnesses, as the two learned Lords unquestionably are, whom your Majesty took care to have introduced into this commission. They never could have permitted these unexplained, and unaided, hints and insinuations to have had the weight and effect of proof.—But, unfortunately for me, the duties, probably, of their respective situations prevented their attendance on the examination of this, and on the first examination of another most important witness, Mr. Robert Bidgood—and surely your Majesty will permit me here, without offence, to complain, that it is not a little hard, that, when your Majesty had shewn your anxiety to have legal accuracy, and legal experience assist on this examination, the two most important witnesses, in whose examinations there is more matter for unfavourable interpretation, than in all the rest put together, should have been examined without the benefit of this accuracy, and this experience. And I am the better justified in making this observation, if what has been suggested to me is correct; that, if it shall not be allowed that the power of administering an oath under this warrant or commission is questionable, yet it can hardly be doubted, that it is most questionable whether, according to the terms or meaning of the warrant or commission, as it constitutes no *quorum*, Lord Spencer and Lord Grenville could administer an oath, or act in the absence of the other Lords; and if they could not, Mr. Cole's falsehood must be out of the reach of punishment.—Returning then from this digression, will your Majesty permit me to ask, whether I am to understand this fact respecting the man in a great coat, to be one of those which must necessarily give occasion to the most unfavourable interpretations, which must be credited till decidedly contradicted? and which, if true, deserve the most serious consideration? The unfavourable interpretations which this fact may occasion, doubtless are, that this man was either Sir Sidney Smith, or some other person, who was admitted by me into my house in disguise at midnight, for the accomplishment of my wicked and adulterous purposes. And is it possible that your Majesty, is it possible that any candid mind can believe this fact, with the unfavourable interpretations which it occasions, on the relation of a servant, who for all that appears, mentions it for the first time, four years after the event took place; and who gives, himself, this picture of his honesty and fidelity to a master,

whom he has served so long; that he, whose nerves are of so mortal a frame, that he starts at seeing a single man sitting at mid-day, in an open drawing-room, on the same sofa, with a married woman, permitted this disguised midnight adulterer, to approach his master's bed, without taking any notice, without making any alarm, without offering any interruption. And why? because (as he expressly states) he did not believe him to be a thief: and because (as he plainly insinuates) he did believe him to be an adulterer. —But what makes the manner in which the Commissioners suffered this fact to remain so unexplained the more extraordinary, is this; Mr. Cole had in his original declaration of the 11th of January, which was before the Commissioners, stated "that one night, about twelve o'clock, he saw a person wrapped up in a great coat, go across the Park into the gate at the Green house, and he verily believes it was Sir Sidney Smith." In his declaration then, (when he was not upon oath) he ventures to state, "that he verily believes it was Sir Sidney Smith." When he is upon his oath, in his depositions before the Commissioners, all that he ventures to swear is, "that he gave no alarm, because the impression upon his mind was, that it was not a thief!!" And the difference is most important. "The impression upon his mind was, that it was not a thief!!" I believe him, and the impression upon my mind too is, that he knew it was not a thief.—That he knew who it was—and that he knew it was no other than my watchman. What incident it is that he alludes to, I cannot pretend to know. But this I know, that if it refers to any man with whose proceedings I have the least acquaintance or privacy, it must have been my watchman; who, if he executes my orders, nightly, and often in the night, goes his rounds, both inside and outside of my house. And this circumstance, which I should think would rather afford, to most minds, an inference that I was not preparing the way of planning facilities for secret midnight assignations, has, in my conscience, I believe, (if there is one word of truth in any part of this story, and the whole of it is not pure invention) afforded the handle, and suggested the idea, to this honest, trusty man, this witness, "who cannot be suspected of any unfavourable bias," "whose veracity in that respect the Commissioners saw no ground to question," and "who must be credited till he received decided contradiction," suggested, I say, the idea of the dark and vile insinuation contained in this part of his testimony. —Whether I am right or wrong, however, in this conjecture, this appears to be evident, that his examination is so left, that supposing an indictment for perjury or false swearing, would lie against any witness, examined by the Commissioners, and supposing this examination had been taken before the whole four.—If Mr. Cole was indicted for perjury, in respect to this part of his deposition, the proof that he did see the watchman, would necessarily acquit him; would establish the truth of what he said, and rescue him from the punishment of perjury, though it would at the same time prove the falsehood and injustice of the inference, and the insinuation, for the establishment of which alone, the fact itself was sworn.—Mr. Cole chooses farther to state, that he ascribes his removal from Montague House to London, to the discovery he had made, and the notice

he had taken of the improper situation of Sir Sidney Smith with me upon the sofa. To this I can oppose little more than my own assertions, as my motives can only be known to myself.—But Mr. Cole was a very disagreeable servant to me; he was a man, who, as I always conceived, had been educated above his station. He talked French, and was a musician, playing well on the violin.—By these qualifications he got admitted occasionally, into better company, and this probably led to that forward and obtrusive conduct, which I thought extremely offensive and impertinent in a servant. I had long been extremely displeased with him; I had discovered, that when I went out he would come into my drawing-room, and play on my harpsichord, or sit there reading my books;—and, in short, there was a forwardness, which would have led to my absolutely discharging him a long time before, if I had not made a sort of rule to myself, to forbear, as long as possible, from removing any servant who had been placed about me by his Royal Highness.—Before Mr. Cole lived with the Prince, he had lived with the Duke of Devonshire, and I had reason to believe that he carried to Devonshire House all the observations he could make at mine. For these various reasons, just before the Duke of Kent was about to go out of the kingdom, I requested his Royal Highness the Duke of Kent, who had been good enough to take the trouble of arranging many particulars in my establishment, to make the arrangement with respect to Mr. Cole; which was to leave him in town to wait upon me only when I went to Carleton House, and not to come to Montague House except when specially required. This arrangement, it seems, offended him. It certainly deprived him of some perquisites which he had when living at Blackheath; but, upon the whole, as it left him so much more of his time at his own disposal, I should not have thought it had been much to his prejudice. It seems, however, that he did not like it; and I must leave this part of the case with this one observation more.—That your Majesty, I trust, will hardly believe that if Mr. Cole had, by any accident, discovered any improper conduct of mine towards Sir Sydney Smith, or any one else, the way which I should have taken to suppress his information, to close his mouth, would have been by immediately adopting an arrangement in my family with regard to him, which was either prejudicial or disagreeable to him; or that the way to remove him from the opportunity and the temptation of betraying my secret, whether through levity or design, in the quarter where it would be most fatal to me that it should be known, was, by making an arrangement which, while all his resentment and anger were fresh and warm about him, would place him frequently, nay, almost daily, at Carleton House; would place him precisely at that place from whence, unquestionably, it must have been my interest to have kept him as far removed as possible.—There is little or nothing in the examinations of the other witnesses which is material for me to observe upon, as far as respects this part of the case. It appears from them, indeed, what I have had no difficulty in admitting, and have observed upon before, that Sir Sydney Smith was frequently at Montague House—that they have known him to be alone with me in the morning, but that they never knew him alone with me in an evening, or staying

later than my company or the ladies—for, what Mr. Stikeman says, with respect to his being alone with me in an evening, can only mean, and is only reconcilable with all the rest of the evidence on this part of the case, by its being understood to mean alone, in respect of other company, but not alone in the absence of my ladies. The deposition, indeed, of my servant, S. Roberts, is thus far material upon that point, that it exhibits Mr. Cole, not less than three years ago, endeavouring to collect evidence upon these points to my prejudice. For your Majesty will find that he says, "I recollect Mr. Cole once asked me, I think three years ago, whether there were any favourites in the family. I remember saying, that Captain Mauby and Sir Sydney Smith were frequently at Blackheath, and dined there oftener than other persons." He then proceeds—"I never knew Sir Sydney Smith stay later than the ladies: I cannot exactly say at what time he went; but I never remember his staying alone with the Princess."

—As to what is contained in the written declarations of Mr. and Mrs. Lampert, the old servants of Sir John and Lady Douglas (as from some circumstance or other respecting, I conceive, either their credit or supposed importance), the Commissioners have not thought proper to examine them upon their oaths, I do not imagine your Majesty would expect that I should take any notice of them. And as to what is deposed by my Lady Douglas, if your Majesty will observe the gross and horrid indecencies with which she ushers in, and states my confessions to her of my asserted criminal intercourse with Sir Sydney Smith, your Majesty, I am confident, will not be surprised that I do not descend to any particular observations on her deposition.—One, and one only observation will I make, which, however, could not have escaped your Majesty, if I had omitted it.—That your Majesty will have an excellent portraiture of the true female delicacy and purity of my Lady Douglas's mind and character, when you will observe that she seems wholly insensible to what a sink of infamy she degrades herself by her testimony against me. It is not only that it appears, from her statement, that she was contented to live in familiarity and apparent friendship with me, after the confession which I made of my adultery (for by the indulgence and liberality, as it is called, of modern manners, the company of adulteresses has ceased to reflect that discredit upon the characters of other women who admit them to their society, which the best interests of female virtue may perhaps require); but she was contented to live in familiarity with a woman, who, if Lady Douglas's evidence of me is true, was a most low, vulgar, and profligate disgrace to her sex. The grossness of whose ideas and conversation would add infamy to the lowest, most vulgar, and most infamous prostitute. It is not, however, upon this circumstance that I rest assured no reliance can be placed on Lady Douglas's testimony; but after what is proved, with regard to her evidence respecting my pregnancy and delivery in 1808, I am certain that any observations upon her testimony, or her veracity must be flung away.—Your Majesty has therefore now before you the state of the charge against me as far as it respects Sir Sidney Smith: and this, as I understand the Report, one of the charges which, with its unfavourable interpretations, must, in the opinion of the Commissioners, be credited till decidedly contradicted.—As to the facts

of frequent visiting on terms of great intimacy, as I have said before, they cannot be contradicted at all. How inferences and unfavourable interpretations are to be decidedly contradicted, I wish the Commissioners had been so good as to explain. I know of no possible way but by the declarations of myself and Sir Sydney Smith.—Yet, we being the supposed guilty parties, our denial, probably, will be thought of no great weight. As to my own, however, I tender it to your Majesty, in the most solemn manner, and if I knew what fact it was that I ought to contradict, to clear my innocence, I would precisely address myself to that fact, as I am confident my conscience would enable me to do to any from which a criminal or an unbecoming inference could be drawn. I am sure, however, your Majesty will feel for the humiliated and degraded situation, to which this report has reduced your Daughter-in-law, the Princess of Wales; when you see her reduced to the necessity of either risking the danger that the most unfavourable interpretations should be credited; or else, of stating, as I am now degraded to the necessity of stating, that not only no adulterous, or criminal, but no indecent or improper intercourse whatever ever subsisted between Sir Sydney Smith and myself, or any thing which I should have objected that all the world should have seen. I say, degraded to the necessity of stating it, for your Majesty must feel that a woman's character is degraded when it is put upon her to make such statement, at the peril of the contrary being credited unless she decidedly contradicts it. Sir Sydney Smith's absence from the country prevents my calling upon him to attest the truth; but, I trust, when your Majesty shall find, as you will find, that my declarations to a similar effect, with respect to the other gentlemen referred to in this Report, is confirmed by their denial, that your Majesty will think that in a case, where nothing but my own word can be adduced, my own word alone may be opposed to whatever little remains of credit or weight may, after all the above observations, be supposed yet to belong to Mr. Cole, to his insinuations, his insinuations, or his facts. Not, indeed, that I have yet finished my observations on Mr. Cole's credit; but I must reserve the remainder till I consider his evidence with respect to Mr. Lawrence; and till I have occasion to comment upon the testimony of Fanny Lloyd. Then, indeed, I shall be under the necessity of exhibiting to your Majesty these witnesses, Fanny Lloyd and Mr. Cole (both of whom are represented as so unbiassed and so credible) in that, decisive, and irreconcilable contradiction to each other.

The next person with whom my improper intimacy is insinuated, is, Mr. Lawrence, the painter.—The principal witness on this charge is also Mr. Cole; Mr. R. Bidgood says nothing about him; Fanny Lloyd says nothing about him; and all that Mrs. Lisle says is perfectly true, and I am neither able nor feel interested to contradict it. "That she remembers my sitting to Mr. Lawrence for my picture at Blackheath, and in London; that she has left me at his house in town with him, but she thinks Mr. Fitzgerald was with us; and that she thinks I sat alone with him at Blackheath." But Mr. Cole speaks of Mr. Lawrence in a manner that calls for particular observation. He says, "Mr. Lawrence, the painter, used to go to Montague House about the latter end of 1801, when he was

painting the Princess, and he has slept in the house two or three nights together. I have often seen him alone with the Princess at eleven or twelve o'clock at night. He has been there as late as one and two o'clock in the morning. One night I saw him with the Princess in the Blue room, after the ladies had retired. Some time afterwards, when I supposed he had gone to his room, I went to see that all was safe, and I found the Blue room door locked, and heard a whispering in it; and I went away." Here, again, your Majesty observes, that Mr. Cole deals his deadliest blows against my character by insinuation. And here, again, his insinuation is left unsifted and unexplained. I here understand him to insinuate that, though he supposed Mr. Lawrence to have gone to his room, he was still where he had said he last left him; and that the locked door prevented him from seeing me and Mr. Lawrence alone together, whose whispering, however, he notwithstanding overheard.—Before, Sire, I come to my own explanation of the fact of Mr. Lawrence's sleeping at Montague House, I must again refer to Mr. Cole's original declarations. I must again examine Mr. Cole against Mr. Cole: which I cannot help lamenting it does not seem to have occurred to others to have done; as I am persuaded, if it had, his prevarications and his falsehood could never have escaped them. They would then have been able to have traced, as your Majesty will now do, through my observations, by what degrees he hardened himself up to the infamy (for I can use no other expression) of stating this fact, by which he means to insinuate that he heard me and Mr. Lawrence, locked up in this Blue room, whispering together, and alone. I am sorry to be obliged to drag your Majesty through so long a detail; but I am confident your Majesty's goodness, and love of justice, will excuse it, as it is essential to the vindication of my character, as well as to the illustration of Mr. Cole's.—Mr. Cole's examination, as contained in his first written declaration of the 11th of January, has nothing of this. I mean not to say that it has nothing concerning Mr. Lawrence, for it has much, which is calculated to occasion unfavourable interpretations, and given with a view to that object. But that circumstance, as I submit to your Majesty, increases the weight of my observation. Had there been nothing in his first declaration about Mr. Lawrence at all, it might have been imagined that, perhaps, Mr. Lawrence escaped his recollection altogether; or, that his declaration had been solely directed to other persons; but, as it does contain observations respecting Mr. Lawrence, but nothing of a locked door or the whispering within it;—how he happened at that time not to recollect, or, if he recollected, not to mention, so very striking and remarkable a circumstance is not, I should imagine, very satisfactorily to be explained. His statement in that first declaration stands thus:—"In 1801, Lawrence, the painter, was at Montague House, for four or five days at a time, painting the Princess's picture. That he was frequently alone late in the night with the Princess, and much suspicion was entertained of him." Mr. Cole's next declaration, at least, the next which appears among the written declarations, was taken on the 14th of January; it does not mention Mr. Lawrence's name, but it has this passage:—"When Mr. Cole found the drawing-room, which led to the staircase to the Princess's apartments, locked (which your Majesty knows is the

same which the witnesses call the Blue room) he does not know whether any person was with her, but it appeared odd to him, as he had formed some suspicions." The striking and important observation on this passage is, that when he first talks of the door of the drawing-room being locked, so far from his mentioning any thing of whispering being overheard, he expressly says, that he did not know that any body was with me. The passage is likewise deserving your Majesty's most serious consideration on another ground. For it is one of those which shews that Mr. Cole, though we have four separate declarations made by him, has certainly made other statements which have not been transmitted to your Majesty; for it evidently refers to something which he had said before of having found the drawing-room door locked, and no trace of such a statement is discoverable in the previous examination of Mr. Cole, as I have received it, and I have no doubt that, in obedience to your Majesty's commands, I have, at length, been furnished with the whole. I don't know, indeed, that it should be matter of complaint from me, that your Majesty has not been furnished with all the statements of Mr. Cole, because, from the sample I see of them, I cannot suppose that any of them could have furnished any thing favourable to me, except, indeed, that they might have furnished me with fresh means of contradicting him by himself.—But, your Majesty will see that there have been other statements not communicated; a circumstance of which both your Majesty and I have reason to complain. But it may be out of its place further to notice that fact at present.

To return, therefore, to Mr. Cole:—In his third declaration, dated the 30th of January, there is not a word about Mr. Lawrence. In his fourth and last, which is dated on the 23d of February, he says, "the person who was alone with the lady at late hours of the night (twelve and one o'clock), and whom he left sitting up after he went to bed, was Mr. Lawrence," "which happened two different nights." Here is likewise another trace of a former statement which is not given; for no such person is mentioned before in any that I have been furnished with.—Your Majesty then here observes, that, after having given evidence in two of his declarations, respecting Mr. Lawrence by name, in which he mentions nothing of locked doors, and after having, in another declaration, given an account of a locked door, but expressly stated, that he knew not whether any one was with me within it, and said nothing about whispering being overheard, but, impliedly, at least, negatived it. In the deposition before the Commissioners, he puts all these things together, and has the hardihood to add to them that remarkable circumstance which could not have escaped his recollection at the first, if it had been true,—"of his having, on the same night in which he found me and Mr. Lawrence alone, after the ladies were gone to bed, come again to the room when he thought Mr. Lawrence must have been retired, and found the door locked, and heard the whispering;" and then again he gives another instance of his honesty, and upon the same principle on which he took no notice of the man in the great coat, he finds the door locked, hears the whispering, and then he silently and contentedly retires.—And this witness, who thus not only varies in his testimony, but contradicts himself in such important particulars,

in one of those who cannot be suspected of unfavourable bias, and whose veracity is not to be questioned, and whose evidence must be credited till decidedly contradicted.—These observations might probably be deemed sufficient, upon Mr. Cole's deposition, as far as it respects Mr. Lawrence; but I cannot be satisfied without explaining to your Majesty all the truth, and the particulars, respecting Mr. Lawrence, which I recollect.—What I recollect then is as follows. He began a large picture of me, and of my daughter, towards the latter end of the year 1800, or the beginning of 1801. Miss Garth and Miss Hayman were in the house with me at the time. The picture was painted at Montague House. Mr. Lawrence mentioned to Miss Hayman his wish to be permitted to remain some few nights in the house, that, by rising early he might begin painting on the picture before Princess Charlotte (whose residence being at that time at Shooter's Hill, was enabled to come early), or myself, came to sit. It was a similar request to that which had been made by Sir William Beechey, when he painted my picture. And I was sensible of no impropriety when I granted the request to either of them. Mr. Lawrence occupied the same room which had been occupied by Sir William Beechey; it was at the other end of the house from my apartment.

At that time Mr. Lawrence did not dine with me; his dinner was served in his own room. After dinner he came down to the room where I and my Ladies generally sat in an evening, sometimes there was music, in which he joined, and sometimes he read poetry. Parts of Shakespeare's plays I particularly remember, from his reading them very well; and sometimes he played chess with me. It frequently may have happened that it was one or two o'clock before I dismissed Mr. Lawrence and my Ladies. They, together with Mr. Lawrence, went out of the same door, up the same stair-case, and at the same time. According to my own recollection, I should have said, that in no one instance they had left Mr. Lawrence behind them alone with me. But I suppose it did happen once for a short time, since Mr. Lawrence so recollects it, as your Majesty will perceive from his deposition, which I annex. He staid in my house two or three nights together; but how many nights in the whole, I do not recollect. The picture left my house by April, 1801, and Mr. Lawrence never slept in my house afterwards. That picture now belongs to Lady Townsend. He has since completed another picture of me; and about a year and a half ago he began another, which remains at present unfinished. I believe it is near a twelvemonth since I last sat to him.—Mr. Lawrence lives upon a footing of the greatest intimacy with the neighbouring families of Mr. Lock and Mr. Angerstein; and I have asked him sometimes to dine with me to meet them. While I was sitting to him at my own house, I have no doubt I must often have sat to him alone; as the necessity for the precaution of having an attendant as a witness to protect my honour from suspicion, certainly never occurred to me. And upon the same principle, I do not doubt that I may have sometimes continued in conversation with him after he had finished painting. But when sitting in his own house, I have always been attended with one of my ladies. And, indeed, nothing in the examinations state the contrary. One part of Mrs. Lisle's examination seems as if she had a question put to her, upon the supposition that I

had been left alone with Mr. Lawrence at his own house; to which she answers, that she, indeed, had left me there, but that she *thinks* she left Mrs. Fitzgerald with me.—If an inference of an unfavourable nature could have been drawn from my having been left there alone—was it, Sire, taking all that care which might be wished, to guard against such an inference on the part of the Commissioners, when they omitted to send for Mrs. Fitzgerald to ascertain what Mrs. Lisle may have left in doubt. The Commissioners, I give them the fullest credit, were satisfied that Mrs. Lisle thought correctly upon this fact, and that Mrs. Fitzgerald, if she had been sent for again, would so have proved it, and, therefore, that it would have been troubling her to no purpose, but this it is, of which I conceive myself to have most reason to complain; that the examinations in several instances have not been followed up so as to remove unfavourable impressions.—I cannot but feel satisfied that the Commissioners would have been glad to have been warranted in negating all criminality, and all suspicion on his part of the charge, as completely and honourably as they have done on the principal charges of pregnancy and delivery. They traced that part of the charge with ability, sagacity, diligence, and perseverance; and the result was complete satisfaction of my innocence; complete detection of the falsehood of my accusers. Encouraged by their success in that part of their inquiry, I lament that they did not, (as they thought proper to enter into the other part of it at all), with similar industry, pursue it. If they had, I am confident they would have pursued it with the same success; but though they had convicted Sir John and Lady Douglas of falsehood, they seem to have thought it impossible to suspect of the same falsehood any other of the witnesses, though produced by Sir John and Lady Douglas. The most obvious means, therefore, of trying their credit, by comparing their evidence with what they had said before, seems to me to have been omitted. Many facts are left upon surmise only and insinuation; obvious means of getting further information, on doubtful and suspicious circumstances, are not resorted to; and, as if the important matter of the inquiry (on which a satisfactory conclusion had been formed) was all that required any very attentive or accurate consideration; the remainder of it was pursued in a manner which, as it seems to me, can only be accounted for by the pressure of what may have been deemed more important duties—and of this I should have made but little complaint, if this inquiry, where it is imperfect, had not been followed by a Report, which the most accurate only could have justified, and which such an accurate inquiry, I am confident, never could have produced.—If any credit was given to Mr. Cole's story of the locked door, and the whispering, and to Mr. Lawrence having been left with me so frequently of a night when my Ladies had left us, why were not all my Ladies examined? why were not all my servants examined as to their knowledge of that fact? And if they had been so examined, and had contradicted the fact so sworn to by Mr. Cole, as they must have done, had they been examined to it, that alone would have been sufficient to have removed his name from the list of unsuspected and unquestionable witnesses, and relieved me from much of the suspicion which his evidence, till it was examined, was calculated to have raised in your Majesty's mind. And to close this state-

ment and these observations, and in addition to them, I most solemnly assert to your Majesty, that Mr. Lawrence, neither at his own house, nor at mine, nor any where else, ever was for one moment, by night or by day, in the same room with me when the door of it was locked; that he never was in my company of an evening alone, except the momentary conversation which Mr. Lawrence speaks to may be thought an exception; and that nothing ever passed between him and me which all the world might not have witnessed. And, Sir, I have subjoined a deposition to the same effect from Mr. Lawrence.

—To satisfy myself, therefore, and your Majesty, I have shewn, I trust, by unanswerable observations and arguments, that there is no colour for crediting Mr. Cole, or, consequently, any part of this charge, which rests solely on his evidence. But to satisfy the requisition of the Commissioners, I have brought my pride to submit (though not without great pain, I can assure your Majesty) to add the only contradictions which I conceive can be given, those of Mr. Lawrence and myself.

—The next person with whom these examinations charge my improper familiarity, and with regard to which the Report represents the evidence as particularly strong, is Captain Manby. With respect to him, Mr. Cole's examination is silent. But the evidence on which the Commissioners rely on this part of the case is Mr. Bidgood's, Miss Fanny Lloyd's, and Mrs. Lisle's. It respects my conduct at three different places; at Montague House, Southend, and at Ramsgate; I shall preserve the facts and my observations more distinct, if I consider the evidence, as applicable to these three places, separately and in its order; and I prefer this mode of treating it, as it will enable me to consider the evidence of Mrs. Lisle in the first place, and consequently put it out of the reach of the harsher observations which I may be under the necessity of making upon the testimony of the other two.

For though Mrs. Lisle, indeed, speaks to having seen Captain Manby at East Cliff in August, 1803, to the best of her remembrance it was only once. She speaks to his meeting her at Deal in the same season; that he landed there with some boys whom I took on charity, and who were under his care; yet she speaks of nothing there that can require a single observation from me. The material parts of her evidence respect her seeing him at Blackheath the Christmas before she had seen him at East Cliff. She says, it was the Christmas after Mr. Austin's child came, consequently the Christmas 1802-3. He used to come to dine there, she says—he always went away in her presence, and she had no reason to think he staid after the Ladies retired. He lodged on the heath at that time; his ship was sitting up at Deptford; he came to dinner three or four times a week, or more. She supposes he might be alone with the Princess, but that she was in the habit of seeing Gentlemen and tradesmen without her being present. She (Mrs. Lisle) has seen him at luncheon and dinner both. The boys (two boys) came with him two or three times, but not to dinner. Captain Manby always sat next the Princess at dinner. The constant company were Mrs. and Miss Fitzgerald and herself—all retired with the Princess, and sat in the same room. Captain Manby generally retired about eleven, and sat with us all till then. Captain Manby and the Princess used, when we were together, to be speaking together separately, conversing separately, but not in a

room alone. He was a person with whom the Princess appeared to have greater pleasure in talking than with her Ladies. Her Royal Highness behaved to him *ONLY* as *any woman would who likes flirting*. She (Mrs. Lisle) would not have thought any married woman would have behaved properly, who behaved as Her Royal Highness did to Captain Manby. She can't say whether the Princess was attached to Captain Manby, only that it was a *flirting conduct*. She never saw any gallantries, as kissing her hand, or the like.

—I have cautiously stated the whole of Mrs. Lisle's evidence upon this part of the case; and I am sure your Majesty, in reading it, will not fail to keep the facts which Mrs. Lisle speaks to separate from the opinion or judgment which she forms upon them. I mean not to speak disrespectfully or slightly of Mrs. Lisle's opinion, or express myself as in any degree indifferent to it. But whatever there was which she observed in my conduct that did not become a married woman, that "was *ONLY* like a woman who liked flirting," and "*ONLY* a flirting conduct," I am convinced your Majesty must be satisfied that it must have been far distant from affording any evidence of crime, of vice, or of indecency, as it passed openly in the company of my Ladies, of whom Mrs. Lisle herself was one.

—The facts she states are, that Captain Manby came very frequently to my house; that he dined there three or four times a week in the latter end of the year 1802; that he sat next to me at dinner; and that my conversation after dinner, in the evening, used to be with Captain Manby, separate from my Ladies. These are the facts; and is it upon them that my character, I will not say, is to be taken away, but is to be affected?—Captain Manby had, in the autumn of the same year, been introduced to me by Lady Townshend, when I was upon a visit to her at Rainham. I think he came there only the day before I left it. He was a naval officer, as I understood, and as I still believe, of great merit. What little expense, in the way of charity, I am able to afford, I am best pleased to dedicate to the education of the children of poor, but honest persons; and I most generally bring them up to the service of the navy. I had at that time two boys at school, whom I thought of an age fit to be put to sea. I desired Lady Townshend to prevail upon Captain Manby to take them. He consented to it, and of course I was obliged to him.

—About this time, or shortly afterwards, he was appointed to the *Africaine*, a ship which was fitting up at Deptford. To be near his ship, as I understood and believe, he took lodgings at Blackheath; and as to the mere fact of his being so frequently at my house—his intimacy and friendship with Lord and Lady Townshend, which of itself was assurance to me of his respectability and character—my pleasure in shewing my respect to them, by notice and attention to a friend of theirs—his undertaking the care of my charity boys—and his accidental residence at Blackheath, will, I should trust, not unreasonably account for it. I have a similar account likewise to give of paying for the linen furniture, with which his cabin was furnished. Wishing to make him some return for his trouble with the boys, I desired that I might choose the pattern of his furniture. I not only chose it, but had it sent to him, and paid the bill; finding, however, that it did not come to more than about twenty pounds, I thought it a shabby present, and therefore added some trifling present of plate. So I have frequently done,

and I hope, without offence, may be permitted to do again, to any Captain on whom I impose such trouble. Sir Samuel Hood has now two of my charity boys with him; and I have presented him with a silver epergne. I should be ashamed to notice such things, but your Majesty perceives that they are made the subject of inquiry from Mrs. Fitzgerald and Mr. Stikeman, and I was desirous that they should not appear to be particular in the case of Captain Manby.

But to return to Mrs. Lisle's examination. Mrs. Lisle says, that Captain Manby, when he dined with me, sat next to me at dinner. Before any inference is drawn from that fact, I am sure your Majesty will observe that, in the next line of Mrs. Lisle's examination, she says, "that the constant company was Mrs. and Miss Fitzgerald, and herself, Mrs. Lisle." The only gentleman, the only person of the whole party who was not of my own family, was Captain Manby; and his sitting next to me, under such circumstances, I should apprehend could not possibly afford any inference of any kind. In the evening we were never alone. The whole company sat together; nay, even as to his being with me alone of a morning, Mrs. Lisle seems to know nothing of the fact, but from a conjecture founded upon her knowledge of my known usual habit, with respect to seeing gentlemen who might call upon me. And the very foundation of her conjecture demonstrates that this circumstance can be no evidence of any thing particular with regard to Captain Manby.—As to my conversing with Captain Manby separately, I do not understand Mrs. Lisle as meaning to speak to the state of the conversation uninterruptedly, during the whole of any of the several evenings when Captain Manby was with me; if I did so understand her, I should certainly most confidently assert, that she was not correct. That in the course of the evening, as the ladies were working, reading, or otherwise amusing themselves, the conversation was sometimes more and sometimes less general; and that they sometimes took more, sometimes less part in it;—that frequently it was between Captain Manby and myself alone; and that, when we were all together, we two might frequently be the only persons not otherwise engaged, and therefore be justly said to be speaking together separately. Besides, Captain Manby has been round the world with Captain Vancouver. I have looked over prints in books of voyages with him; he has explained them to me; the ladies may or may not have been looking over them at the same time; they may have been engaged with their own amusements. Here again, we may be said to have been conversing separately, and consequently that Mrs. Lisle, in this sense, is perfectly justified in saying that "I used to converse separately with Captain Manby," I have not the least difficulty in admitting. But have I not again reason to complain that this expression of Mrs. Lisle's was not more sifted, but left in a manner calculated to raise an impression that this separate conversation was studiously sought for, was constant, uniform, and uninterrupted, though it by no means asserts any such thing? But whether I used *always* so to converse with him; or *generally*, or only *sometimes*, or for what proportion of the evening I used to be so engaged, is left unmasked and unexplained. Have I not likewise just reason to complain, that though Mrs. Lisle states, that Mrs. Fitzgerald and Miss Fitzgerald were always of the party,

they are not both examined to these circumstances? But Miss Fitzgerald is not examined at all; and Mrs. Fitzgerald, though examined, and examined too with respect to Captain Manby, does not appear to have had a single question put to her with respect to any thing which passed concerning him at Montague House. May I not therefore complain that the examination, leaving the generality of Mrs. Lisle's expression unexplained by herself; and the scenes to which it relates unexamined into, by calling the other persons who were present, is leaving it precisely in that state, which is better calculated to raise a suspicion, than to ascertain the truth?—But I am persuaded that the unfavourable impression which is most likely to be made by Mrs. Lisle's examination, is not by her evidence to the facts, but by her opinion upon them. "I appeared," she says, "to like the conversation of Captain Manby better than that of my ladies. I behaved to him only as a woman who likes flirting; my conduct was unbecoming a married woman; she cannot say whether I was attached to Captain Manby or not; it was only a flirting conduct."—Now, Sir, I must here again most seriously complain that the Commissioners should have called for, or received, and much more, reported, in this manner, the *opinion* and *judgment* of Mrs. Lisle upon my conduct. Your Majesty's Warrant purports to authorize them to collect the evidence, and not the opinion of others; and to report it, with their own judgment surely, and not Mrs. Lisle's. Mrs. Lisle's judgment was formed upon those facts which she stated to the Commissioners, or upon other facts. If upon those she stated, the Commissioners, and your Majesty, are as well able to form the judgment upon them as she was. If upon other facts, the Commissioners should have heard what those other facts were, and upon them have formed and reported their judgment.—I am aware, indeed, that if I were to argue that the facts which Mrs. Lisle states, afford the explanation of what she means by "only flirting conduct," and by "behaviour unbecoming a married woman," namely, that it consisted in having the same gentleman to dine with me three or four times a week;—letting him sit next me at dinner, when there were no other strangers in company;—conversing with him separately, and appearing to prefer his conversation to that of the ladies,—it would be observed probably, that this was not all; that there was always a certain indescribable something in *manner*, which gave the character to conduct, and must have entered mainly into such a judgment as Mrs. Lisle has here pronounced.—To a certain extent I should be obliged to agree to this; but if I am to have any prejudice from this observation; if it is to give a weight and authority to Mrs. Lisle's judgment, let me have the advantage of it also. If it justifies the conclusion that Mrs. Lisle's censure upon my conduct is right, it requires also that equal credit should be given to the qualification, the limit, and the restriction which she herself puts upon that censure.—Mrs. Lisle, seeing all the facts which she relates, and observing much of manner, which perhaps she could not describe, limits the expression "flirting conduct" by calling it "only flirting," and says (upon having the question asked to her, no doubt, whether from the whole she could collect that I was attached to Captain Manby) says "she could not say whether I was attached to him, my conduct was

not of a nature that proved any attachment to him, it was only a flirting conduct." Unjust therefore, as I think it, that any such question should have been put to Mrs. Lisle, or that her judgment should have been taken at all; yet what I fear from it, as pressing with peculiar hardship upon me, is, that though it is Mrs. Lisle's final and ultimate judgment upon the whole of my conduct, yet, when delivered to the Commissioners and your Majesty, it becomes evidence, which, connected with all the facts on which Mrs. Lisle had formed it, may lead to still further and more unfavourable conclusions, in the minds of those who are afterwards to judge upon it;—that her judgment will be the foundation of other judgments against me, much severer than her own; and that though she evidently limits her opinion, and by saying "ONLY flirting" impliedly negatives it as affording any indication of any thing more improper, while she proceeds *expressly* to negative it as affording any proof of attachment; yet it may be thought by others, to justify their considering it as a species of conduct, which shewed an attachment to the man to whom it was addressed; which in a married woman was criminal and wrong.—What Mrs. Lisle exactly means by *only flirting* conduct—what degree of impropriety of conduct she would describe by it, it is extremely difficult, with any precision, to ascertain. How many women are there, most virtuous, most truly modest, incapable of any thing impure, vicious, or immoral, in deed or thought, who, from greater vivacity of spirits, from less natural reserve, from that want of caution, which the very consciousness of innocence betrays them into, conduct themselves in a manner, which a woman of a graver character, of more reserved disposition, but not with one particle of superior virtue, thinks too incautious, too unreserved, too familiar; and which, if forced upon her oath to give her opinion upon it, she might feel herself, as an honest woman, bound to say in that opinion, was flirting?—But whatever sense Mrs. Lisle annexes to the word "flirting" it is evident, as I said before, that she cannot mean any thing criminal, vicious, or indecent, or any thing with the least shade of deeper impropriety than what is necessarily expressed in the word "flirting." She never would have added, as she does in both instances, that it was *ONLY* flirting; if she had thought it of a quality to be recorded in a formal Report, amongst circumstances which must occasion the most unfavourable interpretations, and which deserved the most serious consideration of your Majesty. To use it so, I am sure your Majesty must see is to press it far beyond the meaning which she would assign to it herself.—And as I have admitted that there may be much indescribable in the manner of doing any thing, so it must be admitted to me that there is much indescribable, and most material also in the manner of saying any thing, and in the accent with which it is said. The whole context serves much to explain it; and if it is in answer to a question, the words of that question, the manner and the accent in which it is asked, are also most material to understand the precise meaning, which the expressions are intended to convey; and I must lament therefore extremely, if my character is to be affected by the opinion of any witness, that the question by which that opinion was drawn from her, were not given too, as well as her answers, and if this inquiry

had been prosecuted before your Majesty's Privy Council, the more solemn and usual course of proceeding there would, as I am informed, have furnished, or enabled me to furnish, your Majesty with the questions as well as the answers. Mrs. Lisle, it should also be observed, was at the time of her examination, under the severe oppression of having, but a few days before, heard of the death of her daughter;—a daughter, who had been happily married, and who had lived happily with her husband, in mutual attachment till her death. The very circumstance of her then situation would naturally give a graver and severer cast to her opinions. When the question was proposed to her, as a general question, (and I presume it must have been so put to her) whether my conduct was such as would become a married woman, possibly her own daughter's conduct and what she would have expected of her, might present itself to her mind. And I confidently submit to your Majesty's better judgment, that such a general question ought not, in a fair and candid consideration of my case, to have been put to Mrs. Lisle, or any other woman. For, as to my conduct being, or not being, becoming a married woman; the same conduct, or any thing like it, which may occur in my case, could not occur in the case of a married woman, who was not living in my unfortunate situation; or, if it did occur, it must occur under circumstances which must give it, and most deservedly, a very different character. A married woman, living well and happily with her husband, could not be frequently having one gentleman at her table, with no other company but ladies of her family;—she could not be spending her evenings frequently in the same society, and separately conversing with that gentleman, unless either with the privacy and consent of her husband; or by taking advantage, with some management of his ignorance and his absence;—if it was with his privacy and consent, that very circumstance alone would unquestionably alter the character of such conduct,—if with management she avoided his knowledge, that very management would betray a bad motive. The cases therefore are not parallel; the illustration is not just; and the question, which called for such an answer from Mrs. Lisle, ought not, in candour and fairness, to have been put.—I entreat your Majesty, however, not to misunderstand me; I should be ashamed indeed to be suspected of pleading any peculiar or unfortunate circumstance in my situation, as an excuse for any criminal or indecent act. With respect to such acts, most unquestionably such circumstances can make no difference; and afford no excuse. They must bear their own character of disgrace and infamy, under all circumstances. But there are acts, which are unbecoming a married woman, which ought to be avoided by her, from an apprehension that they should render her husband uneasy, not because they might give him any reason to distrust her chastity, her virtue or her morals, but because they might wound his feelings, by indicating a preference to the society of another man, over his, in a case, where she had the option of both. But surely, as to such acts, they must necessarily bear a very different character, and receive a very different construction, in a case, where, unhappily, there can be no such apprehension, and where there is no such option. I must therefore be excused for dwelling so much upon this part of the case; and I am sure your Majesty will feel me warranted in saying, what I say with

a confidence, exactly proportioned to the respectability of Mrs. Lisle's character, that, whatever she meant, by any of these expressions, she could not, by possibility, have meant to describe conduct, which to her mind afforded evidence of crime, vice, or indecency. If she had, her regard to her own character, her own delicacy, her own honourable and virtuous feelings, would in less than the two years, which have since elapsed, have found some excuse for separating herself from that intimate connexion, which, by her situation in my household, subsists between us. She would not have remained exposed to the repetition of so gross an offence, and insult, to a modest, virtuous, and delicate woman, as that of being made, night by night, witness to scenes, openly acted in her presence, offensive to virtue and decorum.—If your Majesty thinks I have dwelt too long and tediously on this part of the case, I entreat your Majesty to think what I must feel upon it. I feel it a great hardship, as I have frequently stated, that under the cover of a grave charge of High Treason, the proprieties, and decencies, of my private conduct and behaviour, have been made the subject, as I believe so unprecedentedly, of a formal investigation upon oath. And that, in consequence of it, I may, at this moment, be exposed to the danger of forfeiting your Majesty's good opinion, and being degraded and disgraced in reputation through the coulttry, because what Mrs. Lisle has said of my conduct,—that it was “only that of a woman who liked flirting,” has become recorded in the Report on this formal inquiry, made into matters of grave crimes, and of essential importance to the state.—Let me conjure your Majesty, over and over again, before you suffer this circumstance to prejudice me in your opinion, not only to weigh all the circumstances I have stated, but to look round the first ranks of female virtue in this country, and see how many women there are of most unimpeached reputation, of most unallied and unsuspected honour, character and virtue, whose conduct, though living happily with their husbands, if submitted to the judgment of persons of a severer cast of mind, especially if saddened, at the moment, by calamity, might be styled to be “flirting.” I would not, however, be understood as intending to represent Mrs. Lisle's judgment, as being likely to be marked with any improper austerity, and therefore I am certain she must either have had no idea that the expressions she has used, in the manner which she used them, were capable of being understood, in so serious a light as to be referred to, amongst circumstances deserving the most serious consideration, and which must occasion most unfavourable interpretations; or she must by the imposing novelty of her situation, in private examination before four such grave characters, have been surprised into the use of expressions, which, with a better opportunity of weighing them, she would either not have used at all, or have accompanied with still more of qualification than that, which she has, however, in some degree, as it is, annexed to them.

But my great complaint is the having, not, particularly, Mrs. Lisle's opinion, but any person's opinion, set up, as it were, in judgment against the propriety of my private conduct. How would it be endured, that the judgment of one man should be asked, and recorded in a solemn Report, against the conduct of another, either with respect to his behaviour to his child-

ren, or to his wife, or to any other relative? How would it be endured, in general, and I trust, that my case ought not, in this respect, to form an exception, that one woman should in a similar manner be placed in judgment, upon the conduct of another? And that judgment be reported, where her character was of most importance to her, as amongst things which must be credited till decidedly contradicted? Let every one put these questions home to their own breasts, and before they impute blame to me, for protesting against the fairness and justice of this procedure, ask how they would feel upon it, if it were their own case?—But perhaps they cannot bring their imaginations to conceive that it could ever become their own case. A few months ago I could not have believed that it would have been mine.—But the just ground of my complaint may perhaps be more easily appreciated and felt, by supposing a more familiar, but an analogous case. The High Treason, with which I was charged, was supposed to be committed in the foul crime of adultery. What would be the impression of your Majesty, what would be the impression upon the mind of any one, acquainted with the excellent laws of your Majesty's kingdom, and the admirable administration of them, if upon a Commission of this kind, secretly to inquire into the conduct of any man, upon a charge of High Treason, against the state, the Commissioners should not only proceed to inquire, whether in the judgment of the witness, the conduct of the accused was such as became a loyal subject; but, when the result of their inquiry obliged them to report directly against the charge of Treason, they, nevertheless, should record an imputation, or libel, against his character for loyalty, and reporting, as a part of the evidence, the opinion of the witness, that the conduct of the accused was such as did not become a loyal subject, should further report, that the evidence of that witness, without specifying any part of it, must be credited till decidedly contradicted, and deserved the most serious consideration? How could he appeal from that report? How could he decidedly contradict the opinion of the witness! Sire, there is no difference between this supposed case and mine, but this. That in the case of the man, a character for loyalty, however injured, could not be destroyed by such an insinuation. His future life might give him abundant opportunities of falsifying the justice of it. But a female character, once so blasted, what hope or chance has it of recovery?—Your Majesty will not fail to perceive, that I have pressed this part of the case, with an earnestness which shews that I have felt it. I have no wish to disguise from your Majesty, that I have felt it, and felt it strongly. It is the only part of the case, which I conceive to be in the least degree against me, that rests upon a witness who is at all worthy of your Majesty's credit. How unfair it is, that any thing she has said should be pressed against me, I trust I have sufficiently shewn. In canvassing, however, Mrs. Lisle's evidence, I hope I have never forgot what was due to Mrs. Lisle. I have been as anxious not to do her injustice, as to do justice to myself. I retain the same respect and regard for Mrs. Lisle now, as I ever had. If the unfavourable impressions, which the Commissioners seem to suppose, fairly arise out of the expressions she has used, I am confident they will be understood, in a sense, which was never intended by her. And I should scorn to purchase any

advantage to myself, at the expense of the slightest imputation, unjustly cast upon Mrs. Lisle, or any one else.—Leaving therefore, with these observations, Mrs. Lisle's evidence, I must proceed to the evidence of Mr. Bidgood. The parts of it which apply to this part of the case, I mean my conduct to Captain Manby at Montague House, I shall detail. They are as follows. "I first observed Captain Manby came to Montague House either the end of 1803, or the beginning of 1804. I was waiting one day in the anti-room; Captain Manby had his hat in his hand, and appeared to be going away: he was a long time with the Princess, and, as I stood on the steps waiting, I looked into the room in which they were, and in the reflection on the looking-glass I saw them salute each other. I mean that they kissed each other's lips. Captain Manby then went away. I then observed the Princess have her handkerchief in her hands, and wipe her eyes, as if she was crying, and went into the drawing room." In his second deposition, on the 3d July, talking of his suspicions of what passed at Southend, he says, "they arose from seeing them kiss each other, as I mentioned before, like people fond of each other;—a very close kiss."—In these extracts from his depositions, there can undoubtedly be no complaint of any thing being left to inference. Here is a fact, which must unquestionably occasion almost as unfavourable interpretations, as any fact of the greatest impropriety and indecency, short of the proof of actual crime. And this fact is positively and affirmatively sworn to. And if this witness is truly represented, as one who must be credited till he is decidedly contradicted; and the decided contradiction of the parties accused, should be considered us unavailing, it constitutes a charge which cannot possibly be answered. For the scene is so laid, that there is no eye to witness it, but his own: and therefore there can be no one who can possibly contradict him, however false his story may be, but the persons whom he accused. As for me, Sir, there is no mode, the most solemn that can be devised, in which I shall not be anxious and happy to contradict it. And I do here most solemnly, in the face of Heaven, most directly and positively affirm, that it is as foul, malicious, and wicked a falsehood, as ever was invented by the malice of man. Captain Manby, to whom I have been under the necessity of applying, for that purpose, in the deposition which I annex, most expressly and positively denies it also. Beyond these our two denials, there is nothing which can by possibility be directly opposed to Mr. Bidgood's evidence.—All that remains to be done is to examine Mr. Bidgood's credit, and to see how far he deserves the character which the Commissioners give to him.—How unfoundedly they gave such a character to Mr. Cole, your Majesty, I am satisfied, must be fully convinced.—I suppose there must be some mistake, I will not call it by any harsher name, for I think it can be no more than a mistake, in Mr. Bidgood's saying, that the first time he knew Captain Manby come to Montague House, was at the end of 1803, or beginning of 1804; for he first came at the end of the former year; and the fact is, that Mr. Bidgood must have seen him then.—But, however, the date is comparatively immaterial, the fact it is, that is important.—And here, Sir, surely I have the same complaint which I have so often urged. I would ask your Majesty, whether I, not as a Princess of Wales,

but as a party accused, had not a right to be thought, and to be presumed innocent, till I was proved to be guilty? Let me ask, if there ever could exist a case, in which the credit of the witness ought to have been more severely sifted and tried? The fact rested solely upon his single assertion. However false, it could not possibly receive contradiction, but from the parties. The story itself surely is not very probable. My character cannot be considered as under inquiry; it is already gone, and decided upon, by those, if there are any such, who think such a story probable.—That in a room, with the door open, and a servant known to be waiting just by, we should have acted such a scene of gross indecency. The indiscretion at least might have rendered it improbable, even to those, whose prejudices against me, might be prepared to conceive nothing improbable in the indecency of it. Yet this seems to have been received as a fact that there was no reason to question. The witness is assumed, without hesitation, to be the witness of truth, of unquestionable veracity. Not the faintest trace is there to be found of a single question put to him, to try and sift the credit which was due to him, or to his story.

Is he asked, as I suggested before should have been done with regard to Mr. Cole—To whom he told this fact before? When he told it? What was ever done in consequence of this information? If he never told it, till for the purpose of supporting Lady Douglas's statement, how could he in his situation as an old servant of the Prince, with whom, as he swears, he had lived twenty-three years, creditably to himself, account for having concealed it so long? And how came Lady Douglas and Sir John to find out that he knew it, if he never had communicated it before? If he had communicated it, it would then have been useful to have heard how far his present story was consistent with his former; and if it should have happened that this and other matters, which he may have stated, were, at that time, made the subject of any inquiry; then how far that inquiry had tended to confirm or shake his credit. His first examination was, it is true, taken by Lord Grenville, and Lord Spencer alone, without the aid of the experience of the Lord Chancellor and Lord Chief Justice; this undoubtedly may account for the omission; but the noble Lords will forgive me if I say it does not excuse it, especially as Mr. Bidgood was examined again on the 3d of July, by all the Commissioners, and this fact is again referred to then as the foundation of the suspicion which he afterwards entertained of Captain Manby at Southend. Nay, that last deposition affords on my part, another ground of similar complaint of the strongest kind. It opens thus: "The Princess used to go out in her phaeton with coachman and helper towards Long Reach, eight or ten times, carrying luncheon and wine with her, when Captain Manby's ship was at Long Reach, always Mrs. Fitzgerald with her.—She would go out at one, and return about five or six; sometimes sooner or later."—The date when Captain Manby's ship was lying at Long Reach, is not given; and therefore whether this was before, or after, the scene of the supposed salute, does not appear. But for what was this statement of Mr. Bidgood's made? Why was it introduced? Why were these drives towards Long Reach with luncheon, connected with Captain Manby's ship lying there at the time, examined to by the Commissioners? The first

point, the matter foremost in their minds, when they call back this witness for his re-examination, appears to have been these drives towards Long Reach.—Can it have been for any purpose but to have the benefit of the insinuation, to leave it open to be inferred, that those drives were for the purpose of meeting Captain Manby? If this fact was material, why in the name of justice was it so left? Mrs. Fitzgerald was mentioned by name, as accompanying me in them all: Why was not she called? She perhaps was my confidant; no truth could have been hoped for from her;—still there were my coachman and helper, who likewise accompanied me; why were they not called? they are not surely confidants too.—But it is, for what reason I cannot pretend to say, thought sufficient to leave this fact, or rather this insinuation, upon the evidence of Mr. Bidgood, who only saw, or could see the way I went when I set out upon my drive, instead of having the fact from the persons who could speak to the whole of it; to the places I went to; to the persons whom I met with.—Your Majesty will think me justified in dwelling upon this, the more from this circumstance, because I know, and will shew to your Majesty on the testimony of Jonathan Partridge, which I annex, that these drives, or at least one of them, have been already the object of previous, and, I believe, nearly cotemporary investigation. The truth is, that it did happen upon two of these drives that I met with Captain Manby; in one of them that he joined me, and went with me to Lord Eardley's at Belvidere, and that he partook of something which we had to eat; that some of Lord Eardley's servants were examined as to my conduct upon this occasion;—and am confidently informed that the servants gave a most satisfactory account of all that passed; nay, that they felt, and have expressed, some honest indignation at the foul suspicion which the examination implied. On the other occasion, having the boys to go on board the *Africaine*, I went with one of my ladies to see them on board, and Captain Manby joined us in our walk round Mr. Calcrafft's grounds at Ingress Park, opposite to Long Reach; where we walked while my horses were baiting. We went into no house, and on that occasion had nothing to eat.—Perfectly unable to account why these facts were not more fully inquired into if thought proper to be inquired into at all, I return again to Mr. Bidgood's evidence. As far as it respects my conduct at Montague House, it is confined to the circumstances which I have already mentioned. And, upon those circumstances, I have no further observation which may tend to illustrate Mr. Bidgood's credit to offer. But I trust if, from other parts of his evidence, your Majesty sees traces of the strongest prejudices against me, and the most scandalous inferences, drawn from circumstances which can in no degree support them, your Majesty will then be able justly to appreciate the credit due to every part of Mr. Bidgood's evidence.—Under the other head, into which I have divided this part of the case, I mean my conduct at Southend as relative to Captain Manby, Mr. Bidgood is more substantial and particular. His statement on this head begins by shewing that I was at Southend about six weeks before the *Africaine*, Captain Manby's ship arrived. That Mr. Sicard was looking out for its arrival, as if she was expected. And as it is my practice to require an constant a corre-

spondence to be kept up with my charity boys, when on board of ship, as the nature of their situation will admit of, and as Mr. Sicard is the person who manages all matters concerning them, and enters into their interests with the most friendly anxiety, he certainly was apprized of the probability of the ship's arrival off Southend, before she came. And here I may as well perhaps, by the way, remark, that as this correspondence with the boys is always under cover to the captain; this circumstance may account to your Majesty for the fact, which is stated by some of the witnesses, of several letters being put into the post by Sicard, some of which he may have received from me, which were directed to Captain Manby.—Soon after the arrival of the *Africaine*, however, Bidgood says, the Captain put off in his boat. Sicard went to meet him, and immediately brought him up to me and my Ladies;—he dined there then, and came frequently to see me. It would have been as candid if Mr. Bidgood had represented the fact as it really was, though perhaps the circumstance is not very material:—that the Captain brought the two boys on shore with him to see me, and this, as well as many other circumstances connected with these boys, the existence of whom, as accounting in any degree for the intercourse between me and Captain Manby, could never have been collected from out of Bidgood's depositions, Sicard would have stated, if the Commissioners had examined him to it. But though he is thus referred to, though his name is mentioned about the letters sent to Captain Manby, he does not appear to have been examined to any of them, and all that he appears to have been asked is, as to his remembering Captain Manby visiting at Montague House, and to my paying the expense of the linen furniture for his cabin. But Mr. Sicard was, I suppose, represented by my enemies to be a confidant, from whom no truth could be extracted, and therefore that it was idle waste of time to examine him to such points; and so unquestionably he, and every other honest servant in my family, who could be supposed to know any thing upon the subject, were sure to be represented by those, whose conspiracy and falsehood, their honesty and truth were the best means of detecting. The conspirators, however, had the first word, and unfortunately their veracity was not questioned, nor their unfavourable bias suspected.

Mr. Bidgood then proceeds to state the situation of the houses, two of which, with a part of a third I had at Southend. He describes No. 9, as the house in which I slept; No. 8, as that in which we dined; and No. 7, as containing a drawing-room, to which we retired after dinner. And he says, "I have several times seen the Princess, after having gone to No. 7, with Captain Manby and the rest of the company, retire with Captain Manby from No. 7, through No. 8, to No. 9, which was the house where the Princess slept. I suspect that Captain Manby slept very frequently in the house.—Hints were given by the servants, and I believe that others suspected it as well as myself.—What those hints were, by what servants given, are things which do not seem to have been thought necessary matters of inquiry. At least there is no trace in Mr. Bidgood's, or any other witness's examination, of any such inquiry having been made.

In his second deposition, which applies to

the same fact, after saying that we went away the day after the *Africaine* sailed from Southend, he says, "Captain Manby was there three times a week at the least, while his ship lay for six weeks off Southend at the Nore;—he came as tide served in a morning, and to dine, and drink tea. I have seen him next morning by ten o'clock. I suspected he slept at No. 9, the Princess's. She always put out the candles herself in the drawing-room at No. 9, and bid me not wait to put them up. She gave me the orders as soon as she went to Southend. I used to see water jugs, basons, and towels, set out opposite the Princess's door in the passage. Never saw them so left in the passage at any other time, and I suspected he was there at that time; there was a general suspicion through the house. Mrs. and Miss Fitzgerald there, and Miss Hammond (now Mrs. Hood) there. My suspicion arose from seeing them in the glass," &c. as mentioned before.—"Her behaviour like that of a woman attached to a man; used to be by themselves at luncheon, at Southend, when the ladies were not sent for; a number of times. There was a poney which Captain Manby used to ride; it stood in the stable ready for him, and which Sicard used to ride." Then he says, the servants used to talk and laugh about Captain Manby, and that it was matter of discourse amongst them; and this, with what has been alluded to before, respecting Sicard's putting letters for him into the post, which he had received from me, contains the whole of his deposition as far as respects Captain Manby. And, Sire, as to the fact of retiring through No. 8, from No. 7, to No. 9, alone with Captain Manby, I have no recollection of ever having gone with Captain Manby, though but for a moment, from the one room in which the company was sitting, through the dining-room to the other drawing-room. It is, however, now above two years ago, and to be confident that such a circumstance might not have happened, is more than I will undertake to be. But in the only sense in which he uses the expression, as retiring alone, coupled with the immediate context that follows, it is most false and scandalous. I know no means of absolutely proving a negative. If the fact was true, there must have been other witnesses who could have proved it as well as Mr. Bidgood. Mrs. Fitzgerald is the only person of the party, who was examined, and her evidence proves the negative so far as the negative can be proved; for she says, "he dined there, but never staid late. She was at Southend all the time I was there, and cannot recollect to have seen Captain Manby there, or known him to be there, later than nine, or half past nine." Miss Fitzgerald and Miss Hammond, (now Mrs. Hood) are not called to this fact; although a fact so extremely important, as it must appear to your Majesty; nor indeed are they examined at all. As to the putting out of the candles, it seems he says, I have the orders as soon as I went to Southend, which was six weeks before the *Africaine* arrived; so this plan of excluding him from the opportunity of knowing what was going on at No. 9, was part of a long-meditated scheme, as he would represent it, planned and thought of six weeks before it could be executed; and which when it was executed, your Majesty will recollect, according to Mr. Bidgood's evidence, there was so little contrivance to conceal, that the basons and towels, which the Captain is insinuated to have used,

were exposed to sight, as if to declare that he was there. It is tedious and disgusting, Sire, I am well aware, to trouble your Majesty with such particulars; but it doubtless is true, that I bid him not to take the candles away from No. 9. The candles which are used in my drawing-room, are considered as his perquisites. Those on the contrary which are used in my private apartment are the perquisites of my maid. I thought that upon the whole it was a fairer arrangement, when I was at Southend, to give my maid the perquisites of the candles used at No. 9; and I made the arrangement accordingly, and ordered Mr. Bidgood to leave them. Thus, Sire, is the true account of the fact respecting the candles; an arrangement which very possibly Mr. Bidgood did not like. But the putting out the candles myself, was not the only thing, from which the inference is drawn, that Captain Manby slept at my house, at No. 9, and as is evidently insinuated, if not stated, in my bed-room. There were water jugs, and basons, and towels left in the passage, which Mr. Bidgood never saw at other times. At what other times does he mean? At other times than those at which he suspected, from seeing them there, that Captain Manby slept in my house? If every time he saw the basons and towels, &c. in the passage, he suspected Captain Manby slept there, it certainly would follow that he never saw them at times when he did not suspect that fact. But Sire, upon this important fact, important to the extent of convicting me, if it were true, of High Treason, if it were not for the indignation which such scandalous licentious wickedness and malice excite, it would hardly be possible to treat it with any gravity. Whether there were or were not basons and towels sometimes left in a passage at Southend, which were not there generally, and ought to have been never there, I really cannot inform your Majesty. It certainly is possible, but the utmost it can prove, I should trust, might be some slovenliness in my servant, who did not put them in their proper places; but surely it must be left to Mr. Bidgood alone to trace any evidence, from such a circumstance, of the crime of adultery in me. But I cannot thus leave this fact, for I trust I shall here again have the same advantage from the excess and extravagance of this man's malice, as I have already had on the other part of the charge, from the excess and extravagance of his confederate Lady Douglas. What is the charge that he would insinuate? That I meditated and effected a stolen, secret, clandestine intercourse with an adulterer? No.—Captain Manby, it seems according to his insinuation, slept with me in my own house, under circumstances, of such notoriety that it was impossible that any of my female attendants at least should not have known it. Their duties were varied on the occasion; they had to supply basons and towels in places where they never were supplied, except when prepared for him; and they were not only purposely so prepared, but prepared in an open passage, exposed to view, in a manner to excite the suspicion of those who were not admitted into the secret. And what a secret was it, that was thus to be hazarded! No less than what, if discovered, would fix Captain Manby and myself with High Treason! Not only therefore must I have been thus careless of reputation, and eager for infamy; but I must have been careless of my life, as of my honour.—Lost to all sense of shame, surely I must have still retained some regard for life.

Captain Manby too with a folly and madness equal to his supposed iniquity, must then have put his life in the hands of my servants and depended for his safety upon their fidelity to me, and their perfidy to the Prince their master. If the excess of vice and crime in all this is believed, could its indiscretion, its madness, find credulity to adopt it almost upon any evidence? But what must be the state of that man's mind, as to prejudice, who could come to the conclusion of believing it, from the fact of some water-jugs and towels being found in an unusual place, in a passage near my bed-room? For as to his suspicion being raised by what he says he saw in the looking-glass, if it was as true as it is false, that could not occasion, his believing, on any particular night, that Captain Manby slept in my house; the situation of these towels and basons is what leads to that belief.—But, Sir, may I ask, did the Commissioners believe this man's suspicions? If they did, what do they mean by saying that these facts of great indecency, &c. went to a much less extent than the principal charges? And that it was not for them to state their bearing and effect? The bearing of this fact unquestionably, if believed, is the same as that of the principal charge: namely, to prove me guilty of High Treason. They therefore could not believe it. But if they did not believe it, and as it seems to me, Sir, no men of common judgement could, on such a statement, how could they bring themselves to name Mr. Bidgood as one of those witnesses on whose unbiassed testimony they could so rely? or how could they, (in pointing him out with the other three as speaking to facts, *particularly with respect to Captain Manby*, which must be credited till decidedly contradicted, omit to specify the facts which he spoke to that they thus thought worthy of belief, but leave the whole, including this incredible part of it, recommended to belief by their general and unqualified sanction and approbation.

But the falsehood of this charge does not rest on its incredibility alone. My servant Mrs. Sander, who attended constantly on my person, and whose bed-room was close to mine, was examined by the Commissioners; she must have known this fact if it had been true; she positively swears, “that she did not know or believe that Captain Manby staid till very late hours with me; that she never suspected there was any improper familiarity between us. M. Wilson, who made my bed, swears, that she had been in the habit of making it ever since she lived with me; that another maid, whose name was Ann Bye, assisted with her in making it, and swears from what she observed, that she never had any reason to believe that two persons had slept in it. Referring thus by name to her fellow-servant, who made the bed with her; but that servant, why I know not, is not examined.—As your Majesty then finds the inference drawn by Bidgood to amount to a fact so openly and undisguisedly profligate, as to outrage all credibility; as your Majesty finds it negatived by the evidence of three witnesses, one of whom, in particular, if such a fact were true, must have

known it; as your Majesty finds one witness appealing to another, who is pointed out as a person who must have been able, with equal means of knowledge, to have confirmed her if she spoke true, and to have contradicted her if she spoke false. And, Sir, when added to all this, your Majesty is graciously pleased to recollect that Mr. Bidgood was one of those who, though in my service, submitted themselves voluntarily to be examined previous to the appointment of the Commissioners, in confirmation of Lady Douglas's statement, without informing me of the fact; and when I state to your Majesty, upon the evidence of Philip Krackeler and Robert Eaglestone, whose deposition I annex, that this unbiassed witness, during the pendency of these examinations before the Commissioners, was seen to be in conference and communication with Lady Douglas, my most ostensible scoundrel, do I raise my expectations too high, when I confidently trust that his malice and his falsehood, as well as his connexion in this conspiracy against my honour, my station in this kingdom, and my life, will appear to your Majesty too plainly for him to receive any credit, either in this or any other part of his testimony.—The other circumstances to which he speaks, are comparatively too trifling for me to trouble your Majesty with any more observations upon his evidence.—The remaining part of the case which respects Captain Manby, relates to my conduct at East Cliff.—How little Mrs. Lisle's examination affords for observations upon this part of the case, except as shewing how very seldom Captain Manby called upon me while I was there, I have already observed. Mr. Cole says nothing upon this part of the case; nor Mr. Bidgood. The only witness amongst the four whose testimonies are distinguished by the Commissioners as most material, and as those on which they particularly rely, who says any thing upon this part of the case, is Fanny Lloyd. Her deposition is as follows:—“I was at Ramsgate with the Princess in 1803. One morning when we were in the house at East Cliff, somebody, I don't recollect who, knocked at my door, and desired me to prepare breakfast for the Princess. This was about six o'clock; I was asleep. During the whole time I was in the Princess's service, I had never been called up before to make the Princess's breakfast. I slept in the housekeeper's room, on the ground-floor. I opened the shutters of the window for light. I knew at that time that Captain Manby's ship was in the Downs. When I opened the shutters, I saw the Princess walking down the Gravel-Walk towards the sea. No orders had been given me over-night to prepare breakfast early. The gentleman the Princess was with was a tall man. I was surprised to see the Princess walking with a gentleman at that time in the morning. I am sure it was the Princess.”—What this evidence of Fanny Lloyd applies to, I do not feel certain that I recollect. The circumstances which she mentions might, I think, have occurred twice while I was there; and which time she alludes to, I cannot

(To be continued.)

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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TO JAMES PAUL,

OF BURSLEDON, IN LOWER DUBLIN TOWNSHIP, IN PHILADELPHIA COUNTY, IN THE STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA; ON MATTERS RELATING TO HER ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCESS OF WALES.

Letter VI.

My dear Friend,

This Letter will conclude the remarks which I mean to address to you, relative to the interesting affair of the Princess of Wales. I have, indeed, already gone into the whole of the subject as far as it is necessary for me to go into it, seeing that the Defence of the Princess leaves so very little to be said by any one. But, there have arisen certain matters, forming the sequel of the disclosure, which are well worthy of your attention; and, of these, the most important are, the debates, or, rather, the remarks and counter-remarks, which have been made in the two Houses of Parliament, relative to the *deposition of Mrs. Lisle*, which deposition you will find in the Register, at page 393.

MR. WHITBREAD, in the House of Commons, on the 17th of March, last past, referred to this affidavit, or deposition, and he animadverted upon the conduct of the Four Lords, who took it down. The Four Lords, in their place, in the House of Lords, a few days afterwards, entered into an explanation, vindicated their own conduct, and spoke in very severe terms of the attack which had been made upon them.

Before I enter further into this matter, I beg you to observe, that it is of very great importance; because, as you will have perceived, of the whole of that crowd of witnesses, who were examined upon this occasion, Mrs. Lisle is the only one, to whose testimony the Princess appears to attach any importance; and, indeed, she is the only witness whose testimony seems to merit any serious refutation. She is, as was observed in my last Letter, one of the *four persons*, upon whose testimony the charge of impropriety of conduct did, in the eyes of the Four Lords, rest for credi-

bility; and, as the Princess's defence does, in my opinion, demolish the testimony of the other *three*, Mrs. Lisle alone remains as a witness whose testimony has *some* weight. It was, therefore, in the opinion of Mr. Whitbread, of great consequence to explain every circumstance relating to the mode which the Four Lords pursued in getting at and in recording this testimony. I will not, for fear of mistakes, attempt to make any abstract, or abridgment, of his speech upon this occasion; but, will insert it just as I find it reported in the *Times newspaper* of the 18th of March, that being the fullest report that I have been able to find of Mr. Whitbread's speech, which, as far as related to the subject before us, was as follows: "He must," he said, "trouble the House for a few minutes with some passages in Mrs. Lisle's evidence, relative to the Princess and Captain Manby. Mrs. L. could not say there was any attachment; and she never saw any kissing hands, &c. He wished to confine himself to material points. After the evidence was given, the depositions were taken; and he was not surprised, under all the circumstances, at Mrs. Lisle's signature to the deposition; but he was, he must confess, surprised to find leading questions put to her by his Learned Friend, the Lord Chancellor Erskine; questions on which that Noble and Learned Lord, when an advocate, would have expired, sooner than have permitted to be answered by any witness of his, on a trial in a Court of Law. One would be tempted by the deposition to think, that Mrs. L. said all in *one breath* as it were. The question in the examination was put to Mrs. L. "*Did Captain Manby sit next to the Princess at dinner?*" Yet, in the deposition, it seemed as if she stated it *voluntarily*. Then Lord Erskine asks Mrs. L. "*whether they all sat just as the four Noble Lords sat round their table with her?*" Mr. W. remarked on various other questions put to Mrs. L., and expressed his astonishment that so many *leading* questions should have been put to her. "*What! did the Princess*

"and Captain Manby sit apart? What, if sitting together, do you suppose they talked about?" Lords Erskine and Ellenborough put these questions; and then the deposition is to go out to the world to impress the sense of guilt on the part of the Princess. The answer of Mrs. L. regarding the conversation was, that she did not listen to it. Then Lord Erskine desires her to answer him, as a woman of reason, character, and of knowledge of the world, whether the Princess's conduct was *proper for a married woman*—he puts it to her honour as a mother? Really, there never was a question put to a female witness which could make the chords of sensibility vibrate more strongly in her heart. The answer was collected, dignified, affectionate, and motherly, for the question referred to her own family: "my daughter," she says, "lived well with her husband." To the question again, whether the Princess lived as a married woman ought? Mrs. L.'s answer was, not like the statement in the deposition. Lord Ellenborough, indeed, said to the Chancellor, "I suppose you'd put it as any married woman." "What did you ever think of the Princess's talking with Captain Manby?" was another question: but these were never answered, though we had something about them in the deposition. He was sorry to be obliged to animadvert upon the conduct of the four Noble Lords Commissioners; but he should be doing injustice to the cause of justice, if he did not say, that, if the accused had been provided with an advocate, witnesses would have been protected, or prevented from answering many interrogatories that were put to them. "The Princess," says Mrs. L., "is free and condescending." "That," says the Chancellor, "is not my question." "I thought," says Mrs. L., "that the Princess liked to talk with Captain Manby, rather than with the Ladies." Let the House reflect, that there were, and are attached to the Princess, persons of high consideration; yet could any body doubt that when new society, which afforded new topics of conversation, broke in upon the sameness—the fatigue of retired and mock royalty,—debarred from many sources of amusement,—yet uncompensated by even the trappings of her state, could any body doubt, or be surprised, that the Princess should find something in it agreeable? Yet that was an im-

putation upon her! Let Gentlemen bring to their consideration the situation of their own wives, sisters, and daughters. When they left home to attend to their public or private business, would they not treat with contempt and scorn, evidence such as this, if it was attempted to charge criminality upon it? (*Hear, hear.*) They might be disposed to prosecute the calumniator: but Her Royal Highness did not stand in the situation of a person for whom such steps could be taken. He was ashamed of some parts of the examination. It was asked, whether she went out with Mr. Hood in a whiskey? Whether he drove it? This was something like the mode of cross-examination. "Who was there besides Mr. Hood's servant?" "Was he a man or a boy?" (*A laugh.*) "How often did she go out so?" Was it fair-play to the Princess to extract answers in that manner? Then they came to Mr. Chester, who was stated to be "a pretty young man." (*A laugh.*) This was too ludicrous to be serious, and yet too serious to be ludicrous. The inference seemed to be, that there was a *prepossession* for him, because he was handsome. It was asked, "Is he not handsome?" The answer was, "pretty!" All that was nauseous had been read; but he should notice one point: the witness was asked, "Do you recollect the Princess getting up and going out of her room into another at night, for a light?" Answer, "I do." "Why," say two lawyers, "did she get up in the night?" (*laugh.*) Yet this was in the deposition; and the shakers of heads continued to shake, because Mrs. Lisle had deposed so and so. That was not a fair construction of Mrs. L.'s evidence, if the examinations were read. "I heard Her Royal Highness say," says the witness, "that she had been ill, and that her candle was gone out." Was not the Princess to be in a situation common to every subject of the realm? The public mind must form her shield, and her protection. Read the evidence, and say whether she has not a right to be treated as innocent, till she be proved guilty. Mrs. L.'s testimony gives an easy, natural, and probable solution, of this mysterious transaction. (*Hear.*) Mr. Chester, it seems, walked out twice with the Princess; and he was left at Lord Sheffield's. Then for Captain Moore. He dined there, and where, it

"was asked, did he go afterwards? Why, down stairs: she sent him for a book."
 "How long was he in getting it?"
 "Twenty minutes. Then it was asked, how long he staid the second time. This part of the examination was as much like an imputation on Mrs. Lisle, as upon the Princess. Well then: the Princess actually made Captain Moore a present of a silver inkstand! Mrs. L. saw him afterwards on the Princess Charlotte's birth day, when he went away before the rest of the company. He (Mr. W.) might now go to Mr. Lawrence, and so on to the end of the chapter in the same manner. He had, he conceived, done enough in referring to this book; and he clearly saw that the notes of the examination *look the sting entirely out of the depositions.*"

This was the speech of Mr. WHITREAD, as reported in the news-papers. He had, by some means, obtained a written copy of the questions put to the witnesses. This paper, it seems, he read to the house, making his remarks on it as he proceeded. No notice, in public, was taken of this, by the *Four Lords*, till the 22d of March, when they all four spoke of it in the House of Lords. Lord Ellenborough, the Lord Chief Justice, led the way; and, as the other three gave their full assent to the correctness of his statement, I will not insert any of their speeches except his, which I take from the Report, published in the Times news-paper of the 23d of March, and which report gave it in the following words.

"Lord Ellenborough commenced by saying, that he had to trouble their Lordships on an occasion, in which many motives concurred to make him come forward reluctantly. The House would understand, that the circumstance to which he alluded, was connected with the mention of individuals whom his respect would not allow him lightly to name. He was aware, that in coming forth to clear himself, there might be an imputation of weakness and irritation under the charge which forced him forward; but then it was necessary that truth should be told: there were cases, in which all of respect that we could feel for general opinion,—all of credit that we could claim with the world,—all honour and propriety urged us on exculpation. Another reason still might retard him,—he was a Privy Councillor: going into a question of this nature might

seem to involve a dereliction of his duty; but he trusted nothing should so far make him forget that duty, as to touch upon matters by whose disclosure it might be impaired. But the character of his Noble Colleagues must not be left to suffer through his silence. They were all placed in the strange and hard situation where they must be condemned unheard, or look for an imperfect vindication by the scantiness of their right to explain. But nothing should prevent him giving the fullest denial to the calumny in question,—that *foulest, basest, and most malignant calumny* that could have been thrown out against men in the situation which he and his Noble Colleagues had held. It would be remembered that some years since His Majesty had been advised to issue a Commission for an inquiry into matters which involved some eminent persons in this country. In that Commission his (Lord Ellenborough's) name was inserted, without his knowing any thing of the matter. Once engaged by His Majesty's command, he did his duty to the best of his power. But it was in the performance of that duty that some person, with the most *abandoned and detestable slander*, had dared to charge him with a gross act of dishonesty; him, on whose character for integrity, diligence, and care, depended more of the property and interests of the people than on those of any other man in the country; yet of him, it was foully and slanderously alleged, that he had *falsified the evidence* given before the Commission, giving in as a document, evidence that was not received, and suppressing that which was actually given. This was all *a lie—a vile slander,—all false as Hell.* He would not violate the propriety of that House; he knew the respect and decency which it required; but he must give the *lie* to falsehood. He should now trouble the House with a short statement of facts. In the course of the inquiry his Noble Colleagues thought it proper to have some person to take down and arrange the evidence. His Majesty's Solicitor General at that time, (Sir Samuel Romilly,) was the person fixed on. One evening the Commission having met, and the witnesses being in attendance, it was thought better not to defer the examination, and lose the evening, though from some circumstance or other Sir Samuel Romilly was not in

“attendance. The messenger sent for him could not find him, and the examination proceeded. The Commissioners requested that he (Lord Ellenborough), as he had been in the habit of taking down evidence, and probably took down in the year twice as much as any man in the kingdom, should take down the evidence of the witnesses in attendance. He declared upon the most sacred asseveration that could be made,—the most solemn sanction of an oath,—that every word of that deposition came from the lips of the witness in question,—that every word of it was read over to her,—if not paragraph by paragraph, as it was taken down, certainly all after it was taken,—and every sheet signed with her name. If it would not be going into the particular disclosure, which nothing could induce him to allow or advise, the bare inspection of the paper would be enough to shew that fabrication was impossible. It was full of interlineations; the mind of the party was expressed in its language,—any man might have seen, in its changes and corrections, that the deposition went to ascertain the full meaning of the witness, and could not have been the work of him or the other Commissioners. He might, at least, from his station, take the credit of laborious accuracy; and he would venture to say, that not one word was in that written deposition which had not been spoken by the witness. But how absurd was the charge! Would his Noble Colleagues have suffered him to vitiate the evidence! Would they have allowed him to set down a word on the paper which was not deposed by the witness? He had every reason, from the most perfect recollection, to say, that the paper in question contained the whole evidence—and nothing but the evidence of the witness. Their Lordships would forgive him for those repetitions; but when they shewed so just a jealousy of the reputation of their body, when it was so important that his (Lord Ellenborough's) integrity should stand without suspicion, from the multitude of interests connected with it,—their Lordships could not blame him for standing forth to repel in the strongest manner so base and impudent, and *miscreant* an imputation. (*Hear.*) Nay, the thing was foolish as well as wicked. It was *despicable* from its very *stupidity*. It charged him with putting *leading* questions.

“Now what was the case in which leading questions could be put? It was, where there were contending parties; and leading questions were only improper when the counsel might be suspected of instructing his own witness. But the Judge had a right to put any question which appeared to him likely to elucidate the truth. There was another case, when the witness was adverse; but here the rule had its exceptions, and nothing to be derived from it could impeach the putting of any questions by Commissioners who could have had no object but the truth. It remained for this *stupid* and *cursed impudence*,—for impudence was a *curse*, to add another query, and gravely demand why the examination had not been written in question and answer. But was there a man grey-headed in the law who had ever heard of such a thing? If the whole of the facts could be detailed, no prejudice on the subject could lie on the minds of the public for an instant. But as a Privy Councillor he could not address the Prince Regent for that purpose—(*Hear.*)—One of the most alarming symptoms of the age was, that *brutal* and *savage* indifference with which men threw about slander at the *highest* characters: “this was ‘tossing firebrands,’ and then saying, ‘am I not in sport?’ But in the whole transaction, he and the Noble Commissioners, he must be allowed to say, felt, not perfect indifference, (for who could feel indifference?) but a single desire to do their duty—(*Hear.*). He was sorry to have so far troubled the House. His purpose was not vindictive; but exculpatory. For whatever punishment the offence might call, he would call for none;—he was only desirous to stand unimpeached in the opinion of the country, and honest in the eyes of his fellow-men.”

My Lord, the Chief Judge, appears to have been very much enraged upon this occasion. He appears to have been greatly moved. He appears to have been in a passion, as people call it. But, before I make any remark on the merits of this dispute between the Four Lords and Mr. Whitbread, it will be necessary to pursue the matter as it proceeded in parliament, where, on the 23d of March, Mr. Whitbread, having, in the meanwhile, applied to Mrs. Lisle, produced a letter, signed by that lady, stating, that the paper, which he had sent to her (the same which he had read in the House) was a correct

copy of the *questions* put to her and of her *answers*, as she had *written the whole down*, immediately after the examination took place. He also entered into an explanation as to the *nature* of the animadversions which he had made upon the conduct of the *Four Lords*; and said, that he had *not* accused them of putting a false deposition upon paper; that he had *not* accused them of any *fabrication*; that he had *not* said, that they had been guilty of any falsification of testimony; but, that he had said, that *leading questions* were put, and that, if the evidence had been inserted by *question and answer*, instead of putting down the *answers only*, Mrs. Lisle's testimony would have appeared in a very different light from what it did; and this appears to have been the impression on the mind of Mrs. Lisle herself; for, otherwise, why did she write down the *questions and answers* upon going home from the Commissioners?

The main points to be considered here are, first, whether *leading questions* ought to have been put by the *Four Lords* upon such an occasion; secondly, whether they ought to have reported the evidence in *question and answer*, or only in the *answers*.

Mr. Whitbread has, by the writers in some of the news-papers, as well as by the *Four Lords*, been charged with *ignorance*, because he complained of the putting of *leading questions*. It is very well known, that, what is called a *leading question* is sometimes intended or has an obvious tendency to draw from a witness that which is not true; or, at least, to *point out to him what to say*; and, such questions are not allowed to be put by the advocate on whose side the witness is brought; but that any question may be put by the adverse advocate, or by the Judge, because they cannot be suspected of any desire to tutor the witness. Therefore, as applicable to the present case, Lord Ellenborough is reported to have said, that "nothing could impeach the putting of leading questions by the Commissioners, who could have no object but the truth." No: certainly. God forbid that I should say, that they had any object but the truth; but, still, when a deposition, consisting, in part, of answers to *leading questions*, came to be published to the world, such deposition might be understood in a sense different from that in which a simple declaration, or narration, of the witness would be understood; and, indeed, in this case, Mrs.

Lisle, who had read and signed her deposition, seems to have thought it necessary to guard against this; for, upon her going home, she wrote down the answers as contained in her deposition, and she put to them the *questions*, by which those answers were drawn forth. This she regarded as an act of justice due to Her Royal Mistress, and, as appears from her Letter to Mr. Whitbread, she immediately gave Her Royal Highness a copy of the whole of the examination, in question and answer; and, as you will perceive, Her Royal Highness says, in one part of her defence, that, in such a case, the questions as well as the answers ought to have been subjoined to the Report.

Upon this second point, the Lord Chief Justice defied any man to cite an instance, in which the minutes of a Judge had been taken down in any other way than that in which Mrs. Lisle's deposition had been taken down; and, in the House of Commons, Mr. Whitbread was told, that he ought to have known, from his attendance at the Quarter Sessions, that such was the universal practice; and that, therefore, he ought to have considered it as proper in this case.

Now, observe, it must here be supposed, that the reprovers of Mr. Whitbread spoke either of depositions or examinations previous to trial; or, of examinations before a court and jury; and, I am of opinion, that neither of these furnishes a case in point. As to the first, the examinations thus taken do not serve as the ground of any final decision; the party accused may be held to bail or committed upon them; but, he is afterwards to be tried; the whole is to be heard over again before other magistrates and before jurors, who are to decide upon the case; but, who are not to decide, till they themselves have heard the witnesses speak; till they themselves have heard the questions as well as the answers. In the case of Mrs. Lisle's deposition, there was no after examination to take place. The King, to whom the deposition was sent along with the Report upon it, was to form his judgment upon the answers only. The difference here is so manifest and so important that it needs nothing further to make you fully sensible of it.

As to examinations before a court and jury, it is very true, that the Judge makes a minute of the answers only. When he sums up the evidence, he seldom says a word about the questions, and merely tells

the jury, that the witness has sworn *thus* and *thus*, repeating, as nearly as possible, the words of the witness; but, observe, though the Judge does not minute down the questions; though he does not state the questions to the jury; the jury have **HEARD THEM ALL**; and, when they are told by the Judge, that the witness has said so and so, they have fresh in their mind the *question* in answer to which he so said; and that, by that means, they are enabled to give to the answer its precise value, which no one who has not heard the question can be able to do.

You will please to bear in mind, that it was *the King* who was to *decide* upon Mrs. Lisle's testimony. It was to him, that the Four Lords made their report upon that evidence, and that it was to him, that her deposition was sent. And, it is necessary for you to keep in mind also, that Mrs. Lisle was one of the four witnesses, mentioned at the close of the Report, as having given testimony calculated to give rise, and, indeed, which must *necessarily* give rise, to *very unfavourable interpretations* as to the conduct of the Princess. The other three of these four witnesses, Cole, Bidgood, and Fanny Lloyd, we have seen enough of before: but Mrs. Lisle, a lady of unimpeached character, who had been with the Princess for many years, and who has remained with her almost up to this time, was, and is, worthy of serious attention.

It was the King, you will perceive, who was to *decide* upon the value of every expression of Mrs. Lisle, and the King was not present, as a juror is, to hear the *questions* as well as the answers; and, therefore, as Mr. Whitbread contended, the King had not the best means of arriving at a just opinion of the value of Mrs. Lisle's evidence. The same might be said of the *public*. They saw only the answers; and, though the Four Lords did not publish the depositions, the depositions were published; the answers of Mrs. Lisle were published; and, therefore, Mr. Whitbread thought it just; he thought it necessary to a right decision by the people, that the questions as well as the answers should be publicly known.

When it was contended, that Judges in their minutes and Justices in their examinations took down and recorded only the *answers* of witnesses, it might have been recollected, that, in other cases, the questions as well as the answers are taken down. In trials before Committees of the

House of Commons, for instance, this is the practice; and, the reason of it appears to be this: that the House itself, who is to decide upon any special report of their Committees, *are not present* to hear the examinations; and, therefore, must have question as well as answer to enable them to judge correctly of the real value and amount of the evidence. And, as to trials that are *published*, the question, as well as the answer, is invariably given, as *being* absolutely necessary to give the public a clear insight of the matter. The fact appears to me to be this; that, where the party who is to *decide* is not present at the examination, the question as well as the answer is necessary to the ends of fair decision. The Four Lords, looking upon themselves apparently as judges or magistrates, followed the usual practice of judges or magistrates; but, they do not appear to have adverted to the circumstance of the king not being present as jurors are; and, as to the capacity of magistrate, they did, unfortunately for the Princess and fortunately for Lady Douglas, soon find, that they were not acting in that capacity.

The vast difference between a report of evidence in question and answer, and one only in the answers, will appear in a moment, if we take a passage from this very evidence of Mrs. Lisle, in which, for instance, she says;

"At Lady Sheffield's Her Royal Highness paid more attention to Mr. Chester than to the rest of the Company. I knew Her Royal Highness walk out alone with Mr. Chester twice in the morning; once a short time it rained—the other not an hour—not long. Mr. Chester is a pretty young man."

Now, this, though quite sufficient for a judge, or for a jury, who had heard the questions, must have, on mere readers of the deposition, a very different effect from that which would naturally be produced by the reading of the same thing in question and answer; thus:

At Lady Sheffield's did Her Royal Highness pay more attention to Mr. Chester than to the rest of the company?—*Yes.*—Did you know Her Royal Highness walk out alone with Mr. Chester?—*Yes; she walked out twice in the morning: once a short time it rained—the other not an hour—not long.*—Is Mr. Chester a handsome young man?—*He is pretty.*

You see, my friend, the statement in

precisely the same in words; but, the impression it conveys is very different indeed. As the story stands in the deposition, stripped of the form of question and answer, it would appear to come *voluntarily* from Mrs. Lisle; and the circumstance of Mr. Chester being a *pretty young man* would naturally, in the mind of the mass of readers, appear to have occurred to Mrs. Lisle herself as the CAUSE of the Princess's attention to him more than to the rest of the company, and also as the CAUSE of the walks with him alone. Therefore, though it was the duty of the four Lords to use all possible means to get at the truth as to every circumstance; and though they, in recording the evidence, followed the usual practice of judges and magistrates, we cannot help lamenting that they did not think it necessary to put down and report the questions as well as the answers. Lord Ellenborough appears to have thought, that he and his coadjutors had been charged with a *falsification of evidence*; a *suppression of evidence*; but, really, I did not so understand Mr. Whitbread. I understood him simply to say; that, if the questions as well as the answers, in the case of Mrs. Lisle, had been given, the impression produced by her evidence, upon the mind of the reader of it, would be different from what it must be while nothing but the answers were seen. It seems to have been understood, that Mr. Whitbread had stated, that the evidence was taken down by the four Lords in question and answer, and that they put only the answers into the deposition. But, this is not the way in which I understood him. I understood him to say, that he had obtained a copy of the answers accompanied by the questions; but, not to say that the questions had been taken down by the four Lords, and afterwards suppressed by them; and, in short, the only points upon which there seems to have been any real difference of opinion were these: whether, in the first place, it was right to put *leading questions*; and whether, in the next place, the questions ought not, in this case to have been given as well as the answers.

The defence of the Princess is so complete and every way satisfactory upon the evidence of Mrs. Lisle, that I can hardly think it necessary for me to say any thing more about it; but, there is one point or two on which I cannot refrain from making a few observations. She says, that "Her Royal Highness behaved to Capt. Manby *ONLY* as any woman would who likes

"*flirting*;" and, in another place she calls the conduct of the Princess "*ONLY* a *flirting conduct*." The word to *flirt* means, in its proper sense, to *banter* or *jeer*. I know not, for my part, what other sense *can* be given to it; and, therefore, all that Mrs. Lisle says here is, that the Princess behaved with Captain Manby like a woman who likes *bantering* and *joking*. — Lord preserve all our wives from such a scrutiny! I am really afraid, that it would be too much even for those most amiable and most virtuous of creatures, the sleek sisterhood of Pennsylvania. And yet, as you see by the Report, Mrs. Lisle's evidence did, in the opinion of the Four Lords, give rise to unfavourable interpretations. Judge, then, to what a pitch we, in this country, carry our notions of female decorum!

The word *ONLY* seems, however, to take the sting completely out of this part of Mrs. Lisle's evidence; for, if she had meant by the word *flirting*, any thing *criminal*, any thing *vicious*, any thing *indecent*, any thing *gross*, any thing *indecorous*, any thing *improper*, she would never have prefixed to it the word *ONLY*. She would not have said *only criminal*, *only vicious*, *only indecent*, *only gross*, *only indecorous*, or, *only improper*; and, if it was something, which was neither criminal, vicious, indecent, gross, indecorous, nor improper; if it was neither of these, in the name of common sense, what *harm* was there in it; and, in what way could it possibly give rise to *unfavourable interpretations*? You see, too, that Mrs. Lisle must have had some question put to her which drew forth the word *ONLY*; so that, this word must be taken to exclude all that is not included in the word *flirting*; and, of course, to shut out every thing of a higher cast than that of *flirting*, which means neither more nor less than *bantering*. You yourself are a very sober, grave man, and not at all likely to wink at improper conduct in any woman, especially a married woman, though separated from her husband without any fault of her's; but, would you, if you were told, that such a woman were given to banter, and did actually banter, with a man in the presence of several other women, think it right to give an *unfavourable interpretation* to her conduct on that account?

But, Mrs. Lisle says, as is stated in the deposition (see Register, p. 466), that "she would not have *THOUGHT* that any *married woman* would have behaved pre-

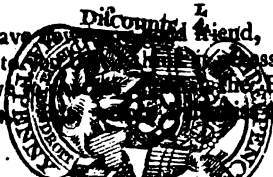
"perly, who behaved as the Princess did "to Captain Manby." Now, you will observe, that Mr. Whitbread stated, that there was a question put here as to whether Mrs. Lisle would have liked to see such conduct in her own daughter, who had just then died; and that she replied, that her daughter *lived in the same house with her husband*. However, leaving this circumstance quite out of the question, does not the Princess, in her defence, complain with some reason of having the *opinion* of Mrs. Lisle, or of any body else, set up against her conduct? When witnesses are called and sworn as to the *acts* of accused persons, is it usual to ask the *opinions* of those witnesses as to the nature of those acts? Besides, the opinion here given was in answer to a general question. *Any married woman*; not any married woman *living separated from her husband*, which makes all the difference in the world. For, you will readily agree, that the bantering ascribed to the Princess, the talking more to Captain Manby than to the ladies, might be very excusable in a married woman living separated from her husband, though it might not be so easily excused in one living with her husband, and whose duty it would be to avoid every sort of familiarity likely to give that husband the smallest degree of uneasiness. Mrs. Lisle might very consistently have thought, that the Princess's conduct to Captain Manby was perfectly innocent and right, and yet she might have thought, that such conduct would not be right in *any* married woman without exception, and without attention being paid to the peculiar circumstances of the case. She does not say, you will observe, that such conduct would, in her opinion, have been proper in *NO* married woman. You will pay particular attention to that. She only says, that, such conduct would not, in her opinion, have been proper in *ANY* married woman without exception; that is to say, that it would not have been, in her opinion, a conduct proper for *all* married women, meaning, of course, to be understood to be speaking of women living as married women generally live.

Is this splitting of hairs? If it be, the fault is not mine. Importance has been given to trifles, and it is not, therefore, our fault if we treat them as being important.

I have a friend, said every thing to me, that was necessary to say relatively to the Princess of Wales, on the subject

altogether, I think it right to notice a letter, published on the 27th of March by *Sirf Moira*, who, as you will have perceived, has been pretty much concerned in some part of these transactions. In this letter his Lordship denies having gone to Lord Eardley's to seek, amongst the servants there, for evidence against the Princess. He asserts, that the information came first from Lord Eardley to the Prince; that the Prince listened to it reluctantly; that the servants came to Lord Moira, and he did not go to them; that he found their stories unworthy of notice; that he, therefore, advised the Prince to do nothing in the business; and that it was his advice and the Prince's desire that no talk should take place on the subject.

His Lordship then gives his explanation as to the much more important point; the examination, by him, of Messrs. Mills and Edmeades, on the subject of the fact stated by Fanny Lloyd, respecting what one of those gentlemen had said as to the supposed pregnancy of the Princess. This is a point of so much consequence, that, in justice to the character of his Lordship, I shall insert the whole of that part of his letter which relates to it. "The interviews with Dr. Mills and Mr. Edmeades did not take place till between three and four years after the examination of Lord Eardley's servants, and had no reference to it. Fanny Lloyd, a maid servant in the Princess's family, had, in an examination to which I was not privy, asserted Dr. Mills to have mentioned to her that the Princess was pregnant; a deposition which obviously made it necessary that Dr. Mills should be subjected to examination. This happened to be discussed before me; and it was my suggestion that it would be more delicate to request the attendance of Dr. Mills at my house, and to have him meet the Magistrate there, to avoid the publicity and observation should be entailed by his being summoned to the Office in Marlborough-street. Dr. Mills came early, and then it was immediately discovered that it was his partner, Mr. Edmeades, who had bled Fanny Lloyd, though the latter (knowing the Princess's apothecary to be Dr. Mills, and imagining it was that apothecary who had bled her) had founded the names. Dr. Mills was therefore dismissed, without being examined by the magistrate; and he was begged to send Mr. Edmeades on another morning. Mr. Edmeades came



"accordingly, and was examined before
 "the magistrate. An attempt is made to
 "pervert an observation of mine into an
 "endeavour to make Mr. Edmeades alter
 "his testimony injuriously for the Prin-
 "cess. So far from there being any thing
 "of conciliation in my tone, Mr. Connant
 "must well remember my remark to have
 "been made as a correction of what I
 "deemed a premeditated and improper
 "pertness of manner in Mr. Edmeades.—
 "It was an unmitigated profession of my
 "belief that he was using some subterfuge
 "to justify his denial; a declaration little
 "calculated to win him to pliancy, had I
 "been desirous of influencing his testimony.
 "My conviction on that point remains un-
 "changed. One or other of the parties
 "was wilfully incorrect in their statement;
 "if Fanny Lloyd were so, it was down-
 "right perjury; Mr. Edmeades might
 "have answered only elusively. I have
 "been told that some individual, pointing
 "at the direct opposition between the affi-
 "davits of Mr. Edmeades and Fanny
 "Lloyd has indicated the preferable cre-
 "dit which ought to be given to the oath
 "of a well-educated man, in a liberal
 "walk of life, over that of a person in the
 "humble station of a maid servant. I
 "shall not discuss the justice of the prin-
 "ciple which arbitrarily assumes deficien-
 "cy of moral rectitude to be the natural
 "inference from humility of condition.
 "The inculcation in the present instance
 "would have been somewhat more rati-
 "onal, had it advised that, in a case of
 "such absolute contradiction upon a simple
 "fact, the comprehension of which could
 "have nothing to do with education, you
 "should consider on which side an obvi-
 "ous temptation to laxity appears. Fanny
 "Lloyd was not merely a reluctant witness,
 "but had expressed the greatest indigna-
 "tion at being subject to examination.
 "When she swore positively to a circum-
 "stance admitting of no latitude, the only
 "thing to be weighed was, what probabi-
 "lity of inducement existed for her swear-
 "ing that which she knew to be false. It
 "will appear that her testimony on that
 "point was not consonant to the partiality
 "which she had proclaimed; that by the
 "other parts of her evidence she was har-
 "ring the way to reward, if any prodigate
 "hopes of remuneration led her to risk the
 "falschood; and that she could not be in-
 "fluenced by malice against Mr. Ed-
 "meades, with whom it was clear she
 "was unacquainted. Nothing, therefore,

"presented itself, to throw an honest doubt
 "upon her veracity. Mr. Edmeades was
 "very differently circumstanced. A cha-
 "racter for dangerous chattering was abso-
 "lute ruin to him in his profession. He
 "had the strongest of all motives to exo-
 "nerate himself from the charge, if he
 "could hit upon any equivocation by which
 "he might satisfy himself in the denial of
 "it. And the bearing of my remark must
 "not be misunderstood. No man would
 "infer any thing against the Princess on
 "the ground of such a random guess as
 "that of Mr. Edmeades' must have been,
 "unless Mr. Edmeades should support his
 "proposition by the adduction of valid rea-
 "sons and convincing circumstances; but
 "there was a consequence ascribable to it
 "in its loosest state. His having been
 "sufficiently indiscreet to mention his spe-
 "culation to others as well as to Fanny
 "Lloyd, would well account for what was
 "otherwise incomprehensible; namely, the
 "notion of the Princess's pregnancy so ge-
 "nerally entertained at Greenwich and in
 "that neighbourhood. It was my convic-
 "tion that such indiscretion had taken
 "place, not any belief of the fact to which
 "it related, that I endeavoured to convey
 "by remark.—This construction is not
 "put upon the circumstances now, for the
 "first time. A paper of mine submitted
 "to His Majesty at the period of the in-
 "vestigation, and lodged with the other
 "documents relative to that inquiry, re-
 "buts in the same terms the base attempt
 "of insinuating conspiracy against the
 "Princess. *Why that paper has not seen
 "the light with the other documents may be
 "surmised.* I had thought it incumbent
 "on me, from the nature of the transaction,
 "not to furnish any means for its publica-
 "tion from the copy in my possession.
 "The present explanation unavoidably
 "states all the material points contained in
 "it. But it will be felt by every one that
 "the detail has been extorted from me."

I will offer you no remark upon his
 Lordship's explanation as to the point
 above dwelt upon. He still gives the pre-
 ference to the testimony of Fanny Lloyd;
 and it is not for me to express any doubt
 of his sincerity; but, I must still be al-
 lowed to express my wonder, that, when
 Fanny Lloyd's Declaration was laid before
 the King amongst the documents *confirm-
 atory* of Lady Douglas's Statement, the *op-
 posing declarations* of Dr. Mills and Mr.
 Edmeades were not laid before the King
 along with it. The King would then have

been able to form *his* opinion of the veracity of the parties respectively.

In the conclusion of the paragraph of the letter of Lord Moira above cited, he complains of a paper of his having been kept out of sight; and says, that the *reason* "may be surmised." I wish his Lordship had helped me in this; for, I must confess, that I cannot surmise it. The other documents have been published through the same channel that was selected for the conveying of his Letter to the public; and why his paper has been kept back I, for my part, cannot imagine. It was, it seems, intended to rebut the insinuation, in the Princess's defence, against him as having been a participator in a conspiracy against her. But, it was, at any rate, in the hands of his friends, the present ministers, under whom he is serving in a very high situation. He has, certainly, not to blame his old friends and colleagues, the Whigs, for keeping this paper back. The fault, if it lie any where, must lie amongst those with whom he has, for some time past, been connected; and, therefore, he has, in some sort, himself only to blame.

Before I conclude this my last letter upon the subject, I must observe to you, that there never was, perhaps, any one occasion, in which public opinion was so decided and unanimous as upon this. There is not a creature to be found, in any rank of life, who is not on the side of the Princess; who does not regard her as the most calumniated of women, and who does not hold her base assailants in detestation. You will recollect the passages, which, in my first Letters upon the subject, I quoted from our hired news-papers, reviling the advisers of the Princess; calling them a disloyal faction; attributing to her rashness, weakness, folly, and even impudence; menacing her with a fresh inquiry; and, in short, abusing every person, who, in any way, seemed to take her part. You will remember, on the other hand, that I said, she was pursuing good advice, and that the result would prove the advantages of her showing her resolution no longer to submit in silence.

Now, hear the language of one of those same prints (the *Morning Post*) of the 26th of March:—"The triumph of the much injured Princess of Wales may now be considered as most proudly complete. All the *new attempts* to blast her fair fame, have, like the former *conspiracy* against her honour and her life, ended

"only in the confusion and disgrace of her *perjured* calumniators. No discovery whatever, that could by the most forced construction of the most inveterate, be deemed injurious to Her Royal Highness, could, by possibility, be made or produced against her; and the public will rejoice to hear, that this heart-rending question, excepting only as far as regards the *punishment of her infamous and perjured accusers* (for which, in the name of justice, and in the crying cause of injured innocence, we shall never cease to call) is thus completely, most satisfactorily and happily, set for ever at rest. May this joyous result prove the *first step towards the respect which justice and propriety require to be shewn to this illustrious Lady*; and still further we pray, may it be the happy prelude to the re-establishment of concord, peace, and bliss, among all the branches of that Illustrious Family, in whose tranquillity and happiness every good and *loyal subject* must feel so deep and serious an interest."

Aye, you caitiff Editor, but you said, only six weeks ago, that all those who, like myself, were labouring to establish, in the eyes of the world, the innocence of this injured Princess, were enemies of the Royal Family, and belonged to a desperate and bloody-minded faction; aye, and it is only your own baseness, your base fear of the effects of popular hatred, that has induced you to change your tone.

Well, but the "joyous result" of which you are speaking, is the *first step*, it seems, "which justice and propriety require to be shewn to this illustrious Lady." What is the *second*? Why, that which I proposed more than a year ago; namely, the *enabling of Her Royal Highness to hold a court*. This is as just now as the *receiving of her at court* was in 1807. Her husband is now become Regent, clothed with all the powers and splendour of a king; and, why is she not to hold her court? Why is she to be kept in obscurity? A free intercourse with her daughter follows of course; but, a court is absolutely necessary to wipe away all remains of imputation; to do her complete justice in the eyes of the whole world.

In the mean while, however, the news-papers inform me, that the Citizens of London are about to meet in order to present to Her Royal Highness a *loyal and affectionate address* upon this occasion. That this is a proper measure, and worthy

of the example of the whole nation, you will, I am sure, readily allow. It is not only the duty, but it is the *interest*, of the people to step forward and cause themselves to be heard upon such occasions. To hold their tongues, in such cases, is tacitly to acknowledge that they are *nothing*, and, of course, that their opinions may safely be despised by their rulers.

Nevertheless, I have heard, and, indeed, not with much surprise, that there are certain persons in the City of London, attached to the faction called the Whigs, who are disposed to discourage these public demonstrations of the feeling of the people. It is easy to conceive, that they must dislike any thing tending to throw a slur upon their party; they know, that it was their party, who, with the Princess's defence before them, hesitated four months before they advised the King to receive her at court, and then only accompanied with an *admonition*, that admonition which every human being is now ready to pronounce judgment upon. An address to Her Royal Highness would necessarily be a condemnation of the Whig ministry; and, therefore, it is that its partisans are endeavouring to prevent such a measure on the part of any portion of the people.

But, was there ever so fit an occasion for an address? When the King was thought to have been in danger from the pen-knife of a poor old mad-woman, addresses of loyalty, affection, and of congratulation at his escape, poured in from every county, city, and town in his dominions; and, shall those who were filled with horror at the attempt of *Peg Nicholson*, be silent at the discovery of the attempt of *Lady Douglas* and her coadjutors? Shall those who were so loud in their cries of abhorrence on the former occasion, be now dumb as posts? The life of the King was then attempted; and has not the life of the Princess of Wales been now attempted? Aye, and by means, too, much more infamous than

those which poor old crazy Peg is said to have employed. What was Peg's pen-knife when compared to the conspiracy against the Princess? To be sure, in this case, the carrying up of an address will be attended with no creation of Knights. This is, really, the only difference in the two cases; except that in the present case the party to be addressed stands in need of the support of the people.

It would give me, on another account, singular satisfaction to see the Princess receive those marks of the approbation of the people. Those marks of approbation could not fail to make on her mind, as well as on the mind of her daughter, who has so strong an affection for her, an impression favourable to popular rights; to endear the people to them, and to show them, that, after all, the preservation of the people's liberties and privileges is the best guarantee, is far more efficacious than armies and sinecure place-men, in the support of the throne and the Royal Family. When the City of London shall have carried their Address to the Princess of Wales; when they shall have expressed their detestation of the conspiracy against her life and honour, Her Royal Highness and her Daughter will have to compare the conduct of the people with that of those orders, whom the enemies of liberty have represented as the great props of the throne. What an useful lesson will this be to give to her, who, in the course of nature, is destined to be our Sovereign! It ought to make, and I have no doubt that it will make, a strong and lasting impression upon her mind; that it will arm her before-hand against those parasites (never wanting to a court), who would persuade her that every right possessed by the people is so much taken from her; that it will lead her to respect instead of despising, to confide in instead of suspecting, to love and cherish instead of hating and harassing, the people, whose good sense, whose love of justice, whose

abhorrence of baseness and cruelty, have proved the best safe-guards of the life and honour of her Mother.

I have now, my good friend, completed the task which I had imposed upon myself. I have done all that lay in my power to make the innocence and the injuries of the Princess of Wales known to the world; and, though, in the performance of this task, I have been animated with a consciousness that I was discharging a sacred duty to my country, I have derived additional satisfaction from the ever-recurring thought that I was addressing myself to you, and giving you, if that death which you fear not has not yet closed your eyes, a renewed proof of my unalterable gratitude and esteem.

WM. COBBETT.

Bolley, 2d April, 1813.

THE BOOK.

(Continued from page 480, and concluded.)

pretend to say—I mean on occasion of two water parties which I intended, one of which did not take place at all, and the other not so early in the day as was intended, nor was its object effected. Once I intended to pay Admiral Montague a visit to Deal; but wind and tide not serving, we sailed much later than we intended; and instead of landing at Deal, the Admiral came on board our vessel, and we returned to East Cliff in the evening; on which occasion Captain Manby was not of the party, nor was he in the Downs—but it is very possible, that having prepared to set off early, I might have walked down towards the sea, and been seen by Fanny Lloyd. On the other occasion, Captain Manby was to have been of the party, and it was to have been on board his ship. I desired him to be early at my house in the morning, and if the day suited me, we would go. He came; I walked with him towards the sea, to look at the morning; I did not like the appearance of the weather, and did not go to sea. Upon either of these occasions Fanny Lloyd might have been called up to make breakfast, and might have seen me walking. As to the orders not having been given her over night; to that I can say nothing.—But upon this statement, what inference can be intended to be drawn from this fact? It is the only one in which F. Lloyd's evidence can in any degree be applied to Captain Manby; and she is one of the important witnesses referred to, as proving something which must particularly, as with regard to Captain Manby, be credited till contradicted, and as deserving the most serious consideration. From the examination of Mrs. Fitzgerald I collect, that she was asked whether Captain Manby ever slept in the house at East Cliff; to which she, to the best of her knowledge, answers in the negative. Is this evidence then of Fanny Lloyd's relied upon, to afford an inference that Captain Manby slept in my house; or was there at an im-

proper hour? or in a manner, and under circumstances, which afforded reason for unfavourable interpretations? If this were so, can it be believed that I would, under such circumstances, have taken a step, such as calling for breakfast, at an unusual hour, which must have made the fact more notorious and remarkable, and brought the attention of the servants, who must have waited at the breakfast, more particularly and pointedly to it?

But if there be any thing which rests, or is supposed to rest, upon the credit of this witness—though she is one of the four, whose credit your Majesty will recollect it has been stated that there was no reason to question, yet she stands in a predicament in which, in general, at least, I had understood it to be supposed, that the credit of a witness was not only questionable, but materially shaken. For, towards the beginning of her examination, she states, that Mr. Mills attended her for a cold; he asked her if the Prince came to Blackheath backwards and forwards; or something to that effect: for the Princess was with child; we looked as if she was with child. This must have been three or four years ago. She thought it must be some time before the child (W. Armin) was brought to the Princess. To this fact she positively swears, and in this she is as positively contradicted by Mr. Mills; for he swears, in his deposition before the Commissioners, that he never did say to her, or any one, that the Princess was with child, or looked as if she was with child;—that he never thought so, nor surmised any thing of the kind. Mr. Mills has a partner, Mr. Edmeades. The Commissioners therefore, conceiving that Fanny Lloyd might have mistaken one of the partners for the other, examine Mr. Edmeades also. Mr. Edmeades, in his deposition, is equally positive that he never said any such thing—so the matter rests upon these depositions; and upon that state of it, what pretence is there for saying, that a witness who swears to a conversation with a medical person, who attended me, of so extremely important a nature, and is so expressly and decidedly contradicted in the important fact which she speaks to, is a witness whose credit there appears no reason to question? This important circumstance must surely have been overlooked when that statement was made.—But this fact of Mr. Mills and Mr. Edmeades's contradiction of Fanny Lloyd, appears to your Majesty, for the first time, from the examination before the Commissioners.—But this is the fact which I charge as having been known to those who are concerned in bringing forward this information, and which, nevertheless, was not communicated to your Majesty.—The fact that Fanny Lloyd declared, that Mr. Mills told her the Princess was with child, is stated in the declarations which were delivered to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, and by him forwarded to your Majesty.—The fact that Mr. Mills denied ever having so said, though known at the same time, is not stated.—That I may not appear to have represented so strange a fact, without sufficient authority, I subjoin the declaration of Mr. Mills, and the deposition of Mr. Edmeades, which prove it. Fanny Lloyd's original declaration which was delivered to His Royal Highness, is dated on the 12th of February. It appears to have been taken at the Temple; I conclude therefore at the chambers of Mr. Lewis, Sir John Douglas's

testator, who, according to Mr. Cole, accompanied him to Cheltenham to procure some of these declarations. On the 13th of February, the next day after Fanny Lloyd's declaration, the Earl of Moira sends for Mr. Mills, upon pressing business. Mr. Mills attends him on the 14th; he is asked by his Lordship upon the subject of this conversation; he is told he may rely upon his Lordship's honour, that what passed should be in perfect confidence; (a confidence which Mr. Mills, feeling it to be on a subject too important to his character, at the moment disclaims;—) that it was his (the Earl of Moira's) duty to his Prince, as his counsellor, to inquire into the subject, which he had known for some time.—Fanny Lloyd's statement being then related to Mr. Mills, Mr. Mills, with great warmth, declared that it was an infamous falsehood.—Mr. Lowten, who appears also to have been there by appointment, was called into the room, and he furnished Mr. Mills with the date to which Fanny Lloyd's declaration applied. The meeting ends in Lord Moira's desiring to see Mr. Mills's partner, Mr. Edmeades, who, not being at home cannot attend him for a few days. He does, however, upon his return, attend him on the 20th of May: on his attendance, instead of Mr. Lowten, he finds Mr. Conant, the magistrate, with Lord Moira. He denies the conversation with Fanny Lloyd, as positively and peremptorily as Mr. Mills. Notwithstanding however all this, the Declaration of Fanny Lloyd is delivered to His Royal Highness, unaccompanied by these contradictions, and forwarded to your Majesty on the 29th. That Mr. Lowten was the Solicitor of Sir John Douglas in this business, cannot be doubted, that he took some of those declarations, which were laid before your Majesty, is clear; and that he took this declaration of Fanny Lloyd's, seems not to be questionable. That the inquiry by Earl Moira, two days after her declaration was taken, must have been in consequence of an early communication of it to him, seems necessarily to follow from what is above stated; that it was known, on the 14th of May, that Mr. Mills contradicted this assertion; and, on the 20th, that Mr. Edmeades did, is perfectly clear; and yet, notwithstanding all this, the fact, that Mr. Edmeades and Mr. Mills contradicted it, seems to have been not communicated to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, for he, as it appears from the Report, forwarded the declarations which had been delivered to His Royal Highness, through the Chancellor, to your Majesty: and the declaration of Fanny Lloyd, which had been so falsified, to the knowledge of the Earl Moira and of Mr. Lowten, the Solicitor for Sir John Douglas, is sent into your Majesty as one of the documents, on which you were to ground your inquiry, unaccompanied by its falsification by Mills and Edmeades; at least, no declarations by them are amongst those, which are transmitted to me, as copies of the original declarations which were laid before your Majesty. I know not whether it was Lord Moira, or Mr. Lowten, who should have communicated this circumstance to His Royal Highness, but that, in all fairness, it ought unquestionably to have been communicated by some one.—I dare not trust myself with any inferences from this proceeding; I content myself with remarking, that it must now be felt, that I was just-

tified in saying, that neither His Royal Highness, nor your Majesty, any more than myself, had been fairly dealt with, in not being fully informed upon this important fact; and your Majesty will forgive a weak, unprotected woman, like myself, who, under such circumstances, should apprehend that, however Sir John and Lady Douglas may appear my ostensible accusers, I have other enemies, whose ill-will I may have occasion to fear, without feeling myself assured, that it will be strictly regulated, in its proceeding against me, by the principles of fairness and of justice.—I have now, Sirs, gone through all the evidence which respects Captain Manby; whether at Montague House, Southend, or East Cliff, and I do trust, that your Majesty will see, upon the whole of it, how mistaken a view the Commissioners have taken of it. The pressure of other duties engrossing their time and their attention, has made them leave the important duties of this investigation, in many particulars, imperfectly discharged—a more thorough attention to it must have given them a better and truer insight into the characters of those witnesses, upon whose credit, as I am convinced, your Majesty will now see, they have without sufficient reason relied. There remains nothing for me, on this part of the charge to perform; but, advertent to the circumstance which is falsely sworn against me by Mr. Bidgood, of the salute, and the false inference and insinuation, from other facts, that Captain Manby slept in my house, either at Southend, or East Cliff, on my own part most solemnly to declare, that they are both utterly false; that Bidgood's assertion as to the salute, is a malicious slanderous invention, without the slightest shadow of truth to support it; that his suspicious and insinuations, as to Captain Manby's having slept in my house, are also the false suggestions of his own malicious mind; and that Captain Manby never did, to my knowledge or belief, sleep in my House at Southend, East Cliff, or any other house of mine whatever; and, however often he may have been in my company, I solemnly protest to your Majesty, as I have done in the former cases, that nothing ever passed between him and me, that I should be ashamed, or unwilling that all the world should have seen. And I have also, with great pain, and with a deep sense of wounded delicacy, applied to Captain Manby to attest to the same truths, and I subjoin to this letter his deposition to that effect.

I stated to your Majesty, that I should be obliged to return to other parts of Fanny Lloyd's testimony;—At the end of it she says, "I never told Cole that Mr. Wilson, when she supposed the Princess to be in the library, had gone into the Princess's bed-room, and had found a man there at breakfast with the Princess; or that there was a great to do about it, and that Mr. Wilson was sworn to secrecy, and threatened to be turned away, if she divulged what she had seen." This part of her examination, your Majesty will perceive, must have been called from her, by some precise question, addressed to her, with respect to a supposed communication from her to Mr. Cole. In Mr. Cole's examination, there is not one word upon the subject of it. In his original declaration, however, there is; and there your Majesty will perceive, that he affirms the fact of her having reported to him Mary Wilson's declaration in the very same words in which Fanny Lloyd denies it, and it is therefore evi-

dent that the Commissioners, in putting this question to Fanny Lloyd, must have put it to her from Cole's declaration. She positively denies the fact; there is then a flat and precise contradiction, between the examination of Fanny Lloyd and the original statement of Mr. Cole. It is therefore impossible that they both can have spoken true. The Commissioners, for some reason, don't examine Cole to this point at all; don't endeavour to trace out this story; if they had, they must have discovered which of these witnesses spoke the truth, but they leave this contradiction not only unexplained, but uninquied after and in that state, report both these witnesses, Cole and Fanny Lloyd, who thus speak to the two sides of a contradiction, and who therefore cannot by possibility both speak truth, as witnesses who cannot be suspected of partiality, whose credit they see no reason to question, and whose story must be believed till contradicted.

—But what is, if possible, still more extraordinary, this supposed communication from F. Lloyd to Cole, as your Majesty observes, relates to something which M. Wilson is supposed to have seen and to have said; yet though M. Wilson appears himself to have been examined by the Commissioners on the same day with Fanny Lloyd, in the copy of her examination, as delivered to me, there is no trace of any question relating to this declaration having been put to her.

And I have not less reason to lament than to be surprised, that it did not occur to the Commissioners, to see the necessity of following this inquiry still further; for, if properly pursued, it would have demonstrated two things, both very important to be kept in mind in the whole of this consideration. First, how hearsay representations of this kind, arising out of little or nothing, become magnified and exaggerated by the circulation of prejudiced or malicious Reports; and, secondly, it would have shewn the industry of Mr. and Mrs. Bidgood, as well as Mr. Cole, in collecting information in support of Lady Douglas's statement, and in improving what they collected by their false colourings and malicious additions to it. They would have found a story in Mrs. Bidgood's declaration, as well as in her husband's (who relates it as having heard it from his wife), which is evidently the same as that which W. Cole's declaration contains; for the Bidgoods' declarations state, that Fanny Lloyd told Mrs. Bidgood, that Mary Wilson had gone into the Princess's bed-room, and had found Her Royal Highness and Sir Sydney in the most criminal situation; that she had left the room, and was so shocked, that she fainted away at the door. Here, then, are Mrs. Bidgood and Mr. Cole, both declaring what they had heard Fanny Lloyd say, and Fanny Lloyd denying it. How extraordinary is it that they were not all confronted! and your Majesty will see presently how much it is to be lamented that they were not; for, from Fanny Lloyd's original declaration, it appears that the truth would have come out, as she there states, that, "to the best of her knowledge, Mary Wilson said, that she had seen the Princess and Sir Sydney in the Blue Room, but never heard Mary Wilson say she was so alarmed as to be in a fit." If then, on confronting Fanny Lloyd with Mrs. Bidgood and Mr. Cole, the Commissioners had found Fanny Lloyd's story to be what she related before, and had then put the question to Mary Wilson, and had heard from her what it really was which she

had seen and related to Fanny Lloyd, they could not have been at a loss to have discovered which of these witnesses told the truth. They would have found, I am perfectly confident, that all that Mary Wilson ever could have told Fanny Lloyd, was that she had seen Sir Sidney and myself in the blue room, and they would then have had to refer to the malicious, and confederated inventions of the Bidgoods and Mr. Cole, for the conversion of the blue-room into the bed-room; for the vile slander of what M. Wilson was supposed to have seen, and for the violent effect which this scene had upon her. I say their confederated inventions, as it is impossible to suppose that they could have been concerned in inventing the same additions to Fanny Lloyd's story, unless they had communicated together upon it. And when they had once found Mrs. Bidgood and Mr. Cole, thus conspiring together, they would have had no difficulty in connecting them both in the same conspiracy with Sir John Douglas, by showing how connected Cole was with Sir John Douglas, and how acquainted with his proceedings, in collecting the evidence which was to support Lady Douglas's declaration.

For, by referring to Mr. Cole's declaration, made on the 23d of February, they would have seen that Mr. Cole, in explaining some observation about Sir Sidney's supposed possession of a key to the garden-door, says that it was what "Mr. Lampert, the servant of Sir John Douglas, mentioned at Cheltenham to Sir John Douglas and Mr. Lowten."—How should Mr. Cole know that Sir John Douglas and Mr. Lowten had been down to Cheltenham, to collect evidence from this old servant of Sir John Douglas? How should he have known what that evidence was? unless he had either accompanied them himself, or at least had had such a communication either with Sir John Douglas, or Mr. Lowten, as it never could have occurred to any of them to have made to Mr. Cole, unless, instead of being a mere witness, he were a party to this accusation? But whether they had convinced themselves, that Fanny Lloyd spoke true, and Cole and Mrs. Bidgood falsely; or whether they had convinced themselves of the reverse, it could not have been possible, that they both could have spoken the truth; and, consequently, the Commissioners could never have reported the veracity of both to be free from suspicion, and deserving of credit.—There only remains that I should make a few observations on what appears in the examinations relative to Mr. Hood (now Lord Hood), Mr. Chester, and Captain Moore: and I really should not have thought a single observation necessary upon either of them, except that what refers to them is stated in the examinations of Mrs. Lisle.—

With respect to Lord Hood, it is as follows:—"I was at Catherington with the Princess; remember Mr. (now Lord Hood) there, and the Princess going out airing with him, alone in Mr. Hood's little whiskey; and his servant was with them; Mr. Hood drove, and staid out two or three times; more than once; three or four times. Mr. Hood dined with us several times; once or twice he slept in a house in the garden; she appeared to pay no attention to him, but that of common civility to an intimate acquaintance." Now, Sir, it is undoubtedly true that I drove out several times with Lord Hood in his one-horse chaise, and some few times, twice, I believe, at most, without any of my servants attending us; and considering the

time of life, and the respectable character of my Lord Hood, I never should have conceived that I incurred the least danger to my reputation in so doing. If, indeed, it was the duty of the Commissioners to inquire into instances of my conduct, in which they may conceive it to have been less reserved and dignified than what would properly become the exalted station which I hold in your Majesty's Royal Family, it is possible that, in the opinions of some, these drives with my Lord Hood were not consistent with that station, and that they were particularly improper in those instances in which we were not attended by more servants, or any servants of my own. Upon this I have only to observe, that these instances occurred after I had received the news of the lamented death of your Majesty's brother, the Duke of Gloucester, I was at that time down by the sea-side for my health. I did not like to forego the advantage of air and exercise for the short remainder of the time which I had to stay there; and I purposely chose to go out, not in my own carriage, and unattended, that I might not be seen, and known to be driving about (myself and my attendants out of mourning) while His Royal Highness was known to have been so recently dead. This statement, however, is all that I have to make upon my part of the case; and whatever indecorum or impropriety of behaviour the Commissioners have fixed upon me by this circumstance, it must remain; for I cannot deny the truth of the fact, and have only the above explanation to offer of it. As to what Mrs. Lisle's examination contains with respect to Mr. Chester and Captain Moore, it is so connected, that I must trouble your Majesty with the statement of it altogether.

"I was with Her Royal Highness at Lady Sheffield's, at Christmas, in Sussex. I inquired what company was there when I came; she said, only Mr. John Chester, who was there by Her Royal Highness's orders; that she could get no other company to meet her, on account of the roads and the season of the year. He dined and slept there that night. The next day other company came; Mr. Chester remained. I heard her Royal Highness say she had been ill in the night, and came out for a light, and lighted her candle in her servant's room. I returned from Sheffield-place to Blackheath with the Princess; Captain Moore dined there; I left him and the Princess twice alone, for a short time; he might be alone half an hour with her in the room below, in which we had been sitting. I went to look for a book to complete a set Her Royal Highness was lending Captain Moore. She made him a present of an inkstand, to the best of my recollection. He was there one morning in January last, on the Princess Charlotte's birth-day; he went away before the rest of the company. I might be about twenty minutes the second time I was away, the night Captain Moore was there. At Lady Sheffield's Her Royal Highness paid more attention to Mr. Chester than to the rest of the Company. I know of Her Royal Highness walking out alone; twice, with Mr. Chester, in the morning alone; once, a short time, it rained; the other not an hour, not long. Mr. Chester is a pretty young man; her attentions to him were not uncommon; not the same as to Captain Maoby."

At first, Sir, as to what relates to Mr. Chester. If there is any imputation to be cast upon my character by what passed at Sheffield-place with Mr. Chester (and by the Commissioners return-

ing to examine Mrs. Lisle upon my attention to Mr. Chester, my walking out with him, and, above all, "as to his being a pretty young man," I conceive it to be so intended), I am sure your Majesty will see, that it is the hardest thing imaginable upon me, that, upon an occurrence which passed in Lady Sheffield's house, on a visit to her, Lady Sheffield herself was never examined; for, if she had been, I am convinced that these noble Lords, the Commissioners, never could have put me to the painful degradation of stating any thing upon this subject.—The statement begins by Mrs. Lisle's inquiring, what company was there? and Lady Sheffield saying, "only Mr. John Chester, who was there by Her Royal Highness's orders; that she could get no other company, on account of the roads." Is not this, Sir, left open to the inference that Mr. John Chester was the only person who had been invited by my orders? If Lady Sheffield had been examined, she would have been able to have produced the very letter in which, in answer to her Ladyship's request, that I would let her know what company it would be agreeable for me to meet, I said, "every thing of the name of North, all the Legges, and Chesters, William and John, &c. &c. and Mr. Elliott." Instead of singling out, therefore, Mr. John Chester, I included him in the enumeration which I made of the near relations of Lady Sheffield; and your Majesty, from this alone, cannot fail to see how false a colour even a true fact can assume, if it be not sufficiently inquired into and explained.—As to the circumstances of my having been taken ill in the night, being obliged to get up, and light my candle; why this fact should be recorded, I am wholly at a loss to conceive. All the circumstances, however, respecting it, connected very much as they are with the particular disposition of Lady Sheffield's house, would have been fully explained, if thought material to have been inquired after, by Lady Sheffield herself; and I should have been relieved from the painful degradation of alluding at all to a circumstance which I could not further detail, without a great degree of indelicacy; and as I cannot possibly suppose such a detail can be necessary for my defence, it would, especially in addressing your Majesty, be wholly inexcusable. With respect to the attention which I paid to Mr. Chester, and my walking out twice alone with him for a short time, I know not how to notice it. At this distance of time I am not certain that I can, with perfect accuracy, account for the circumstance. It appears to have been a rainy morning; it was on the 27th or 28th of December; and whether, wishing to take a walk, I did not desire Lady Sheffield, or Mrs. Lisle, or any Lady to accompany me in doing what, in such a morning, I might think might be disagreeable to them, I really cannot precisely state to your Majesty.—But here, again, perhaps, in the judgment of some persons, may be an instance of familiarity, which was not consistent with the dignity of the Princess of Wales; but, surely, prejudice against me and my character must exceed all natural bounds in those minds in which any inference of crime or moral depravity can be drawn from such a fact. As to Captain Moore, it seems he was left alone with me, and twice in one afternoon, by Mrs. Lisle; he was alone with me half an hour. The first time Mrs. Lisle left us, her examination says, it was to look for a book which I wished to lend to Captain Moore. How long she was absent on that occasion she is not asked,

but it could have been but ten minutes, as she appears to have been absent twenty minutes the second time. The Commissioners, though they particularly return to the inquiry with respect to the length of time of her second absence, did not require her to tell them the occasion of it; if they had, she would have told them, that it was in search of the same book; that having on the first occasion looked for it in the drawing-room, she went afterwards to see for it in Mrs. Fitzgerald's room. But I made him a present of an inkstand. I hope your Majesty will not think I am trifling with your patience when I take notice of such trifles. But it is of such trifles as these that the evidence consists, when it is the evidence of respectable witnesses speaking to facts, and, consequently, speaking only the truth. Captain Moore had conferred on me what I felt as a considerable obligation. My Mother is very partial to the late Dr. Moore's writings. Captain Moore, as your Majesty knows, is his son, and he promised to lend me, for the purpose of sending it to my mother, a manuscript of an unpublished work of the Doctor's. In return for this civility, I begged his acceptance of a trifling present.—There is one circumstance alluded to in these examinations, which I know not how to notice, and yet feel it impossible to omit: I mean what respects certain anonymous papers or letters, marked A. B. and C., to which Lord Cholmondeley appears to have been examined, upon the supposition of their being my hand-writing. A letter marked A. appears, by the examination of Lady Douglas, to have been produced by her; and the two papers marked B. and a cover marked C. appear to have been produced by Sir John. These papers I have never seen; but I collect them to be the same as are alluded to in Lady Douglas's original declaration; and, from her representation of them, they are most infamous productions. From the style and language of the letter, she says, Sir John Douglas, Sir Sydney Smith, and herself, would have no manner of hesitation in swearing point blank (for that is her phrase) to their being in my hand-writing: and it seems, from the statement of His Royal Highness the Duke of Kent, that Sir Sydney Smith had been imposed upon to believe, that these letters and papers were really written and sent to Sir John and Lady Douglas by me. I cannot help, however, remarking to your Majesty, that though Sir John and Lady Douglas produce these papers, and mark them, yet neither the one nor the other swears to their belief of my hand-writing; it does not, indeed, appear, that they were asked the question; and when it once occurred to the Commissioners to be material to inquire whose hand-writing these papers were, I should have been much surprised at their not applying to Sir John and Lady Douglas to swear it, as in their original declaration they offer to do, if it had not been that, by that time, I suppose, the Commissioners had satisfied themselves of the true value of Sir John and Lady Douglas's oaths, and therefore did not think it worth while to ask them any further questions.

His Royal Highness the Duke of Kent, as appears by his narrative, was convinced, by Sir Sidney Smith, that these letters came from me. His Royal Highness had been applied to by me, in consequence of my having received a formal note from Sir John, Lady Douglas, and Sir Sydney Smith, requesting an audience immediately: this was soon after my having desired to see no more of Lady Douglas. I conceived, therefore,

the audience was required for the purpose of remonstrance and explanation upon this circumstance; and as I was determined not to alter my resolution, nor admit of any discussion upon it, I requested His Royal Highness, who happened to be acquainted with Sir Sidney Smith, to try to prevent my having any further trouble upon the subject. His Royal Highness saw Sir Sidney Smith, and being impressed by him with the belief of Lady Douglas's story, that I was the author of these anonymous letters, he did that which naturally became him, under such belief; he endeavoured, for the peace of your Majesty, and the honour of the Royal Family, to keep from the knowledge of the world what, if it had been true, would have justly reflected such infinite disgrace upon me; and, it seems, from the narrative, that he procured, through Sir Sidney Smith, Sir John Douglas's assurance that he would, under existing circumstances, remain quiet, if left unmolested. "This result (His Royal Highness says), he communicated to me the following day, and I seemed satisfied with it." And, undoubtedly, as he only communicated the result to me, I could not be otherwise than satisfied: for as all that I wanted was, not to be obliged to see Sir John and Lady Douglas, and not to be troubled by them any more, the result of His Royal Highness's interference, through Sir Sidney Smith, was to procure me all that I wanted. I do not wonder that His Royal Highness did not mention to me the particulars of these infamous letters and drawings, which were ascribed to me; for, as long as he believed they were mine, undoubtedly it was a subject which he must have wished to avoid; but I lament, as it happens, that he did not, as I should have satisfied him as far, at least, as any assertions of mine could have satisfied him, by declaring to him, as I do now most solemnly, that the letter is not mine, and that I know nothing whatever of the contents of it, or of the other papers; and I trust that His Royal Highness, and every one else who may have taken up any false impression concerning them to my prejudice, from the assertion of Sir John and Lady Douglas, will, upon my assertion, and the evidence of Lord Cholmondeley, remove from their minds this calumnious falsehood, which, with many others, the malice of Sir John and Lady Douglas has endeavoured to fasten upon me.—To all these papers Lady Douglas states, in her Declaration, that not only herself and Sir John Douglas, but Sir Sidney Smith, would have no hesitation in swearing to be in my hand-writing. What says Lord Cholmondeley? "That he is perfectly acquainted with my manner of writing. Letter A. is not of my hand-writing: that the two papers marked B. appear to be wrote in a disguised hand; that some of the letters in them remarkably resemble mine, but, because of the disguise, he cannot say whether they are or not: as to the cover marked C. he did not see the same resemblance." Of these four papers (all of which are stated by Lady Douglas to be so clearly and plainly mine, that there can be no hesitation upon the subject), two bear no resemblance to it; and although the other two, written in a disguised hand, have some letters remarkably resembling mine, yet, I trust, I shall not, upon such evidence, be subjected to so base an imputation; and really, Sir, I know not how to account for the Commissioners examining and reporting upon this subject in this manner. For I understand from Mrs. Fitzgerald, that these

drawings were produced by the Commissioners to her; and that she was examined as to her knowledge of them, and as to the hand-writing upon them; that she was satisfied, and swore that they were not my hand-writing, and that she knew nothing of them, and did not believe they could possibly come from any lady in my house. She was shewn the seal also, which Lady Douglas, in her Declaration, says, was the "identical one with which I had summoned Sir John Douglas to luncheon." To this seal, though it so much resembled one that belonged to herself, as to make her hesitate till she had particularly observed it, she was at last as positive as to the hand-writing; and having expressed herself with some feeling and indignation at the supposition, that either I, herself, or any of my ladies, could be guilty of so foul a transaction, the Commissioners tell her they were satisfied and believed her; and there is not one word of all this related in her examination.—Now, if their Lordships were satisfied from this, or any other circumstance, that these letters were not my writing, and did not come from me, I cannot account for their not preserving any trace of Mrs. Fitzgerald's evidence on this point, and leaving it out of their inquiry altogether; but, if they thought proper to preserve any evidence upon it, to make it the subject of any examination, surely they should not have left it on Lord Cholmondeley's alone; but I ought to have had the benefit of Mrs. Fitzgerald's evidence also; but, as I said before, they take no notice of her evidence; nay, they finish their Report, they execute it according to the date it bears upon the 14th of July, and it is not until two days afterwards, namely, on the 16th, that they examined Lord Cholmondeley to the hand-writing—with what view, and for what purpose, I cannot even surmise; but with whatever view, and for whatever purpose, if these letters are at all to be alluded to in their Report, or the examinations accompanying it, surely I ought to have had the benefit of the other evidence, which disproved my connexion with them.—I have now, Sire, gone through all the matters contained in the examination, on which I think it, in any degree, necessary to trouble your Majesty with any observations. For as to the examination of Mrs. Townley the washerwoman, if it applies at all, it must have been intended to have afforded evidence of my pregnancy and miscarriage.—And whether the circumstances she speaks to was occasioned by my having been bled with leeches, or whether an actual miscarriage did take place in my family, and by some means linen belonging to me was procured and used upon the occasion, or to whatever other circumstance it is to be ascribed, after the manner in which the Commissioners have expressed their opinion, on the part of the case respecting my supposed pregnancy, and after the evidence on which they formed their opinion, I do not conceive myself called upon to say any thing upon it; or that any thing I could say could be more satisfactory than repeating the opinion of the Commissioners, as stated in their Report, viz. "That nothing had appeared to them which would warrant the belief that I was pregnant in that year (1802), or at any other period within

the compass of their Inquiries—that they would not be warranted in expressing any doubt respecting the alleged pregnancy of the Princess, as stated in the original declarations, a fact so fully contradicted, and by so many witnesses, to whom, if true, it must in various ways have been known, that we cannot think it entitled to the smallest credit."—There are, indeed, some other matters mentioned in the original declarations, which I might have found it necessary to observe upon; but as the Commissioners do not appear to have entered into any examination with respect to them, I content myself with thinking that they had found the means of satisfying themselves of the utter falsehood of those particulars, and, therefore, that they can require no contradiction or observation from me.—On the declaration, therefore, and the evidence, I have nothing further to remark. And, conscious of the length at which I have trespassed on your Majesty's patience, I will forbear to waste your time by any endeavour to recapitulate what I have said. Some few observations, however, before I conclude, I must hope to be permitted to subjoin.—In many of the observations which I have made, your Majesty will observe that I have noticed, what have appeared to me to be great omissions on the part of the Commissioners, in the manner of taking their examinations; in forbearing to put any questions to the witnesses, in the nature of a cross-examination of them; to confront them with each other; and to call other witnesses, whose testimony must either have confirmed or falsified, in important particulars, the examinations as they have taken them. It may perhaps occur, in consequence of such observations, that I am desirous that this Inquiry should be opened again; that the Commissioners should recompence their labours, and that they should proceed to supply the defects in their previous examinations, by a fuller execution of their duty.—I therefore think it necessary, most distinctly and emphatically to state, that I have no such meaning; and whatever may be the risk that I may incur of being charged with betraying a consciousness of guilt, by thus flying from an extension or repetition of this Inquiry, I must distinctly state, that so far from requesting the revival of it, I humbly request your Majesty would be graciously pleased to understand me as remonstrating and protesting against it, in the strongest and most solemn manner in my power.—I am yet to learn the legality of such a Commission to inquire, even in the case of High Treason, or any other crime known to the laws of the country. If it is lawful in the case of High Treason, supposed to be committed by me, surely it must be lawful also in the case of High Treason, supposed to be committed by other subjects of your Majesty.—That there is much objection to it, in reason and principle, my understanding assures me. That such Inquiries, carried on upon *ex parte* examination, and a Report of the result by persons of high authority, may, nay must, have a tendency to prejudice the character of the parties who are exposed to them, and thereby influence the further proceedings in their case;—that are calculated to keep back from notice, and in security, the person of a false accuser,

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and to leave the accused in the predicament of neither being able to look forward for protection to an acquittal of himself, nor for redress to the conviction of his accuser. That these and many other objections occur to such a mode of proceeding, in the case of a crime known to the laws of this country, appears to be quite obvious.—But if Commissioners acting under such a power, or your Majesty's Privy Council, or any regular Magistrates, when they have satisfied themselves of the falsehood of the principal charge, and the absence of all legal and substantive offence, are to be considered as empowered to proceed in the examination of the particulars of private life; to report upon the proprieties of domestic conduct, and the decorums of private behaviour, and to pronounce their opinion against the party, upon the evidence of dissatisfied servants, whose veracity they are to hold up as unimpeachable; and to do this without permitting the persons, whose conduct is inquired into, to suggest one word in explanation or contradiction of the matter with which they are charged: it would, I submit to your Majesty, prove such an attack upon the security and confidence of domestic life, such a means of recording, under the sanction of great names and high authority, the most malicious and foulest imputations, that no character could possibly be secure; and would do more to break in upon and undermine the happiness and comfort of life, than any proceeding which could be imagined.—The public in general, perhaps, may feel not much interest in the establishment of such a precedent in my case. They may think it to be a course of proceeding, scarcely applicable to any private subject: yet, if once such a court of honour, of decency, and of manners, was established, many subjects might occur, to which it might be thought advisable to extend its jurisdiction, beyond the instance of a Princess of Wales. But should it be intended to be confined to me, your Majesty, I trust, will not be surprised to find that it does not reconcile me the better to it, should I learn myself to be the single instance in your kingdom, who is exposed to the scrutiny of so severe and formidable a tribunal. So far, therefore, from giving that sanction or consent to any fresh inquiry, upon similar principles, which I should seem to do, by requiring the renewal of these examinations, I must protest against it; protest against the nature of the proceeding, because its result cannot be fair. I must protest, as long at least as it remains doubtful, against the legality of what has already passed, as well as the legality of its repetition. If the course be legal, I must submit to the laws, however severe they may be; but I trust new law is not to be found out, and applied to my case. If I am guilty of crime, I know I am amenable; I am most contented to continue so, to the impartial laws of your Majesty's kingdom; and I fear no charge brought against me, in open day, under the public eye, before the known tribunals of the country, administering justice under those impartial and enlightened laws. But secret tribunals, created for the first time for me, to form and pronounce opinions upon my conduct without hearing me; to record, in the evidence of the witnesses which they report, imputations against my character upon *ex parte* examinations—till I am better reconciled to the justice of their proceedings, I cannot fail to fear. And till I am better informed as to their legality, I cannot fail in duty

to my dearest interests, most solemnly to remonstrate and to protest against them.—If such tribunals as these are called into action against me, by the false charges of friends turned enemies, of servants turned traitors, and acting as spies, by the foul conspiracy of such social and domestic treason, I can look to no security to my honour in the most spotless and most cautious innocence.

By the contradiction and denial which in this case I have been enabled to procure, of the most important facts which have been sworn against me by Mr. Cole and Mr. Bidgood;—by the observations and the reasonings which I have addressed to your Majesty, I am confident, that to those whose sense of justice will lead them to wade through this long detail, I shall have removed the impressions which have been raised against me.—But how am I to ensure a patient attention to all this statement? How many will hear that the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, the First Lord of the Treasury, and one of your Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, have reported against me, upon evidence which they have declared to be unbiased and unquestionable; who will never have the opportunity, or if they had the opportunity, might not have the inclination, to correct the error of that Report, by the examination of my statement.—I feel, therefore, that by this proceeding, my character has received essential injury. For a Princess of Wales to have been placed in a situation, in which it was essential to her honour to request one gentleman to swear, that he was not locked up at midnight in a room with her alone: and another, that he did not give her a lascivious salute, and never slept in her house, is to have been actually degraded and disgraced.—I have been, Sire, placed in this situation, I have been cruelly, your Majesty will permit me to say so, cruelly degraded into the necessity of making such requests. A necessity which I never could have been exposed to, even under this Inquiry, if more attention had been given to the examination of these malicious charges, and of the evidence on which they rest.—Much solicitude is felt, and justly so, as connected with this Inquiry, for the honour of your Majesty's illustrious Family. But surely a true regard to that honour should have restrained those who really felt for it, from casting such severe reflections on the character and virtue of the Princess of Wales.—If, indeed, after the most diligent and anxious Inquiry, penetrating into every circumstance connected with the charge, searching every source from which information could be derived, and scrutinizing with all that attention into the credit and character of the witnesses, which great experience, talent, and intelligence could bring to such a subject; and above all, if, after giving me some opportunity of being heard, the force of truth had, at length, compelled any persons to form, as reluctantly, and as unwillingly as they would, against their own daughters, the opinion that has been pronounced; so regard, unquestionably, to my honour and character, nor to that of your Majesty's Family, as, in some degree, involved in mine, could have justified the suppression of that opinion, if legally called for, in the course of official and public duty. Whether such caution and reluctance are really manifest in these proceedings, I must leave to less partial judgments than my own to determine.—In the full examination of these

proceedings, which justice to my own character has required of me, I have been compelled to make many observations, which, I fear, may prove offensive to persons in high power.—Your Majesty will easily believe, when I solemnly assure you, that I have been deeply sorry to yield to the necessity of so doing. This proceeding manifests that I have enemies enough; I could not wish unnecessarily to increase their number, or their weight. I trust, however, I have done it, I know it has been my purpose to do it, in a manner as little offensive as the justice due to myself would allow of; but I have felt that I have been deeply injured; that I have had much to complain of; and that my silence now would not be taken for forbearance, but would be ascribed to me as a confession of guilt. The Report itself announced to me, that these things, which had been spoken to by the witnesses, “great improprieties and indecencies of conduct,” necessarily occasioning most unfavourable interpretations, and deserving the most serious consideration, “must be credited till decidedly contradicted.” The most satisfactory disproof of these circumstances (as the contradiction of the accused is always received with caution and distrust) rested in the proof of the foul malice and falsehood of my accusers and their witnesses. The Report announced to your Majesty that those witnesses, whom I felt to be foul confederates in a base conspiracy against me, were not to be suspected of unfavourable bias, and their veracity, in the judgment of the Commissioners, not to be questioned.—Under these circumstances, Sir, what could I do? Could I forbear, in justice to myself, to announce to your Majesty the existence of a conspiracy against my honour, and my station in this country at least, if not against my life? Could I forbear to point out to your Majesty, how long this intended mischief had been meditated against me? Could I forbear to point out my doubts, at least, of the legality of the Commission under which the proceeding had been had? or to point out the errors and inaccuracies, into which the great and able men who were named in this commission, under the hurry and pressure of their great official occupations, had fallen, in the execution of this duty? Could I forbear to state, and to urge, the great injustice and injury that had been done to my character and my honour, by opinions pronounced against me without hearing me? And if, in the execution of this great task, so essential to my honour, I have let drop any expressions which a colder and more cautious prudence would have checked, I appeal to your Majesty’s warm heart and generous feelings, to suggest my excuse and to afford my pardon.—What I have said I have said under the pressure of much misfortune, under the provocation of great and accumulated injustice. Oh! Sir, to be unfortunate, and scarce to feel at liberty to lament: to be cruelly used, and to feel it almost an offence and a duty to be silent is a hard lot; but use had, in some degree, injured me to it: but to find my misfortunes and my injuries imputed to me as faults; to be called to account upon a charge made against me by Lady Douglas, who was thought at first worthy of credit, although she had pledged her veracity to the fact, of my having admitted that I was myself the aggressor in every thing of which I had to complain, has subdued all power of patient bearing, and when I was called upon by the Commissioners, either

to admit, by my silence, the guilt which they imputed to me, or to enter into my defence, in contradiction to it—no longer at liberty to remain silent, I, perhaps, have not known how, with exact propriety, to limit my expressions.—In happier days of my life, before my spirit had been yet at all lowered by my misfortunes, I should have been disposed to have met such a charge with the contempt which, I trust, by this time, your Majesty thinks due to it; I should have been disposed to have defied my enemies to the utmost, and to have scorned to answer to any thing but a legal charge, before a competent tribunal: but in my present misfortunes, such force of mind is gone. I ought, perhaps, so far to be thankful to them for their wholesome lessons of humility. I have, therefore, entered into this long detail, to endeavour to remove, at the first possible opportunity, any unfavourable impressions; to rescue myself from the dangers which the continuance of these suspicions might occasion, and to preserve to me your Majesty’s good opinion, in whose kindness, hitherto, I have found infinite consolation, and to whose justice, under all circumstances, I can confidently appeal.—Under the impression of these sentiments I throw myself at your Majesty’s feet. I know, that whatever sentiments of resentment; whatever wish for redress, by the punishment of my false accusers, I ought to feel, your Majesty, as the Father of a Stranger, smarting under false accusation, as the Head of your illustrious House dishonoured in me, and as the great Guardian of the Laws of your Kingdom, thus foully attempted to have been applied to the purposes of injustice, will not fail to feel for me. At all events, I trust your Majesty will restore me to the blessing of your Gracious Presence, and confirm to me, by your own Gracious Words, your satisfactory conviction of my innocence.—I am, Sir, with every sentiment of gratitude and loyalty, your Majesty’s most affectionate and dutiful Daughter-in-law, subject and servant, C. P.

Montague House, 2d October, 1806.

The Deposition of Thomas Manby, Esquire, a Captain in the Royal Navy.

Having had read to me the following passage, from a Copy of the Deposition of Robert Bidgood, sworn the 6th of June last, before Lords Spencer and Grenville, viz.—“I was waiting one day in the anti-room; Captain Manby had his hat in his hand, and appeared to be going away; he was a long time with the Princess, and, as I stood on the steps, waiting, I looked into the room in which they were, and, in the reflection on the looking-glass, I saw them salute each other—I mean, that they kissed each other’s lips: Captain Manby then went away, I then observed the Princess have her handkerchief in her hands, and wipe her eyes, as if she was crying, and went into the drawing-room.”—I do solemnly, and upon my oath, declare, that the said passage is a vile and wicked invention; that it is wholly and absolutely false; that it is impossible he ever could have seen, in the reflection of any glass, any such thing, as I never, upon any occasion, or in any situation, ever had the presumption to salute Her Royal Highness in any such manner, or to take any such liberty, or offer any such insult to her person. And having had read to me another passage, from the same Copy of the same Deposition, in which the said Robert Bid-

good says—"I suspected that Captain Manby slept frequently in the house; it was a subject of conversation in the house. Hints were given by the servants; and I believe that others suspected it as well as myself."—I solemnly swear, that such suspicion is wholly unfounded, and that I never did, at Montague House, Southend, Ramsgate, East Cliff, or any where else, ever sleep in any house occupied by, or belonging to, Her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, and that there never did any thing pass between Her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales and myself, that I should be in any degree unwilling that all the world should have seen.

(Signed) THO. MANBY.

Sworn at the Public Office, Hatton Garden, London, the 22d day of September, 1806, before me,

(Signed) THOMAS LEACH.

The Deposition of Thomas Lawrence, of Greek-street, Soho, in the County of Middlesex, Portrait Painter.

Having had read to me the following Extract from a Copy of a Deposition of William Cole, purporting to have been sworn before Lords Spencer and Grenville the 10th day of June, 1806, viz.—"Mr. Lawrence, the painter, used to go to Montague House about the latter end of 1801, when he was painting the Princess, and he has slept in the house two or three nights together. I have often seen him alone with the Princess at eleven or twelve o'clock at night; he has been there as late as one or two o'clock in the morning. One night I saw him with the Princess in the blue room, after the ladies had retired; sometime afterwards, when I supposed he was gone to his bed-room, I went to see that all was safe, and found the blue room door locked, and heard a whispering in it, and then went away."—I do solemnly, and upon my oath, depose, that having received the commands of Her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales to paint Her Royal Highness's portrait, and that of the Princess Charlotte; I attended for that purpose at Montague House, Blackheath, several times about the beginning of the year 1801, and having been informed that Sir William Beechey, upon a similar occasion, had slept in the house, for the greater convenience of executing his painting; and it having been intimated to me, that I might probably be allowed the same advantage, I signified my wish to avail myself of it; and accordingly I did sleep at Montague House several nights:—that frequently, when employed upon this painting, and occasionally, between the close of a day's sitting and the time of Her Royal Highness dressing for dinner, I have been alone in Her Royal Highness's presence; I have likewise been graciously admitted to Her Royal Highness's presence in the evenings, and remained there till twelve, one, and two o'clock; but, I do solemnly swear, I was never alone in the presence of Her Royal Highness in an evening, to the best of my recollection and belief, except in one single instance, and that for a short time, when I remained with Her Royal Highness in the blue-room, or drawing-room, as I remember, to answer some question which had been put to me, at the moment I was about to retire, together with the ladies in waiting, who had been previously present as well as myself, and though I cannot recollect the parti-

culars of the conversation which then took place, I do solemnly swear, that nothing passed between Her Royal Highness and myself, which I could have had the least objection for all the world to have seen and heard. And I do further, upon my oath, solemnly declare, that I never was alone in the presence of Her Royal Highness in any other place, or in any other way, than as above described; and that neither, upon the occasion last mentioned, nor upon any other, was I ever in the presence of Her Royal Highness, in any room whatever, with the door locked, bolted, or fastened, otherwise than in the common and usual manner, which leaves it in the power of any person on the outside of the door to open it.

(Signed) THOMAS LAWRENCE.

Sworn at the Public Office, Hatton Garden, this 24th day of September, 1806, before me,

(Signed) THOMAS LEACH.

The Deposition of Thomas Edmeades, of Greenwich, in the County of Kent, Surgeon.

On Tuesday, May 20th, 1806, I waited upon Earl Moira, by his appointment, who, having introduced me to Mr. Conant, a Magistrate for Westminster, proceeded to mention a charge preferred against me, by one of the female servants of Her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, of my having said, that Her Royal Highness had been pregnant. His Lordship then asked me, if I had not bled Her Royal Highness; and whether, at that time, I did not mention to a servant, that I thought Her Royal Highness in the family way; and whether I did not also ask, at the same time, if the Prince had been down to Montague House. I answered, that it had never entered my mind that Her Royal Highness was in such a situation, and that, therefore, certainly, I never made the remark to any one; nor had I asked whether His Royal Highness had visited the house:—I said, that, at that time, a report, of the nature alluded to, was prevalent; but that I treated it as the infamous lie of the day. His Lordship adverted to the circumstance of Her Royal Highness's having taken a child into her house; and observed, how dreadful mistakes about succession to the throne were, and what confusion might be caused by any claim of this child: I observed, that I was aware of it; but repeated the assertion, that I had never *thought* of such a thing as was suggested, and therefore considered it impossible, in a manner, that I could have given it utterance. I observed, that I believed, in the first instance, Mr. Stikeman, the page, had mentioned this child to Her Royal Highness, and that it came from Deptford, where I went, when Her Royal Highness first took it, to see if any illness prevailed in the family. Mr. Conant observed, that he believed it was not an unusual thing for a medical man, when he imagined that a Lady was pregnant, to mention his suspicion to some confidential domestic in the family:—I admitted the bare possibility, if such had been my opinion; but remarked, that the if must have been removed, before I could have committed myself in so absurd a manner. —Lord Moira, in a very significant manner, with his hands behind him, his head over one shoulder, his eyes directed towards me, with a sort of smile, observed, "that he could not help thinking that there must be something in the servant's deposition;" as if he did not give per-

fact could to what I had said. He observed, that the matter was then confined to the knowledge of a few; and that he had hoped, if there had been any foundation for the affidavit, I might have acknowledged it, that the affair might have been hushed. With respect to the minor question, I observed, that it was not probable that I should condescend to ask any such question, as that imputed to me, of a menial servant; and that I was not in the habit of conferring confidentially with servants. Mr. Connant cautioned me to be on my guard; as, that if it appeared, on further investigation, I had made such inquiry, it might be very unpleasant to me, should it come under the consideration of the Privy Council. I said, that I considered the report as a malicious one; and was ready to make oath, before any Magistrate, that I had not, at any time, asserted, or even thought, that Her Royal Highness had ever been in a state of pregnancy since I had had the honour of attending the household. Mr. Connant asked me, whether, whilst I was bleeding Her Royal Highness or after I had performed the operation, I did not make some comment on the situation of Her Royal Highness, from the state of the blood; and whether I recommended the operation; I answered in the negative to both questions. I said, that Her Royal Highness had sent for me to bleed her, and that I did not then recollect on what account. I said, that I had bled Her Royal Highness twice; but did not remember the dates. I asked Lord Moira, whether he intended to proceed in the business, or whether I might consider it as at rest, that I might have an opportunity, if I thought necessary, of consulting my friends relative to the mode of conduct I ought to adopt; he said, that if the subject was moved any further, I should be apprized of it; and that, at present, it was in the hands of a few. I left them, and, in about an hour, on further consideration, wrote the note, of which the following is a copy, to which I never received any reply:—"Mr. Edmeades presents his respectful compliments to Lord Moira, and, on mature deliberation, after leaving his Lordship, upon the conversation which passed at Lord Moira's this morning, he feels it necessary to advise with some friend, on the propriety of making the particulars of that conversation known to Her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales; as Mr. Edmeades would be very sorry that Her Royal Highness should consider him capable of such infamous conduct as that imputed to him on the deposition of a servant, by Lord Moira, this morning.

"London, May 20, 1806."

I have been enabled to state the substance of my interview with Lord Moira and Mr. Connant with the more particularity, as I made memorandums of it, within a day or two afterwards. And I do further depose, that the Papers hereunto annexed, marked A. and B. are in the hand-writing of Samuel Gillam Mills, of Greenwich aforesaid, my Partner; and that he is at present, as I verily believe, upon his road from Wales, through Gloucester, to Bath.

(Signed) THOS. EDMEADES.

Sworn at the Public Office, Hatton Garden, this 26th day of September, 1806.

(Signed) THOMAS LEACH.

(A.)

Memorandums of the Heads of Conversation between Lord Moira, Mr. Lowten, and himself.

May 14, 1806.

May 13, 1806. I received a letter from Lord Moira, of which the following is an exact copy:

St. James's-place, May 13, 1806.

Sir,—A particular circumstance makes me desire to have the pleasure of seeing you, and, indeed, renders it indispensable that you should take the trouble of calling on me. As the trial in Westminster Hall occupies the latter hours of the day, I must beg you to be with me as early as nine o'clock to-morrow morning; in the mean time, it will be better that you should not appropriate any one of my having requested you to converse with me.—I have the honour, Sir, to be your obedient servant,

(Signed) MOIRA.

To Mr. Mills.

This is the Paper A. referred to by the Affidavit of Thomas Edmeades, sworn before me this 26th September, 1806.

THOMAS LEACH.

(B.)

In consequence of the above letter, I waited on his Lordship, exactly at nine o'clock. In less than five minutes I was admitted into his room, and by him received very politely. He began the conversation by stating, he wished to converse with me on a very delicate subject; that I might rely on his honour, that what passed was to be in perfect confidence; it was his duty to his Prince, as his Counsellor, to inquire into the subject, which he had known for some time; and the inquiry was due also to my character. He then stated, that a deposition had been made by a domestic of Her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, deposing, as a declaration made by me, that Her Royal Highness was pregnant, and that I made inquiries when interviews might have taken place with the Prince. I answered, that I never had declared the Princess to be with child, nor ever made the inquiries stated; that the declaration was an infamous falsehood. This being expressed with some warmth, his Lordship observed that I might have made the inquiries very innocently, conceiving that Her Royal Highness could not be in that situation but by the Prince. I repeated my assertion of the falsehood of the declaration, adding, that though the conversation was intended to be confidential, I felt my character strongly attacked by the declaration, therefore it was necessary that the declaration should be investigated; I had no doubt but the character I had so many years maintained, would make my assertion believed before the deposition of a domestic. I then requested to know, what date the declaration bore? His Lordship said, he did not remember; but he had desired the Solicitor to meet me, who would shew it me. I then observed, that I should in confidence communicate to his Lordship why I was desirous to know the date; I then stated to his Lordship, that soon after Her Royal Highness came to Blackheath, I attended her in an illness, with Sir Francis Millman, in which I bled her twice. Soon after her recovery, she thought proper to form a regular medical appointment, and appointed myself and Mr. Edmeades to be Surgeons and Apothecaries to Her Royal Highness. On receiving my warrant for such appointment, I declined accepting the honour of being appointed Apothecary, being inconsistent with

my character, being educated as Surgeon, and having had an honorary degree of Physic conferred on me. Her Royal Highness condescended to appoint me her Surgeon only. His Lordship rang to know if Mr. Lowten was come; he was in the next room. His Lordship left me for a few minutes, returned, and introduced me to Mr. Lowten with much politeness, as Dr. Mills; repeating the assurance of what passed being confidential. I asked Mr. Lowten the date of the declaration, that had been asserted to be made by me? He said, in the year 1802. I then, with permission of his Lordship, gave the history of my appointment, adding, since then I had never seen the Princess as a patient. Once she sent for me to bleed her; I was from home; Mr. Edmeades went; nor had I visited any one in the house, except one Mary, and that was in a very bad case of surgery; I was not sure whether it was before or after my appointment. Mr. Lowten asked me the date of it; I told him I did not recollect. He observed, from the warmth of my expressing my contradiction to the deposition, that I saw it in a wrong light; that I might suppose, and very innocently, Her Royal Highness to be pregnant, and then the inquiries were as innocently made. I answered, that the idea of pregnancy never entered my head; that I never attended Her Royal Highness in any sexual complaint; whether she ever had any I never knew. Mr. Lowten said, I might think so, from her increase of size; I answered, no; I never did think her pregnant, therefore never could say it, and that the deposition was an infamous falsehood. His Lordship then observed, that he perceived there must be a mistake, and that Mr. Edmeades was the person meant, whom he wished to see; I said, he was then at Oxford, and did not return before Saturday; his Lordship asked, if he came through London; I said, I could not tell.—Finding nothing now arising from conversation, I asked to retire; his Lordship attended me out of the room with great politeness.—When I came home, I sent his Lordship a letter, with the date of my warrant, April 10, 1801; he answered my letter, with thanks for my immediate attention, and wished to see Mr. Edmeades on Sunday morning. This letter came on the Saturday; early on the Sunday I sent Timothy, to let his Lordship know Mr. Edmeades would not return till Monday; on Tuesday I promised he should attend, which he did.—The preceding Memorandum is an exact copy of what I made the day after I had seen Lord Moira.

(Signed) SAM. GILLAM MILLS.

Croome Hill, Greenwich, Aug. 20, 1806.

This is the paper marked B referred to by the Affidavit of Thomas Edmeades, sworn before me this 26th Sept. 1806.

(Signed) THOMAS LEACH.

The Deposition of Jonathan Partridge, Porter to Lord Eardley, at Belvidere.

I remember being informed by Mr. Kenny, Lord Eardley's Steward, now dead, that I was wanted by Lord Moira, in town; accordingly I went with Mr. Kenny to Lord Moira's, in St. James's-place, on the King's Birth Day of 1804. His Lordship asked me, if I remembered the Princess coming to Belvidere some time before? I said, yes, and told him that there were two or three ladies, I think three, with Her Royal Highness, and a gentleman with them, who came on horseback; that they looked at the pictures in the house, had their luncheon there, and that Her

Royal Highness's servants waited upon them, as I was in a dishebbled. His Lordship asked me, whether they went up stairs? and I told them that they did not. He asked me, how long they staid? and I said, as far as I recollected, they did not stay above an hour, or an hour and quarter; that they waited some little time for the carriage, which had gone to the public-house, and, till it came, they walked up and down altogether in the portico before the house. His Lordship, in the course of what he said to me, said, it was subject of importance, and might be of consequence. His Lordship, finding that I had nothing more to say, told me I might go.—Sometimes afterwards his Lordship sent for me again, and asked me, if I was sure of what I said being all that I could say respecting the Princess? I said, it was; and that I was ready to take my oath of it, if his Lordship thought proper. He said, it was very satisfactory; said, I might go, and he should not want me any more.

(Signed) JONATHAN PARTRIDGE.

Sworn at the County Court of Middlesex, in Fullwood's Rents, the 20th day of September, 1806, before me,

(Signed) THOMAS LEACH.

The Deposition of Philip Krackeler, one of the Footmen of Her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, and Robert Eaglestone, Park-keeper to Her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales.

These Deponents say, that on or about the 28th day of June last, as they were walking together across Greenwich Park, they saw Robert Bidgood, one of the Pages of Her Royal Highness, walking in a direction as if he were going from the town of Greenwich, towards the house of Sir John Douglas, and which is a different road from that which leads to Montague House, and they at the same time perceived Lady Douglas walking in a direction to meet him. And this Deponent, Philip Krackeler, then deposed the other Deponent to take notice, whether Lady Douglas and Mr. Bidgood would speak to each other; and both of these Deponents observed, that when Lady Douglas and Mr. Bidgood met, they stopped, and conversed together for the space of about two or three minutes, whilst in view of these Deponents; but how much longer their conversation lasted these Deponents cannot say, as they, these Deponents, proceeded on their road which took them out of sight of Lady Douglas and Mr. Bidgood.

(Signed) PHILIP KRACKELER.
ROBT. EAGLESTONE.

Sworn at the Public Office, Hatton Garden, this 27th day of September, 1806, before me,

(Signed) THOMAS LEACH.

To the King.

Sire,—I trust your Majesty, who knows my constant affection, loyalty, and duty, and the sure confidence with which I readily repose my honour, my character, my happiness in your Majesty's hands, will not think me guilty of any disrespectful or undutiful impudence, when I thus again address myself to your Royal grace and justice.—It is, Sire, nine weeks to-day, since my counsel presented to the Lord High Chancellor my letter to your Majesty, containing my observations, in vindication of my honour and innocence, upon the Report presented to your Majesty by the Commissioners, who had been appointed to examine into my conduct.

The Lord Chancellor informed my Council, that the letter should be conveyed to your Majesty on that very day; and further, was pleased, in about a week or ten days afterwards, to communicate to my Solicitor, that your Majesty had read my letter, and that it had been transmitted to his Lordship, with directions that it should be copied for the Commissioners, and that when such copy had been taken, the original should be returned to your Majesty.—Your Majesty's own gracious and royal mind will easily conceive what must have been my state of anxiety and suspense, whilst I have been fondly indulging in the hope, that every day, as it passed, would bring me the happy tidings, that your Majesty was satisfied of my innocence, and convinced of the unfounded malice of my enemies, in every part of their charge. Nine long weeks of daily expectation and suspense have now elapsed, and they have brought me nothing but disappointment. I have remained in total ignorance of what has been done, what is doing, or what is intended upon this subject. Your Majesty's goodness will, therefore, pardon me, if in the step which I now take I act upon a mistaken conjecture with respect to the fact. But from the Lord Chancellor's communication to my Solicitor, and from the time which has elapsed; I am led to conclude, that your Majesty had directed the copy of my letter to be laid before the Commissioners, requiring their advice upon the subject; and, possibly, their official occupations, and their other duties to the State, may not have, as yet, allowed them the opportunity of attending to it. But your Majesty will permit me to observe, that however excusable this delay may be on their parts, yet it operates most injuriously upon me; my feelings are severely tortured by the suspense, while my character is sinking in the opinion of the public.—It is known, that a Report, though acquitting me of crime, yet imputing matters highly disreputable to my honour, has been made to your Majesty; that that Report has been communicated to me; that I have endeavoured to answer it; and that I still remain, at the end of nine weeks from the delivery of my answer, unacquainted with the judgment which is formed upon it. May I be permitted to observe upon the extreme prejudice which this delay, however to be accounted for by the numerous important occupations of the Commissioners, produces to my honour? The world, in total ignorance of the real state of the facts, begin to infer my guilt from it. I feel myself already sinking in the estimation of your Majesty's subjects, as well as of what remains to me of my own family, into (a state intolerable to a mind conscious of its purity and innocence) a state in which my honour appears at last equivocal, and my virtue is suspected. From this state I humbly entreat your Majesty to perceive, that I can have no hope of being restored, until either your Majesty's favourable opinion shall be graciously notified to the world, by receiving me again into the Royal Presence, or until the full disclosure of the facts shall expose the malice of my accusers, and do away every possible ground for unfavourable inference and conjecture.—The various calamities with which it has pleased God of late to afflict me, I have endeavoured to bear, and trust I have borne with humble resignation to the Divine will. But the effect of this infamous charge, and the delay which has suspended its final termination, by depriving me of the consolation which I should have received

from your Majesty's presence and kindness, have given a heavy addition to them all; and, surely, my bitterest enemies could hardly wish that they should be increased. But on this topic, as possibly not much affecting the justice, though it does the hardship, of my case, I forbear to dwell.—Your Majesty will be graciously pleased to recollect, that an occasion of assembling the Royal Family and your subjects, in dutiful and happy commemoration of Her Majesty's birth-day, is now near at hand. If the increased occupations which the approach of Parliament may occasion, or any other cause, should prevent the Commissioners from enabling your Majesty to communicate your pleasure to me before that time, the world will infallibly conclude (in their present state of ignorance), that my answer must have proved unsatisfactory, and that the infamous charges have been thought but too true.—These considerations, Sir, will, I trust, in your Majesty's gracious opinion, rescue this address from all imputation of impatience. For, your Majesty's sense of honourable feeling will naturally suggest, how utterly impossible it is that I, conscious of my own innocence, and believing that the malice of my enemies has been completely detected, can, without abandoning all regard to my interests, my happiness, and my honour, possibly be contented to perceive the approach of such utter ruin to my character, and yet wait, with patience and in silence, till it overwhelms me. I therefore take this liberty of throwing myself again at your Majesty's feet, and entreating and imploring of your Majesty's goodness and justice, in pity for my miseries, which this delay so severely aggravates, and in justice to my innocence and character, to urge the Commissioners to an early communication of their advice.—To save your Majesty and the Commissioners all unnecessary trouble, as well as to obviate all probability of further delay, I have directed a duplicate of this letter to be prepared, and have sent one copy of it through the Lord Chancellor, and another through Colonel Taylor to your Majesty.—I am, Sir, with every sentiment of gratitude and loyalty, your Majesty's most affectionate and dutiful Daughter-in-law, servant and subject, C. P.

Montague House, Dec. 8th, 1806.

The Lord Chancellor has the honour to present his most humble duty to the Princess of Wales, and to transmit to Her Royal Highness the accompanying Message from the King, which Her Royal Highness will observe he has His Majesty's commands to communicate to Her Royal Highness.—The Lord Chancellor would have done himself the honour to have waited personally upon Her Royal Highness, and have delivered it himself; but he considered the sending it sealed, as more respectful and acceptable to Her Royal Highness. The Lord Chancellor received the original paper from the King yesterday, and made the copy now sent in his own hand.

January 28th, 1807.

To Her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales.

The King having referred to his confidential Servants the proceedings and papers relative to the written declarations which had been before His Majesty, respecting the conduct of the Princess of Wales, has been apprized by them, that after the fullest consideration of the examinations taken on that subject, and of the observations and affidavits brought forward by the

Princess of Wales's legal advisers, they agree in the opinions submitted to His Majesty in the original Report of the four Lords, by whom His Majesty directed that the matter should in the first instance be inquired into; and that, in the present stage of the business, upon a mature and deliberate view of this most important subject in all its parts and bearings, it is their opinion, that the facts of this case do not warrant their advising that any further steps should be taken in the business by His Majesty's Government, or any other proceedings instituted upon it, except such only as His Majesty's Law Servants may, on reference to them, think fit to recommend for the prosecution of Lady Douglas, on those parts of her depositions which may appear to them to be justly liable thereto.—In this situation, His Majesty is advised, that it is no longer necessary for him to decline receiving the Princess into his Royal Presence.—The King sees, with great satisfaction, the agreement of his confidential Servants, in the decided opinion expressed by the four Lords upon the falsehood of the accusations of pregnancy and delivery, brought forward against the Princess by Lady Douglas.—On the other matters produced in the course of the Inquiry, the King is advised that none of the facts or allegations stated in preliminary examinations, carried on in the absence of the parties interested, can be considered as legally, or conclusively, established. But in those examinations, and even in the answer drawn in the name of the Princess by her legal advisers, there have appeared circumstances of conduct on the part of the Princess, which his Majesty never could regard but with serious concern. The elevated rank which the Princess holds in this country, and the relation in which she stands to His Majesty and the Royal Family, must always deeply involve both the interests of the state and the personal feelings of His Majesty, in the propriety and correctness of her conduct. And His Majesty cannot, therefore, forbear to express, in the conclusion of the business, his desire and expectation that such a conduct may in future be observed by the Princess, as may fully justify those marks of paternal regard and affection which the King always wishes to shew to every part of His Royal Family.

His Majesty has directed that this message should be transmitted to the Princess of Wales by his Lord Chancellor, and that copies of the proceedings, which had taken place on the subject, should also be communicated to his dearly beloved Son, the Prince of Wales.

Montague-House, Jan. 29, 1807.

SIRE,—I hasten to acknowledge the receipt of the paper, which, by your Majesty's direction, was yesterday transmitted to me, by the Lord Chancellor, and to express the unfeigned happiness which I have derived from one part of it. I mean that, which informs me that your Majesty's confidential servants have, at length, thought proper to communicate to your Majesty their advice, "that it is no longer necessary for your Majesty to decline receiving me into your Royal presence." And I, therefore, humbly hope that your Majesty will be graciously pleased to receive, with favour, the communication of my intention to avail myself, with your Majesty's permission, of that advice, for the purpose of waiting upon your Majesty on Monday next, if that day should not be inconvenient; when I hope again to have the happiness of

throwing myself, in filial duty and affection, at your Majesty's feet.—Your Majesty will easily conceive that I reluctantly name so distant a day as Monday, but I do not feel myself sufficiently recovered from the measles, to venture upon so long a drive at an earlier day. Feeling, however, very anxious to receive again, as soon as possible, that blessing of which I have been so long deprived, if that day should happen to be, in any degree, inconvenient, I humbly entreat and implore your Majesty's most gracious and paternal goodness to name some other day, as early as possible, for that purpose.—I am, &c.

(Signed)

C. P.

To the King.

Windsor Castle, Jan. 29, 1807.

The King has this moment received the Princess of Wales's letter, in which she intimates her intention of coming to Windsor on Monday next; and his Majesty, wishing not to put the Princess to the inconvenience of coming to this place so immediately after her illness, hastens to acquaint her, that he shall prefer to receive her in London, upon a day subsequent to the ensuing week, which will also better suit his Majesty, and of which he will not fail to apprise the Princess.

(Signed)

GEORGE. R.

To the Princess of Wales.

Windsor Castle, Feb. 10, 1807.

As the Princess of Wales may have been led to expect, from the King's letter to her, that he would fix an early day for seeing her, his Majesty thinks it right to acquaint her, that the Prince of Wales, upon receiving the several documents, which the King directed his Cabinet to transmit to him, made a formal communication to him of his intention to put them into the hands of his lawyers; accompanied by a request, that his Majesty would suspend any further steps in the business, until the Prince of Wales should be enabled to submit to him the statement which he proposed to make. The King, therefore, considers it incumbent upon him to defer naming a day to the Princess of Wales, until the further result of the Prince's intention shall have been made known to him.

(Signed)

GEORGE. R.

To the Princess of Wales.

[*Here should have come in the Princess's Letter to the King, of the 12th of Feb. 1807; but it will be found inserted in the foregoing Number of the Register, at p. 409.*]

SIRE,—By my short letter to your Majesty of the 12th instant, in answer to your Majesty's communication of the 10th, I notified my intention of representing to your Majesty the various grounds on which I felt the hardship of my case; and a review of which, I confidently hoped, would dispose your Majesty to recal your determination to adjourn, to an indefinite period, my reception into your royal presence; a determination which, in addition to all the other pain which it brought along with it, affected me with the disappointment of hopes, which I had fondly cherished with the most perfect confidence, because they rested on your Majesty's gracious assurance.—Independently, however, of that communication from your Majesty, I should have felt myself bound to have troubled your Majesty with much of the contents of the present letter,

—Upon the receipt of the paper, which, by your Majesty's commands, was transmitted to me by the Lord Chancellor, on the 28th of last month, and which communicated to me the joyful intelligence, that your Majesty was "advised, that it was no longer necessary for you to decline receiving me into your royal presence," I conceived myself necessarily called upon to send an immediate answer to so much of it as respected that intelligence. I could not wait the time which it would have required, to state those observations which it was impossible for me to refrain from making, at some period, upon the other important particulars which that paper contained. Accordingly, I answered it immediately; and, as your Majesty's gracious and instant reply of last Thursday fortnight, announced to me your pleasure, that I should be received by your Majesty on a day subsequent to the then ensuing week, I was led most confidently to assure myself, that the last week would not have passed, without my having received that satisfaction. I, therefore, determined to wait in patience, without further intrusion upon your Majesty, till I might have the opportunity of guarding myself from the possibility of being misunderstood, by personally explaining to your Majesty, that whatever observations I had to make upon the paper so communicated to me on the 28th ultimo, and whatever complaints respecting the delay, and the many cruel circumstances which had attended the whole of the proceedings against me, and the unsatisfactory state in which they were at length left by that last communication, they were observations and complaints which affected those only, under whose advice your Majesty had acted, and were not, in any degree, intended to intimate even the most distant insinuation against your Majesty's justice or kindness.—That paper established the opinion which I certainly had ever confidently entertained, but the justness of which I had not before any document to establish, that your Majesty had, from the first, deemed this proceeding a high and important matter of state, in the consideration of which your Majesty had not felt yourself at liberty to trust to your own generous feelings, and to your own royal and gracious judgment. I never did believe that the cruel state of anxiety in which I had been kept, ever since the delivery of my Answer (for at least sixteen weeks), could be at all attributable to your Majesty; it was most unlike every thing which I had ever experienced from your Majesty's condescension, feeling, and justice; and I found from that paper, that it was to your confidential servants I was to ascribe the length of banishment from your presence, which they, at last, advised your Majesty it was no longer necessary should be continued. I perceive, therefore, what I always believed, that it was to them, and to them only, that I owed the protracted continuance of my sufferings and of my disgrace; and that your Majesty, considering the whole of this proceeding to have been instituted and conducted under the grave responsibility of your Majesty's servants, had not thought proper to take any step, or express any opinion, upon any part of it, but such as was recommended by their advice. Influenced by these sentiments, and anxious to have the opportunity of conveying them, with the overflowings of a grateful heart, to your Majesty, what were my sensations of surprise, mortification, and disappointment, on the receipt of your Majesty's

letter of the 10th instant, your Majesty may conceive, though I am utterly unable to express.—That Letter announces to me that his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, upon receiving the several documents which your Majesty directed your Cabinet to transmit to him, made a personal communication to your Majesty of his intention to put them into the hands of his Lawyers, accompanied by a request, that your Majesty would suspend any further steps in the business, until the Prince of Wales should be enabled to submit to your Majesty the statement which he proposed to make; and it also announces to me that your Majesty therefore considered it incumbent on you to defer naming a day to me, until the further result of the Prince of Wales's intention should have been made known to your Majesty.—This determination of your Majesty, on this request, made by His Royal Highness, I humbly trust your Majesty will permit me to entreat you, in your most gracious justice, to re-consider. Your Majesty, I am convinced, must have been surprised at the time, and prevailed upon by the importunity of the Prince of Wales, to think this determination necessary, or your Majesty's generosity and justice would never have adopted it. And if I can satisfy your Majesty of the unparalleled injustice and cruelty of this interposition of the Prince of Wales, at such a time, and under such circumstances, I feel the most perfect confidence that your Majesty will hasten to recall it.—I should basely be wanting to my own interest and feelings, if I did not plainly state my sense of that injustice and cruelty; and if I did not most loudly complain of it. Your Majesty will better perceive the just grounds of my complaint when I retrace the course of these proceedings from their commencement.—The four noble Lords, appointed by your Majesty to inquire into the charges brought against me, in their Report of the 14th of July last, after having stated that His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales had laid before him, the charge which was made against me, by Lady Douglas, and the declarations in support of it, proceed in the following manner.

* "In the painful situation in which His Royal Highness was placed by these communications, we learnt that His Royal Highness had adopted the only course which could, in our judgment, with propriety, be followed. When informations such as these, had been thus confidently alleged, and particularly detailed, and had been in some degree supported by collateral evidence, applying to other facts of the same nature, (though going to a far less extent,) one line only could be pursued.—Every sentiment of duty to your Majesty, and of concern for the public welfare, required that these particulars should not be withheld from your Majesty, to whom more particularly belonged the cognizance of a matter of State, so nearly touching the honour of your Majesty's Royal Family, and, by possibility, affecting the succession of your Majesty's Crown.—Your Majesty had been pleased, on your part, to view the subject in the same light. Considering it as a matter which, on every account demanded the most immediate investigation, your Majesty had thought fit to commit into our hands the duty of ascertaining, in the first instance, what degree of

"credit was due to the information, and therefore by enabling your Majesty to decide what further conduct to adopt respecting them."

His Royal Highness then, pursuing, as the four Lords say, *the only course* which could, in their judgment, with propriety, be pursued, submitted the matter to your Majesty.—Your Majesty directed the Inquiry by the four noble Lords.—The four Lords in their Report upon the case, justly acquitted me of all crime, and expressed (I will not wait now to say how unjustly) the credit which they gave, and the consequence they ascribed to other matters, which they did not, however, characterize as amounting to any crime.—To this Report I made my answer.—That answer, together with the whole proceedings, was referred by your Majesty, to the same four noble Lords, and others of your Majesty's confidential servants. They advised your Majesty, amongst much other matter (which must be the subject of further observations), that there was no longer any reason why you should decline receiving me.—Your Majesty will necessarily conceive that I have always looked upon my banishment from your Royal Presence, as, in fact, a punishment, and a severe one too. I thought it sufficiently hard, that I should have been suffering that punishment during the time that this Inquiry has been pending, while I was yet only under accusation, and upon the principles of the just laws of your Majesty's kingdom, entitled to be presumed to be innocent, till I was proved to be guilty. But I find this does not appear to be enough, in the opinion of the Prince of Wales. For now, when after this long Inquiry into matters which required immediate investigation, I have been acquitted of every thing which could call for my banishment from your Royal Presence. After your Majesty's confidential servants have thus expressly advised your Majesty that they see no reason why you should any longer decline to receive me into your presence:—after your Majesty had graciously notified to me your determination to receive me at an early day, His Royal Highness interposes the demand of a new delay; desires your Majesty not to take any step; desires you not to act upon the advice which your own confidential servants have given you, that you need no longer decline seeing me;—not to execute your intention, and assurance, that you will receive me at an early day;—because he has laid the documents before his Lawyers, and intends to prepare a further statement. And the judgment of your Majesty's confidential servants, is, as it were, appealed from by the Prince of Wales (whom, from this time, at least, I must be permitted to consider as assuming the character of my accuser);—the justice due to me is to be suspended, while the judgment of your Majesty's sworn servants is to be submitted to the revision of my accuser's Counsel; and I, though acquitted in the opinion of your Majesty's confidential servants, of all that should induce your Majesty to decline seeing me, am to have that punishment, which had been inflicted upon me during the Inquiry, continued after that acquittal; till a fresh statement is prepared; to be again submitted, for aught I know, to another Inquiry, of as extended a continuance as that which has just terminated.—Can it be said, that the proceedings of the four noble Lords, or of your Majesty's confidential servants, have been so lenient and considerate towards me and my feel-

ings, as to induce a suspicion that I have been too favourably dealt with by them? and that the advice which has been given to your Majesty, that your Majesty need no longer decline to receive me, was hastily and partially delivered? I am confident that your Majesty must see the very reverse of this to be the case—that I have every reason to complain of the inexplicable delay which so long withheld that advice. And the whole character of the observations with which they accompanied it, marks the reluctance with which they yielded to the necessity of giving it.—For your Majesty's confidential servants advise your Majesty, "that it is no longer necessary for you to decline receiving me into your Royal Presence." If this is their opinion and their advice now, why was it not their opinion and their advice four months ago, from the date of my answer? Nay, why was it not their opinion and advice from the date even of the original Report itself? For not only had they been in possession of my answer for above sixteen weeks, which at least furnished them with all the materials on which this advice was at length given, but further, your Majesty's confidential servants are forward to state, that after having read my observations, and the affidavits which were annexed to them, they agree in the opinions (not in any single opinion upon any particular branch of the case, but in the opinions generally) which were submitted to your Majesty, in the original Report of the four Lords. If, therefore (notwithstanding their concurrence in all the opinions contained in the Report), they have, nevertheless, given to your Majesty their advice, "that it is no longer necessary for you to decline receiving me," what could have prevented their offering that advice, even from the 14th of July, the date of the original Report itself? Or what could have warranted the withholding of it, even for a single moment? Instead, therefore, of any traces being observable, of hasty, precipitate, and partial determination in my favour, it is impossible to interpret their conduct and their reasons together in any other sense, than as amounting to an admission of your Majesty's confidential servants themselves, that I have, in consequence of their withholding that advice, been, unnecessarily and cruelly banished from your Royal Presence, from that 14th of July to the 28th of January, including a space of above six months; and the effect of the interposition of the Prince, is to prolong my sufferings and my disgrace, under the same banishment, to a period perfectly indefinite.—The principle which will admit the effect of such interposition now, may be acted upon again; and the Prince may require a further prolongation upon fresh statements and fresh charges, kept back possibly for the purpose of being, from time to time, conveniently interposed, to prevent for ever the arrival of that hour, which, displaying to the world the acknowledgment of my unmerited sufferings and disgrace, may, at the same time, expose the truly malicious and unjust quality of the proceedings which have been so long carried on against me.—This unreasonable, unjust, and cruel interposition of His Royal Highness, as I must ever deem it, has prevailed upon your Majesty to recal, to my prejudice, your gracious purpose of receiving me, in pursuance of the advice of your servants. Do I then flatter myself too much, when I feel assured, that my entreaty, founded upon the reasons which I

ago, and directed to counteract only the effect of that unjust interposition, will induce your Majesty to return to your original determination?—Restored, however, as I should feel myself, to a state of comparative security, as well as credit, by being, at length, permitted, upon your Majesty's gracious re-consideration of your last determination, to have access to your Majesty; yet, under all the circumstances under which I should now receive that mark and confirmation of your Majesty's opinion of my innocence, my character would not, I fear, stand cleared in the public opinion, by the mere fact of your Majesty's reception of me. This revocation of your Majesty's gracious purpose has hung an additional cloud about the whole proceeding, and the inferences drawn in the public mind, from this circumstance, so mysterious and so perfectly inexplicable, upon any grounds which are open to their knowledge, has made, and will leave so deep an impression to my prejudice, as scarce any thing short of a public exposure of all that has passed can possibly efface.

The publication of all these proceedings to the world, then, seems to me, under the present circumstances (whatever reluctance I feel against such a measure, and however I regret the hard necessity which drives me to it), to be almost the only remaining resource for the vindication of my honour and character. The falsehood of the accusation is, by no means, all that will, by such publication, appear to the credit and clearance of my character; but the course in which the whole proceedings have been carried on, or rather delayed, by those to whom your Majesty referred the consideration of them, will shew, that, whatever measure of justice I may have ultimately received at their hands, it is not to be suspected as arising from any merciful and indulgent consideration of me, of my feelings, or of my case.—It will be seen how my feelings had been harassed, and my character and honour exposed, by the delays which have taken place in these proceedings: it will be seen, that the existence of the charge against me had avowedly been known to the public from the 7th of June in the last year. I say known to the public; because it was on that day that the Commissioners, acting, as I am to suppose (for so they state in their Report), under the anxious wish, that their trust should be executed with as little publicity as possible, authorized that unnecessary insult and outrage upon me, as I must always consider it, which, however intended, gave the utmost publicity and exposure to the existence of these charges: I mean, the sending two Attorneys, armed with their Lordships' warrant, to my house, to bring before them, at once, about one half of my household for examination. The idea of privacy, after an act so much calculated, from the extraordinary nature of it, to excite the greatest attention and surprise, your Majesty must feel to have been impossible and absurd; for an attempt at secrecy, mystery, and concealment, on my part, could, under such circumstances, only have been construed into the fearfulness of guilt.—It will appear also, that from that time I heard nothing authentically upon the subject till the 11th of August, when I was furnished, by your Majesty's commands, with the Report. The several papers necessary to my understanding the whole of these charges, in the authentic state in which your Majesty thought it proper graciously to direct that I should have them, were not delivered to me till

the beginning of September. My answer to these various charges, though the whole subject of them was new to those whose advice I had recourse to, long as that answer was necessarily obliged to be, was delivered to the Lord Chancellor, to be forwarded to your Majesty, by the 6th of October; and, from the 6th of October to the 28th of January, I was kept in total ignorance of the effect of that answer. Not only will all this delay be apparent, but it will be generally shewn to the world, how your Majesty's Servants had in this important business treated your Daughter-in-law, the Princess of Wales; and what measure of justice she, a female, and a stranger in your land, has experienced at their hands.

Undoubtedly against such a proceeding I have ever felt, and still feel, an almost invincible repugnance. Every sentiment of delicacy, with which a female mind must shrink from the act of bringing before the public such charges, however conscious of their scandal and falsity, and however clearly that scandal and falsity may be manifested by the answer to those charges, the respect still due from me to persons employed in authority under your Majesty, however little respect I may have received from them; my duty to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales; my regard for all the members of your august family; my esteem, my duty, my gratitude to your Majesty, my affectionate gratitude for all the paternal kindness which I have ever experienced from you; my anxiety not only to avoid the risk of giving any offence or displeasure to your Majesty, but also to fly from every occasion of creating the slightest sentiment of uneasiness in the mind of your Majesty, whose happiness it would be the pride and pleasure of my life to consult and to promote; all these various sentiments have compelled me to submit, as long as human forbearance could endure, to all the unfavourable inferences which were through this delay daily increasing in the public mind. What the strength and efficacy of these motives have been, your Majesty will do me justice to feel, when you are pleased graciously to consider how long I have been contented to suffer those suspicions to exist against my innocence, which the bringing before the public of my accusation, and my defence to it, would so indisputably and immediately have dispelled.—The measure, however, of making these proceedings public, whatever mode I can adopt (considering especially the absolute impossibility of suffering any partial production of them, and the necessity that, if for any purpose any part of them should be produced, the whole must be brought before the public) remains surrounded with all the objections which I have enumerated: and nothing could ever have prevailed upon me, or can now even prevail upon me, to have recourse to it, but an imperious sense of indispensable duty to my future safety, to my present character and honour, and to the feelings, the character, and the interests of my child. I had flattered myself, when once this long proceeding should have terminated in my reception into your Majesty's presence, that that circumstance alone would have so strongly implied my innocence of all that had been brought against me, as to have been perfectly sufficient for my honour and my security; but accompanied, as it now must be, with the knowledge of the fact, that your Majesty has been brought to hesitate upon its propriety, and accompanied also with the very unjustifiable observations, as they

appear to me, on which I shall presently proceed to remark; and which were made by your Majesty's Servants, at the time when they gave you their advice to receive me, I feel myself in a situation, in which I deeply regret that I cannot rest in silence, without an immediate reception into your Majesty's presence; nor, indeed, with that reception, unless it be attended by *other circumstances*, which may mark my satisfactory acquittal of the charges which have been brought against me.

It shall at no time be said, with truth, that I shrunk back from these infamous charges; that I crouched before my enemies, and courted them, by my submission, into moderation! No, I have ever boldly defied them. I have ever felt, and still feel, that, if they should think either of pursuing these accusations, or of bringing forward any other which the wickedness of individuals may devise, to affect my honour, (since my conscience tells me, that they must be as base and groundless as those brought by Lady Douglas), *while the witnesses to the innocence of my conduct are all living*, I should be able to disprove them all; and, whoever may be my accusers, to triumph over their wickedness and malice. But should these accusations be renewed, or any other be brought forward in any future time, *death may*, I know not how soon, remove from my innocence its best security, and deprive me of the means of my justification and my defence.—There are, therefore, other measures, which I trust your Majesty will think indispensable to be taken, for my honour and for my security.—Amongst these, I most humbly submit to your Majesty my most earnest entreaties that the proceedings, including not only my first answer, and my letter of the 8th of December, but this letter also, may be directed by your Majesty to be so preserved and deposited, as that they may, all of them, securely remain permanent authentic documents and memorials of this accusation, and of the manner in which I met it; of my defence, as well as of the charge; that they may remain capable at any time of being resorted to, if the malice which produced the charge originally shall ever venture to renew it.—Beyond this I am sure your Majesty will think it but proper and just that I should be restored, in every respect, to the same situation from whence the proceedings under these false charges have removed me. That, besides being graciously received again into the bosom of your Majesty's Royal Family, restored to my former respect and station amongst them, your Majesty will be graciously pleased either to exert your influence with His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, that I may be restored to the use of my apartment in Carlton House, which was reserved for me, except while the apartments were undergoing repair, till the date of these proceedings; or to assign to me some apartment in one of your royal palaces. Some apartment in or near to London is indispensably necessary for my convenient attendance at the Drawing-room. And if I am not restored to that at Carlton House, I trust your Majesty will graciously perceive how reasonable it is that I should request that some apartment should be assigned to me, suited to my dignity and situation, which may mark my reception and acknowledgment as one of your Majesty's family, and from which my attendance at the Drawing-room may be easy and convenient.—If these measures are taken, I should hope that they would prove satisfactory to the public mind, and that I

may feel myself fully restored in public estimation to my former character. And should they prove so satisfactory, I shall indeed be delighted to think, that no further step may, even now, appear to be necessary to my peace of mind, my security, and my honour.—But your Majesty will permit me to say, that if the next week, which will make more than a month from the time of your Majesty's informing me that you would receive me, should pass without my being received into your presence, and without having the assurance that these other requests of mine shall be complied with, I shall be under the painful necessity of considering them as refused; in which case I shall feel myself compelled, however reluctantly, to give the whole of these proceedings to the world; unless your Majesty can suggest other adequate means of securing my honour and my life from the effect of the continuance or renewal of these proceedings for the future as well as the present; for I entreat your Majesty to believe, that it is only in the absence of all other adequate means, that I can have resort to that measure. That I consider it with deep regret; that I regard it with serious apprehension, by no means so much on account of the effect it may have upon myself, as on account of the pain which it may give to your Majesty, your august family, and your loyal subjects.—As far as myself am concerned, I am aware of the observations to which this publication will expose me; but I am placed in a situation in which I have the choice only of two most unpleasant alternatives; and I am perfectly confident that the imputations and the loss of character which must, under these circumstances, follow from my silence, are most injurious and unavoidable; that my silence, under such circumstances, must lead inevitably to my utter infamy and ruin. The publication, on the other hand, will expose to the world nothing which is spoken to by any witness (whose infamy and discredit is not unanswerably exposed and established) which can, in the slightest degree, affect my character for honour, virtue, and delicacy.—There may be circumstances disclosed, manifesting a degree of condescension and familiarity in my behaviour and conduct, which, in the opinions of many, may be considered as not sufficiently guarded, dignified, and reserved. Circumstances, however, which my foreign education and foreign habits misled me to think, in the humble and retired situation in which it was my fate to live, and where I had no relation, no equal, no friend to advise me, were wholly free from offence. But when they have been dragged forward, from the scenes of private life, in a grave proceeding on a charge of High Treason and Adultery, they seem to derive a colour and character from the nature of the charge which they are brought forward to support; and I cannot but believe, that they have been used for no other purpose than to afford a cover, to screen from view the injustice of that charge; that they have been taken advantage of, to let down my accusers more gently, and to deprive me of that full acquittal on the Report of the four Lords which my innocence of all offence most justly entitled me to receive.

—Whatever opinion, however, may be formed upon any part of my conduct, it must in justice be formed with reference to the situation in which I was placed; if I am judged of as Princess of Wales, with reference to the high rank of that station, I must be judged as Princess of Wales, banished from the Prince, unprotected by the

support and the countenance which belong to that station; and if I am judged of in my private character, as a married woman, I must be judged of as a wife banished from her husband, and living in a widowed seclusion from him, and retirement from the world. This last consideration leads me to recur to an expression in Mrs. Lisle's examination, which describes my conduct, in the frequency and the manner of my receiving the visits of Captain Manby, though always in the presence of my Ladies, as unbecoming a married woman. Upon the extreme injustice of setting up the opinion of one woman, as it were, in judgment upon the conduct of another, as well as of estimating the conduct of a person in my unfortunate situation, by reference to that which might in general be expected from a married woman, living happily with her husband, I have before generally remarked; but beyond these general remarks, in forming any estimate of my conduct, your Majesty will never forget the very peculiar circumstances and misfortunes of my situation. Your Majesty will remember that I had not been much above a year in this country, when I received the following letter from his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales.

Windsor Castle, April 30, 1796.

"Madam,—As Lord Cholmondeley informs me that you wish I would define, in writing,* the terms upon which we are to live, I shall endeavour to explain myself upon that head, with as much clearness, and with as much propriety, as the nature of the subject will admit. "Our inclinations are not in our power, nor should either of us be held answerable to the other, because nature has not made us suitable to each other. Tranquil and comfortable society is, however, in our power; let our intercourse, therefore, be restricted to that, and I will distinctly subscribe to the condition which you required, through Lady Cholmondeley, that even in the event of any accident happening to my daughter, which I trust Providence in its mercy will avert, I shall not infringe the terms of the restriction by proposing at any period a connexion of a more particular nature. I shall now finally close this disagreeable correspondence, trusting that, as we have completely explained ourselves to each other, the rest of our lives will be passed in uninterrupted tranquillity.—I am, Madam, with great truth, very sincerely yours,
(Signed) "GEORGE P."

* The substance of this letter had been previously conveyed in a message through Lord Cholmondeley to Her Royal Highness; but it was thought by Her Royal Highness to be infinitely too important to rest merely upon a verbal communication, and therefore she desired that His Royal Highness's pleasure upon it should be communicated to her in writing.

† Upon the receipt of the message alluded to in the foregoing note, Her Royal Highness, though she had nothing to do but to submit to the arrangement which His Royal Highness might determine upon, desired it might be understood, that she should insist that any such arrangement, if once made, should be considered as final; and that His Royal Highness should not retain the right, from time to time, at his pleasure, or under any circumstances, to alter it.

And that to this letter I sent the following answer:

"L'aveu de votre conversation avec Lord Cholmondeley, ne m'étonne, ni ne m'offense. "C'étoit me confirmer ce que vous m'avez tacitement insinué depuis une année. Mais il y auroit après cela, un manque de délicatesse ou, pour mieux dire, une bassesse indigne de me plaindre des conditions, que vous vous imposez à vous même.—Je ne vous aurois point fait de réponse, si votre lettre n'étoit conçue de manière à faire douter, si cet arrangement vient de vous, ou de moi; et vous sçavez que vous m'annoncez l'honneur. La lettre que vous m'annoncez comme la dernière, m'oblige de communiquer au Roy, comme à mon Souverain, et à mon Pere, votre aveu et ma réponse. "Vous trouverez ci incluse la copie de celle que j'écris au Roy. Je vous en previens pour ne pas m'attirer de votre part la moindre reproche de duplicité. Comme je n'ai dans ce moment, d'autre protecteur que Sa Majesté, je m'en rapporte uniquement à lui. Et si ma conduite merite son approbation, je serai, du moins en partie, consolée.—Du reste, je conserve toute la reconnaissance possible de ce que je me trouve par votre moyen, comme Princesse, de Galles, dans une situation à pouvoir me livrer sans contrainte, à une vertu chère à mon cœur, je veux dire la bienfaisance. Ce sera pour moi un devoir d'agir de plus par un autre motif sçavoir celui de donner l'exemple de la patience, et de la resignation dans toutes sortes d'épreuves. Rendez moi la justice de me croire, que je ne cesserai jamais de faire des vœux pour votre bonheur, et d'être votre bien dévouée."

(Signed)

"CAROLINE.

"Ce 6 de May, 1796."

* TRANSLATION.

The avowal of your conversation with Lord Cholmondeley neither surprises nor offends me. It merely confirmed what you have tacitly insinuated for this twelve months. But after this, it would be a want of delicacy, or rather an unworthy meanness in me, were I to complain of those conditions which you impose upon yourself.—I should have returned no answer to your letter, if it had not been conceived in terms to make it doubtful whether this arrangement proceeds from you or from me, and you are aware that the credit of it belongs to you alone.—The letter which you announce to me as the last, obliges me to communicate to the King, as to my Sovereign and my Father, both your avowal and my answer. You will find enclosed the copy of my letter to the King. I apprise you of it, that I may not incur the slightest reproach of duplicity from you. As I have at this moment no protector but His Majesty, I refer myself solely to him upon this subject; and if my conduct meets his approbation, I shall be in some degree at least consoled. I retain every sentiment of gratitude for the situation in which I find myself, as Princess of Wales, enabled by your means to indulge in the free exercise of a virtue dear to my heart, I mean charity.—It will be my duty likewise to act upon another motive, that of giving an example of patience and resignation under every trial.—Do me the justice to believe, that I shall never cease to pray for your happiness, and to be, your much devoted

6th of May, 1796.

CAROLINE.

The date of His Royal Highness's letter is the 30th of April, 1796. The date of our marriage, your Majesty will recollect, is the 8th day of April, in the year 1795; and that of the birth of our only child the 7th January, 1796.

On the letter of His Royal Highness I offer no comment. I only entreat your Majesty not to understand me to introduce it, as affording any supposed justification or excuse, for the least departure from the strictest line of virtue, or the slightest deviation from the most refined delicacy. The crime which has been insinuated against me, would be equally criminal and detestable; the indelicacy imputed to me would be equally odious and abominable, whatever renunciation of conjugal authority and affection, the above letter of His Royal Highness might in any construction of it be supposed to have conveyed. Such crimes and faults, derive not their guilt from the consideration of the conjugal virtues of the individual, who may be the most injured by them, however much such virtues may aggravate their enormity. No such letter, therefore, in any construction of it, no renunciation of conjugal affection or duties, could ever palliate them. But whether conduct free from all crime, free from all indelicacy, (which I maintain to be the character of the conduct to which Mrs. Lisle's observations apply,) yet possibly not so measured, as a cautious wife, careful to avoid the slightest appearance of not preferring her husband to all the world, might be studious to observe. Whether conduct of such description, and possibly, in such sense, not becoming a married woman, could be justly deemed, in my situation, an offence in me, I must leave to your Majesty to determine.—In making that determination, however, it will not escape your Majesty to consider, that the conduct which does or does not become a married woman materially depends upon what is, or is not known by her to be agreeable to her husband. His pleasure and happiness ought unquestionably to be her law; and his approbation the most favourite object of her pursuit. Different characters of men require different modes of conduct in their wives; but when a wife can no longer be capable of perceiving from time to time what is agreeable or offensive to her husband, when her conduct can no longer contribute to his happiness, no longer hope to be rewarded by his approbation, surely to examine that conduct by the standard of what ought in general to be the conduct of a married woman, is altogether unreasonable and unjust.—What then is my case? Your Majesty will do me the justice to remark, that, in the above letter of the Prince of Wales, there is not the most distant surmise, that crime, that vice, that indelicacy of any description, gave occasion to his determination; and all the tales of infamy and discredit, which the inventive malice of my enemies, has brought forward on these charges, have their date years and years after the period to which I am now alluding. What then, let me repeat the question, is my case? After the receipt of the above letter, and in about two years from my arrival in this country, I had the misfortune entirely to lose the support, the countenance, the protection of my husband—I was banished, as it were, into a sort of humble retirement, at a distance from him, and almost estranged from the whole of the Royal Family. I had no means of having recourse, either for society or advice, to those,

from whom my inexperience could have best received the advantages of the one, and with whom I could, most becomingly, have enjoyed the comforts of the other; and in this retired, unassisted, unprotected state, without the check of a husband's authority, without the benefit of his advice, without the comfort and support of the society of his family, a stranger to the habits and fashions of this country, I should, in any instance, under the influence of foreign habits, and foreign education, have observed a conduct, in any degree deviating from the reserve and severity of British manners, and partaking of a condescension and familiarity, which that reserve and severity would, perhaps, deem beneath the dignity of my exalted rank. I feel confident, (since such deviation will be seen to have been ever consistent with perfect innocence), that not only your Majesty's candour and indulgence, but the candour and indulgence, which, notwithstanding the reserve and severity of British manners, always belong to the British public, will never visit it with severity or censure.—It remains for me now to make some remarks upon the further contents of the paper, which was transmitted to me by the Lord Chancellor on the 38th ult. And I cannot in passing omit to remark, that that paper has neither title, date, signature, nor attestation; and unless the Lord Chancellor had accompanied it with a note stating that it was copied in his own hand from the original, which his Lordship had received from your Majesty, I should have been at a loss to have perceived any single mark of authenticity belonging to it, and as it is, I am wholly unable to discover what is the true character which does belong to it. It contains, indeed, the advice which your Majesty's servants have offered to your Majesty, and the message, which, according to that advice, your Majesty directed to be delivered to me.—Considering it, therefore, wholly as their act, your Majesty will excuse and pardon me, if, deeply injured as I feel myself to have been by them, I express myself with freedom upon their conduct. I may speak perhaps with warmth, because I am provoked by a sense of gross injustice, I shall speak certainly with firmness and with courage, because I am emboldened by a sense of conscious innocence.—Your Majesty's confidential servants say, "they agree in the opinions of the Four Lords," and they say this, "after the fullest consideration of my observations, and of the affidavits which were annexed to them." Some of these opinions, your Majesty will recollect, are, that "William Cole, Fanny Lloyd, Robert Bidgood, and Mrs. Lisle are witnesses who cannot," in the judgment of the Four Lords, "be suspected of any unfavourable bias;" "and whose veracity in this respect they had seen no ground to question;" and "that the circumstances to which they speak, particularly as relating to Captain Manby, must be credited until they are decisively contradicted." Am I then to understand your Majesty's confidential servants to mean, that they agree with the four Noble Lords in these opinions? Am I to understand, that, after having read with the fullest consideration, the observations, which I have offered to your Majesty; after having seen William Cole there proved to have submitted himself, five times at least, to private, unauthorized, voluntary examination by Sir John Douglas's Solicitor, for the express purpose of confirming the statement of Lady Doug-

las (of that Lady Douglas, whose statement and deposition they are convinced to be so malicious and false, that they propose to institute such prosecution against her, as your Majesty's Law Officers may advise, upon a reference, now at length, after six months from the detection of that malice and falsehood, intended to be made) —after having seen this William Cole, submitting to such repeated voluntary examinations for such a purpose, and although he was all that time a servant on my establishment, and eating my bread, yet never once communicating to me, that such examinations were going on—am I to understand, that your Majesty's confidential servants agree with the four Lords in thinking, that he cannot, under such circumstances, be suspected of unfavourable bias? That after having had phrased out to them the direct, flat contradiction between the same William Cole and Fanny Lloyd, they nevertheless agree to think them both (though in direct contradiction to each other, yet both) witnesses, whose veracity they see no ground to question? After having seen Fanny Lloyd directly and positively contradicted, in an assertion, most injurious to my honour, by Mr. Mills and Mr. Edmeades, do they agree in opinion with the four Noble Lords, that they see no ground to question their veracity?—After having read the observations on Mr. Bidgood's evidence: after having seen that he had the hardihood to swear, that he believed Captain Manby slept in my house, at Southend, and to insinuate that he slept in my bed-room; after having seen that he founded himself on this most false fact, and most foul and wicked insinuation, upon the circumstance of observing a basin and some towels where he thought they ought not to be placed; after having seen that this fact, and this insinuation were disproved before the four noble Lords themselves, by two maid-servants, who, at that time, lived with me at Southend, and whose duties about my person and my apartments, must have made them acquainted with this fact, as asserted, or as insinuated, if it had happened; after having observed too, in confirmation of their testimony, that one of them mentioned the name of another female servant (who was not examined), who had, from her situation, equal means of knowledge with themselves—I ask whether, after all this decisive weight of contradiction to Robert Bidgood's testimony, I am to understand your Majesty's confidential servants to agree with the four noble Lords in thinking, that Mr. Bidgood is a witness, who cannot be suspected of unfavourable bias, and that there is no ground to question his veracity? If, Sir, I were to go through all the remarks of this description, which occur to me to make, I should be obliged to repeat nearly all my former observations, and to make this letter as long as my original answer: but to that answer I confidently appeal, and I will venture to challenge your Majesty's confidential servants to find a single impartial, and honourable man, unconnected in feeling and interest with the parties, and unconnected in Council, with those who have already pledged themselves to an opinion upon this subject, who will lay his hand upon his heart, and say, that these three witnesses, on whom that Report so mainly relies, are not to be suspected of the grossest partiality, and that their veracity is not most fundamentally impeached.—Was it then noble, was it generous, was it manly, was it just, in your Majesty's confidential servants, instead of fairly admitting

the injustice which had been, inadvertently and unintentionally, no doubt, done to me, by the four noble Lords in their Report, upon the evidence of these witnesses, to state to your Majesty, that they agree with these noble Lords in their opinion, though they cannot, it seems, go the length of agreeing any longer to withhold the advice, which restores me to your Majesty's presence? And with respect to the particulars to my prejudice, remarked upon in the Report as those "which justly deserve the most serious consideration, and which must be credited till decisively contradicted," instead of fairly avowing, either that there was originally no pretence for such a remark, or that, if there had been originally, yet that my answer had given that decisive contradiction which was sufficient to discredit them; instead, I say, of acting this just, honest, and open part, to take no notice whatsoever of those contradictions, and content themselves with saying, that "none of the facts" or allegations stated in preliminary examinations, carried on in the absence of the parties "interested, could be considered as legally or conclusively established."—They agree in the opinion that the facts or allegations, though stated in preliminary examination, carried on in the absence of the parties interested, must be credited till decisively contradicted, and deserve the most serious consideration. They read, with the fullest consideration, the contradiction which I have tendered to them; they must have known, that no other sort of contradiction could, by possibility, from the nature of things, have been offered upon such subjects: they do not question the truth, they do not point out the insufficiency of the contradiction, but, in loose, general, indefinite terms, referring to my answer, consisting, as it does, of above two hundred written pages, and coupling it with those examinations (which they admit establish nothing against an absent party) they advise your Majesty, that "there appear many circumstances of conduct, which could not be regarded by your Majesty without serious concern;" and that, as to all the other facts and allegations, except those relative to my pregnancy and delivery, they are not to be considered as "legally and conclusively established," because spoken to in preliminary examinations, not carried on in the presence of the parties concerned. They do not, indeed, expressly assert, that my contradiction was not decisive or satisfactory; they do not expressly state, that they think the facts and allegations want nothing towards their legal and conclusive establishment, but a re-examination in the presence of the parties interested, but they go far to imply such opinions. That those opinions are utterly untenable, against the observations I have made, upon the credit and character of those witnesses, I shall ever most confidently maintain; but that those observations leave their credit wholly unaffected, and did not deserve the least notice from your Majesty's servants, it is impossible that any honourable man can assert, or any fair and unprejudiced mind believe.—I now proceed, Sir, to observe, very shortly, upon the advice further given to your Majesty as contained in the remaining part of the paper; which has represented that, both in the examinations, and even in my answer there have appeared many circumstances of conduct which could not be regarded but with serious concern, and which have suggested the expression of a desire and expectation, that such

a conduct may, in future, be observed by me, as may fully justify those marks of paternal regard and affection, which your Majesty wishes to shew to all your Royal Family.—And here, Sire, your Majesty will graciously permit me to notice the hardship of the advice, which has suggested to your Majesty, to convey to me this reproof. I complain not so much for what it does, as for what it does not contain; I mean the absence of all particular mention of what it is, that is the object of their blame. The circumstances of conduct which appear in these examinations, and in my answer to which they allude as those which may be supposed to justify the advice, which has led to this reproof, since your Majesty's servants have not particularly mentioned them, I cannot be certain that I know. But I will venture confidently to repeat the assertion, which I have already made, that there are no circumstances of conduct spoken to by any witness (whose infamy and discredit are not unanswerably exposed and established), nor any where apparent in my answer which have the remotest approach either to crime or to indelicacy.—For my future conduct, Sire, impressed with every sense of gratitude for all former kindness, I shall be bound unquestionably, by sentiment as well as duty, to study your Majesty's pleasure. Any advice which your Majesty may wish to give to me in respect of any particulars in my conduct, I shall be bound, and be anxious to obey as my law. But I must trust that your Majesty will point out to me the particulars, which may happen to displease you, and which you may wish to have altered. I shall be as happy, in thus feeling myself safe from blame under the benefit of your Majesty's advice, as I am now in finding myself secured from danger, under the protection of your justice.

Your Majesty will permit me to add one word more.—Your Majesty has seen what detriment my character has, for a time, sustained, by the false and malicious statement of Lady Douglas; and by the depositions of the witnesses who were examined in support of her statement. Your Majesty has seen how many enemies I have, and how little their malice has been restrained by any regard to truth in the pursuit of my ruin. Few, as it may be hoped, may be the instances of such determined, and unprovoked, malignity, yet, I cannot flatter myself, that the world does not produce other persons, who may be swayed by similar motives to similar wickedness. Whether the statement to be prepared by the Prince of Wales, is to be confined to the old charges, or is intended to bring forward new circumstances, I cannot tell; but if any fresh attempts of the same nature shall be made by my accusers, instructed as they will have been, by their miscarriage in this instance, I can hardly hope that they will not renew their charge, with an improved artifice, more skillfully directed, and with a malice, inflamed rather than abated, by their previous disappointment. I therefore can only appeal to your Majesty's justice, in which I confidently trust, that whether these charges are to be renewed against me either on the old or on fresh evidence; or whether new accusations, as well as new witnesses, are to be brought forward, your Majesty, after the experi-

ence, of these proceedings, will not suffer your Royal mind to be prejudiced by *ex parte*, secret examinations, nor my character to be whispered away by insinuations, or suggestions which I have no opportunity of meeting. If any charge, which the law will recognize, should be brought against me in an open and legal manner, I should have no right to complain, nor any apprehension to meet it. But till I may have a full opportunity of so meeting it, I trust your Majesty will not suffer it to excite even a suspicion to my prejudice. I must claim the benefit of the presumption of innocence till I am proved to be guilty, for, without that presumption, against the effects of secret insinuations and *ex parte* examinations, the purest innocence can make no defence, and can have no security.—Surrounded, as it is now proved, that I have been, for years, by domestic spies, your Majesty must, I trust, feel convinced, that if I had been guilty there could not have been wanting evidence to have proved my guilt. And that these spies have been obliged to have resort to their own invention, for the support of the charge, is the strongest demonstration that the truth, undisguised, and correctly represented, could furnish them with no handle against me. And when I consider the nature and malignity of that conspiracy, which, I feel confident I have completely detected and exposed, I cannot but think of that detection, with the liveliest gratitude, as the special blessing of Providence, who, by confounding the machinations of my enemies, has enabled me to find, in the very excess and extravagance of their malice, in the very weapons which they fabricated and sharpened for my destruction, the sufficient guard to my innocence, and the effectual means of my justification and defence.—I trust therefore, Sire, that I may now close this long letter, in confidence that many days will not elapse before I shall receive from your Majesty, that assurance that my just requests may be so completely granted, as may render it possible for me (which nothing else can) to avoid the painful disclosure to the world of all the circumstances of that injustice, and of those unmerited sufferings, which these proceedings, in the manner in which they have been conducted, have brought upon me.—I remain, Sire, with every sentiment of gratitude, your Majesty's most dutiful, most submissive daughter-in-law, subject and servant,

(Signed)

C. P.

Montague House, Feb. 16, 1807.

As these observations apply not only to the official communication through the Lord Chancellor, of the 28th ult.; but also to the private letter of your Majesty, of the 12th instant, I have thought it most respectful to your Majesty and your Majesty's servants, to send this letter in duplicate, one part through Colonel Taylor, and the other through the Lord Chancellor, to your Majesty.

(Signed)

C. P.

To the King.

[Here should have come in the Princess's Letter to the King of the 5th of March, 1807, which letter was the last she wrote; but it will be found in the foregoing Number of the Register, at page 410.]

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

CITY OF LONDON ADDRESS.—In my last Number, at page 501, I made some observations upon the subject of the proposed Address of the City of London to Her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales. Since those observations were made, or, I believe, at the very time I was making them, the City of London met, and agreed to an Address.—The proceedings of this body are always entitled to respectful attention, when they relate to matters of general interest; but, upon this particular occasion, they are so entitled in an extraordinary degree, as they not only give us a striking proof of the sentiments of the people as to the treatment which the Princess has received, but they discover to us the workings of the two great factions who live upon and hunt after the public money. These proceedings show, in the clearest possible light, the difference in the views of the different descriptions of politicians. Therefore I shall bestow particular attention upon them, more especially as it may be, and must be, of great importance to place the thing in its true light before the eyes of Her Royal Highness, the Princess, and also before those of her Royal Daughter, whose opinions become every day of more and more importance to the nation.—Viewing in this light the late Meeting of the Citizens of London, I shall, previous to the observations that I intend to make on what passed, insert the report of the proceedings, as I find that report in the *Morning Chronicle* of the 3d instant, and which report I must request the reader to go over with attention. He will here see a new distribution of parts amongst some of the principal actors; and, he will obtain better means, perhaps, of judging of the real views of those actors than he has ever before possessed.—The reader will please to bear in mind, that the requisition was delivered to the Lord Mayor on the 29th of March; and, that the notice for holding the Common Hall was not published by him till the 31st of March, leaving but one day's interval; and, it is very well known

by those who live in London, and will be easily believed by those who do not live in London, that so short a notice is insufficient to cause the thing to reach the knowledge of a fiftieth part of the Livery of London. Nevertheless, it appears, that the Hall, large as the space is, was as much crowded as upon almost any former occasion, when all the means of collecting large assemblages had been made use of. We now proceed to the Report, and I once more beg leave to request the reader's particular attention to the parts performed by the several actors; because we shall, and must, have much to say upon their conduct.

"A Common Hall assembled yesterday, at Guildhall, in pursuance of the notice which had been given, *"to take into consideration the propriety of presenting a loyal and affectionate Address to Her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, on the subject of the lately exposed wicked and cruel attempts against Her Royal Highness's character and life."*—The Requisition having been read, the Lord Mayor said, that, in pursuance of the wish which he always entertained to do justice to every individual of the Livery, he should beg leave to read a letter he had received from one of the Liverymen who signed the requisition.—The letter was then read; it was signed VANDERCOMBE, and stated that the writer had been induced to sign the requisition when the ferment respecting what had been so inappropriately termed the Delicate Investigation was at its height, but the state of things having changed, he did not think the measure required was expedient (not from any doubts; however, as to the innocence of the Princess of Wales), and begged that his name might be withdrawn from the Requisition. (*Hisses.*)—The Lord Mayor said, that not being at liberty to withdraw the name in question from the Requisition, he had deemed it his duty to have the letter read.

"MR. ALDERMAN WOOD then came forward and addressed the Hall. He said, that in offering to them a mo-

tion for presenting an Address to Her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, he only regretted his inability to do justice to the cause, which he should have wished to have fallen into abler hands. Much pains had been taken to *put a stop to any proceedings* in this case, and he had been astonished at *the number of applications, with that view, he had received both from the City and the West end of the Town*, from persons whose motives for so doing he could not guess at. He had another ground of complaint in the conduct, which had been the cause that there was present a less numerous meeting than he could have wished. He had called on the Lord Mayor last Saturday, with the view of receiving his Lordship's determination on the assembling of the present Hall; he had called again on Monday, and on Tuesday, and his Lordship had desired him not to call on Wednesday; and he had *learned by accident*, by a note at his counting-house, that the Hall was summoned for that day. It had been so managed, that the Livermen could not have had more than a *day's notice*. He (Mr. Wood) had wanted a full Common Hall, to know whether the Princess of Wales was not to be cherished by the City of London, and in this he had been disappointed, and he was equally certain, that in their voting with him he should not be disappointed. It had been rumoured, that many of his political friends, who usually voted with him, had intended not to act with him on this occasion; this had been said in *the one solitary news-paper which did not support the cause of the Princess*. He (Mr. W.) had not heard this from them, and if such was their intention, he hoped it would be, as in former cases, when, after having been of a contrary opinion to him, they had supported his proposition when they found it friendly to the liberty of the people. He hoped that at present they would also come forward and shew themselves friends to justice and enemies to conspiracy. (*Applause*). It would be unnecessary for him to go into the case before them; he hoped they had read the excellent letter of the Princess to the King, though he feared it had not been read by 9-10ths of the people of England. Though he (Mr. Wood) had been always an enemy to Mr. Perceval, by whom it had been written, because he was an enemy to the liberty of the people, yet he revered the man,

who, in such circumstances, could rescue the Princess from the conspiracy against her, and could compose this letter, which did honour both to his head and his heart. The other professional men of the Princess had acted in a manner which did them honour, and but for the letter of Mr. Brougham, he did not know how the innocence of the Princess could have been shewn as it had been.—He could not conceive who would oppose this motion; not the Gentlemen who called themselves the *loyal* of the day (*laughing*). It could do no hurt to any part of the Royal Family to shew the innocence of the Princess; and least of all could the Prince Regent be hurt at the innocence of his wife. He had once thought on proposing also an Address on the subject to the Prince Regent himself; but at any rate the Prince Regent would be glad to see them go up to the Princess with an Address recognizing her innocence.—It might be said that this was not the time for such an Address. He had had thoughts, when the Prince of Wales was called to the Regency, to propose an Address, such as the present, as he was at that time able to have gone into as much evidence as is present, but it was objected that the subject was unknown to the public. The Princess had lately been oppressed by the weight of another inquiry; that was not now the case. He had waited to see whether, on the motion of Mr. Cochrane Johnstone, any satisfactory measure might be adopted by the House of Commons, but he had been disappointed; and if they waited for the House of Commons, they might wait until they had no breath to express themselves with. There was very little in his motives for bringing forward his present motion of a political, and less of a party nature. He had been asked by one of his friends, whether he thought he could do *any good* by this motion—that he could not *change the Administration* by it (*a laugh*). This, he answered, was quite immaterial, as the parties were all alike. The political motives for such a motion were sufficient, as it was connected with circumstances which affected the succession of the Crown, and might involve the country in a civil war. But his principal motive was, to do that justice to an injured woman, which he should have been willing to afford to one of the lowest rank, and which, as he had been always a loyal man, he should ai-

“ ways be glad to advocate for one of the
“ highest. He should not go into the evi-
“ dence of the case, but merely remark,
“ that it was wonderful that the Princess
“ had, under such a conspiracy, behaved
“ with so much moderation. He hoped
“ the City of London would do all they
“ could to support this good woman, by
“ supporting his motion. He should now
“ propose his motion.

“ THE LORD MAYOR said, that be-
“ fore the worthy Alderman concluded, he
“ wished to set him right as to what he
“ had stated concerning the summoning of
“ the Common Hall. He (the Lord Mayor)
“ had desired the worthy Alderman to call
“ on him on Wednesday, to receive his
“ determination.

“ Mr. Alderman Wood said, that he
“ had understood, that the Lord Mayor had
“ desired him not to call on that day.—
“ (*Cry of “ No consequence.”*)—Mr. W.
“ concluded by moving, that a Loyal Ad-
“ dress be presented to the Princess of
“ Wales, on the late disclosure of the
“ wicked and cruel attempt against Her
“ Royal Highness’s character and life.—
“ (*Cry of Read!*)—The worthy Alderman
“ said, it would be more regular to read
“ the Address he should propose after the
“ motion was seconded.

“ The motion having been seconded,

“ MR. THOMPSON said, the Princess
“ of Wales, after having been denied jus-
“ tice in the House of Commons, had come
“ as a last resort to the people, by whom,
“ he hoped, that in spite of the parasites of
“ power, the most decisive verdict of ac-
“ quittal would be declared. They should
“ suppose what their feelings would be if
“ they had a daughter in the situation of
“ the Princess, separated from her hus-
“ band, and surrounded by spies. But the
“ Princess had no father, and had been
“ lately deprived of her mother; and he
“ hoped the City of London would supply
“ the place of both. He did not know
“ why the Mother-in-Law of the Princess
“ had not been condoling with her. Fe-
“ male malice must have been at work
“ against her. He should not use the
“ words of Lord Ellenborough (for they
“ might, by marking the effect of ungo-
“ vernable passion, avoid language, which
“ was fit only for Noblemen); but let
“ them look at the contradictory evidence
“ affixed to the Report of 1806, and say
“ what man of them would have affixed his
“ name to it. The evidence of the Doug-
“ lasses began with such a principle of ven-

“ geance, that no credit should be attached
“ to it. The Commissioners had not given
“ in the testimony of Edmeades and Mills
“ as respectable, and yet as respectable
“ men as themselves. The House of Com-
“ mons had refused justice in this case, on
“ account of their own regulations, though
“ they broke them at any time when they
“ found it convenient. The Ministry, too,
“ had offered to abandon the Princess, as
“ Mr. Canning had stated in the House of
“ Commons; and they had not denied it,
“ because they knew he was an old sinner
“ like themselves. Her innocence was,
“ however, so well established, that on the
“ present occasion, when she had been de-
“ clared innocent, even Sir William Gur-
“ tis cried “ *Hear!* ” Sir John Douglas
“ had come forward with a petition, know-
“ ing it would never be granted, and a
“ letter had appeared under the name of
“ Lord Moira, insinuating new charges
“ against the Princess, which that Peer
“ ought to disavow, or to prove the asser-
“ tions it contained. He (Mr. T.) was
“ convinced the Princess was free not only
“ from criminality, but from any levity,
“ and it was their duty to lift up their
“ hands against those who had conspired
“ against her. The conduct of Charles the
“ Second should have been imitated on this
“ occasion by the Prince Regent. When
“ the Ministers of that Monarch proposed
“ to divorce him from his wife, he said,
“ “ *I do not like her, but I will not suffer
“ her to be insulted.* ”

“ MR. TADDY said, he should not
“ have come forward on this occasion, if
“ he had not been alluded to by the wor-
“ thy mover. He allowed that the Princess
“ had been injured and neglected; but he
“ did not conceive that she would wish to
“ come to the Common-hall to justify her
“ character, which stood in so fair a light,
“ that she needed not such acquittal. He
“ did not think it the proper time, because
“ he looked forward to the conciliation of
“ all parties. The question was one of
“ feeling, and they should take care not to
“ disturb the existing tranquillity.

“ SIR W. CURTIS said, that he was
“ not affected by any illiberal allusion
“ which had been made to him, as he met
“ them with confidence that they agreed
“ with him. He agreed that the Princess
“ of Wales was wickedly and cruelly treat-
“ ed (*applause*), and that the witnesses
“ were perjured. His wish was reconcili-
“ ation, but the question was, what was
“ the way to go about it? It was a dan-

“gerous thing to interfere. One of the
“instances in which his life was in immi-
“nent danger was from such an interfer-
“ence. He had taken part in a quarrel
“between a man and his wife, and it was
“the greatest mercy in his life that he was
“now able to stand on his legs (*laughing*).
“He would recognize the innocence of the
“Princess in its fullest sense; but he
“thought the best way was to drop the
“subject. He should move that they do
“now adjourn.

“SIR JAMES SHAW wished to state
“to the Livery the reasons that induced him
“to second the amendment. He admitted,
“that viewing the evidence against the
“Princess of Wales with the eye of a ma-
“gistrate, it appeared to him to be *from*
“beginning to end a tissue of perjury and
“subornation, and had it been given be-
“fore any Court of Record, the witnesses
“might and ought to have been subjected
“to a prosecution. It was clear, therefore,
“to him, that the Princess had been com-
“pletely vindicated, but the question for
“the Livery to decide was, whether further
“public discussion of this painful subject
“would tend to any favourable conclusion.
“The House of Commons had determined
“that it was impolitic, and the Livery of
“London would best shew its loyalty and
“wisdom by following the example. He
“acknowledged that the disclosures recent-
“ly made tended to lessen the respect of
“the people for the monarchy, as well as
“for the family that filled the throne: he
“wished that, at least, appearances had
“been preserved, but the vote proposed
“would widen the unfortunate breach that
“existed.—(*Marks of disapprobation*).

“MR. ALDERMAN ATKINS was of
“the same opinion, and would not now
“have taken any part in the discussion of
“this question, had it not been expected
“from him in consequence of the speeches
“of his colleagues. He was one of those
“who had in vain attempted to sway the
“judgment of the worthy Alderman who
“had persisted in this motion, because he
“thought (and he trusted he should not
“stand alone in the opinion) that reconcili-
“ation was not to be forced upon the illu-
“trious parties by the interference of the
“Livery. In this sentiment he trusted he
“should persuade many to coincide (*No,*
“*no!*). All men of understanding and
“judgment, he believed, would vote on his
“side of the question, if, indeed, it were
“pressed to a vote, but he entreated Mr.
“Alderman Wood to withdraw his motion.

“Was it too great an insult for the Livery
“of London, even high as its character
“stood for wisdom, prudence, and respect-
“ability, to follow the *judicious precedent*
“of the two houses of Parliament?”

“MR. STURCH, as an old Liveryman,
“anxious to preserve the character of the
“body to which he belonged, begged
“Gentlemen to reflect whether they would
“not DEGRADE themselves by passing
“the vote suggested. He did not doubt
“that the worthy Alderman acted from a
“sense of duty in bringing it forward, and
“he hoped that equal justice would be
“done him for his motives in resisting it,
“(*Loud disapprobation.*) It was at least
“PREMATURE, since the question was
“NOT YET RIPE FOR DECISION,
“and much evidence, he was convinced,
“remained behind to shew the origin of this
“malignant conspiracy. He highly ap-
“proved of the assembly of a Commu-
“Hall to vote upon questions of *parliamen-*
“*tary reform, or peace and war*, but of all
“subjects the present was the most impro-
“per to be discussed here: why were the
“Livery to give its decision upon the ques-
“tion whether Capt. Manby did or did not
“kiss the Princess of Wales?—The marks
“of disapprobation were now so vehement
“that Mr. Sturch was unable to proceed.”

“MR. WATTHAM stepped forward to
“entreat the Hall to behave with impar-
“tiality. His excellent Friend, who in the
“city of Westminster had so long laboured
“in the cause of the rights of the people,
“might be mistaken in his views, but he
“was delivering the honest sentiments of a
“well-informed understanding, and they
“ought to command respect.”—MR.
“STURCH concluded without interruption,
“by repeating THE DANGERS that were
“to be feared from this injudicious pro-
“ceeding, and by impressing the necessity
“of at least waiting until ADDITIONAL
“LIGHT was thrown upon this *mysterious*
“and *painful subject*.

“MR. WATTHAM then addressed
“the Hall, not because he could add any
“thing new to what had already been urg-
“ed, but because his silence might be mis-
“interpreted. He was likewise one of
“those who had endeavoured to dissuade
“the worthy Alderman from persevering in
“his motion, not because he differed in the
“general principle (in which all agreed)
“that the Princess of Wales had been most
“scandalously ill-treated, but because he
“did not think that the mode now suggest-
“ed would accelerate redress and promote

"reconciliation. Why should the Livery interfere, when the whole nation was united in one sentiment, that her Royal Highness was as innocent as her accusers were guilty. He did not desire the Livery to submit to his opinions, if they thought their own better, but all he desired was that his individual sentiments should be heard, because he was convinced from his heart that the Meeting was defeating its own purpose, (*No, no: loud clamours*). Probably his opinion might be good for nothing, in comparison with that of many gentlemen who now expressed their disapprobation. At the same time that he disapproved of the original motion, his objection to the amendment of Sir W. Curtis was equally strong, because if the Hall were dissolved, and the question thereby incidentally negatived, the proceeding would imply an undeserved censure on the Princess of Wales, (*Hear, hear!*). How then was the Livery to extricate itself from the dilemma. To dissolve the Hall would be a most extraordinary and unwarrantable step, especially when the Hon. Bart. had himself confessed that the question affected even the stability of the monarchy. *If the fact were so*, it was the duty of the city to interpose. The fact was so—the question did shake the throne itself; but the true point to be decided was, in what mode was the Livery to interfere? Certainly not in any way that would make the breach wider, when the object was reconciliation and harmony. He lamented, if so much danger was apprehended from interference, that the illustrious persons concerned had not reflected upon the greater danger of submitting such matters to public observation. The worthy Alderman (Atkins), who had censured the interposition of the Livery at all so strongly, should have been consistent in his conduct, and have blamed with equal severity interference of another kind, by a Royal Duke, who had most unconstitutionally, intermeddled to destroy the freedom of election in a certain borough, (*applause*). How then did he dare to object to that interference, which he had elsewhere approved? He (Mr. W.) did not think that the present proceeding would facilitate parliamentary reform; and as there existed no precedent of an Address, even to the Queen, he hoped that the worthy Alderman would be persuaded to alter his motion for an Address into a Resolution, declar-

"ratory of the complete acquittal of the Princess of Wales, which would obviate the most material objections. (*No, no, the Address*). He was sorry that his well-weighed opinions were in opposition to the general sentiment, so hastily adopted; but he hoped that the Livery would consider the necessity of preserving its character for purity and wisdom. He concluded by adverting to the shameful suppression of the able defence of Mr. Perceval, and by expressing his wish, that the thanks of the Hall should be given to Mr. Whitbread, for his able and manly conduct.

"MR. ALDERMAN ATKINS came forward, but with difficulty obtained a partial hearing. He repelled, with great warmth, Mr. Waithman's accusation of inconsistency, declaring that he had acted conscientiously, and that he should still dare to do his duty, and to avow it in all places, and at all times.

"MR. WADDINGTON called upon every man to do his duty, except such as were in possession or expectation of the loaves and fishes—to such the call would be ineffectual. In Africa, Turkey, and India, women were treated with contempt—in England we were more sensible of their value, and he hoped that the Livery would shew that they were not less gallant than the rest of the male sex.

"MR. ALDERMAN WOOD shortly replied, explaining, that he meant the Address to be presented by the whole Livery at Kensington Palace, in the same way as they had waited upon Sir F. Burdett, at the Tower. He refused to alter his motion, to make it conformable to the wishes of those with whom he usually acted.

"MR. ROWCROFT endeavoured in vain to address the impatient Livery—he could only utter one sentence, that the real sentiment of the corporation was expressed by the number of absentees.

"The question was then put upon the Amendment, that the Hall be dissolved, which was negatived by a large majority.

"The impatience of the Meeting was now so much increased, that Mr. Taddy and Mr. Waithman vainly attempted to address them. The Address was loudly called for, and it was accordingly read by the Crier; after which the question was put upon it, and it was carried with very few opponents. It was also agreed that

" it should be presented to the Princess of Wales by the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, Sheriffs, and 100 of the Livery.

" Mr. WAITHMAN then proposed a vote of thanks to *Mr. Whitbread*; and Mr. Thompson, to *Sir Francis Burdett*, both of which motions were carried unanimously."

I have been too long an observer of the workings of vanity, conceit, presumption, and selfishness, to be astonished at what took place upon this occasion; but, though I have felt no astonishment, others have, and, therefore, I shall enter into as full an examination of this interesting debate as my confined space will allow of.—The words of the Address, which was proposed by Mr. Wood, and which was carried with, I am well assured, only TWO hands held up against it, have not been given in the Report of the Morning Chronicle, nor in any other newspaper that I have seen; but, the COURIER has published the substance of the Address, in these words: " It stated, that the sentiments of affection with which the Livery of London had contemplated the arrival of the Princess in this country were in no degree diminished: that they were deeply impressed with respect for every branch of the illustrious house of Brunswick: that they viewed with indignation and abhorrence, the foul conspiracy against her honour and her life; and were inspired with admiration at her moderation, frankness, and magnanimity, under her long persecution. It concluded with an expression of confidence, that the Princess Charlotte, brought up under such a Mother, would be a blessing to the country, and with a prayer for the health, happiness, and prosperity of her Royal Highness."—This, I take it for granted, was the substance of the Address, moved by Mr. Wood, and adopted by the Common Hall; and, so taking it, I have no hesitation in saying, that it expressed the feelings of every impartial man in England.—Before I proceed to discuss the several objections, which were unavailingly urged against this Address, I cannot help noticing an omission in the Report of the Morning Chronicle; namely, the vote of thanks to *Mr. Cochrane Johnstone*. Such a vote was certainly passed, and it would be very curious to come at the precise reason, why Mr. Perry, or his Reporter, thought it right and proper to take no notice of that particular vote; especially when it is considered, that Mr. C. Johnstone was really the first person,

who took up the cause of the Princess in the House of Commons, where only it could be taken up with effect. It was, in fact, this Gentleman's Resolutions, which brought out the Book, by forcing from the Ministers an open confession of the Princess's innocence, which confession, as all the world knows, brought out the accusatory depositions through the channel of the Reverend Baronet's news-paper.—Therefore, I say, that, though Mr. Whitbread and Sir Francis Burdett merited the thanks of the Common Hall, they, upon this particular occasion, did not stand so prominently as Mr. Cochrane Johnstone. But, the numerous unseen wheels by which the press is moved must be seen, before the reader can judge of the causes of partiality like that which I have here noticed.—Now to the debate.—Mr. ALDERMAN WOOD, who is remarkable not less for his sound judgment than for his undaunted courage and unaffected manners, did perfectly right in stating at the outset, that the Hall was called at so short a notice. It was due to himself, to the cause, and to the City, to make that fact generally known; and I must say, that the answer of the Lord Mayor does not appear to me to have been, by any means satisfactory.—His Lordship was, however, very exact in pointing out, that Mr. VANDERCOMBE had expressed his wish to have his name withdrawn from the Requisition; and this is worthy of notice only on account of the reason which Mr. Vandercombe gave for it, which was this: that he signed the requisition at the moment when there was a great ferment upon the subject of the Princess's treatment, but that now, the ferment being over, he did not wish that any meeting should take place to address her.—It might not have been easy to find out a good reason for the extraordinary step of Mr. Vandercombe; but, a worse than this it must, I think, have puzzled an Old Bailey Attorney to hatch.—What! think it right to call such a meeting during the time that men's minds were in a ferment, and think it wrong to call it when men's minds had had time to cool! Think it right to call a meeting amidst uproar, and wrong to call one under the influence of reflection!—You will observe, reader, that Mr. Vandercombe retained his full conviction of the innocence of the Princess, and of the wickedness that had been at work against her; he retained this conviction, and all his objection to addressing now was, that there was no longer a ferment in men's minds upon the subject!—I have not the ho-

nour to know any thing of Mr. Vandercombe, but I must say, that I heartily wish him joy of his *reason* for withdrawing his name.—It gave me great pleasure to see Mr. Wood's motion seconded by such a man as Mr. THOMPSON. It is that *description* of men who ought to come forward; men who have no views, and who can have no views other than those tending to the public welfare. Such men should not give way to feelings of disgust or of listlessness. They would soon see babbling impertinence slink away from their presence.—That Sir WILLIAM CURTIS, though he acknowledged the perfect innocence of the Princess; that Sir JAMES SHAW, though, speaking as a magistrate, he viewed the evidence against the Princess, "from *beginning to end* as a tissue of *perjury and subornation*;" that Mr. Alderman Atkins, though he saw the matter in nearly the same light; that these Gentlemen, who are well known to be closely attached to the Ministers; that these Gentlemen should wish to stifle the question; that they should wish to draw a veil over the proceedings; that they should call for a dissolution of the Hall, and so get rid of the Address by a side wind; that they should tell the Citizens of London that they ought to look up to the *Honourable House* for an example; that they should tell the people to follow the footsteps of that paragon of wisdom and purity; that these Gentlemen should thus act and speak could be matter of wonder to nobody; but, there may be, and there must have been, many persons to wonder at the conduct of Messrs. STURCH and WAITMAN.—However, I shall not act the fool part of an *insinuator*. I will neither insinuate nor assert any thing at all respecting the *motives* of these Gentlemen; but, I will freely examine the grounds upon which they thought proper to overthrow the motion of Mr. Alderman Wood.—Mr. STURCH set out by observing, that, though an old Liveryman, he had never before troubled them with a speech. And, he will, I am sure, think it not unnatural, that I should express my regret and my surprise, that he should have deviated from his long-continued course, upon this particular occasion, when the motion to be opposed had, surely, nothing hostile to liberty in it, and when the person making that motion was well known to Mr. STURCH to be one of the most ardent, most indefatigable, and most liberal friends of public freedom. There has, for years past, been no man who has suffered in the cause of li-

berty, who has not received marks of friendship from Mr. Wood, who is, upon all such occasions, ready not only with his purse but with his personal exertions. When a man, so eminent for his exertions in the cause of public liberty, and withal so frank, so unaffected, and so amiable in his manners, so free from all vanity, conceit, and ambitious views; when a man like this had set his heart upon a measure, and when it was impossible that that measure could be injurious to public liberty, Mr. STURCH should, I think, have hesitated; I think he should have been very difficult to persuade to come, for the first time, out of Westminster to the Common Hall, for the express purpose of opposing that measure.—Let us, however, give a patient ear to the reasons upon which this opposition was built.—He begged the Hall to reflect, whether they would not *degrade* themselves by passing the Address.—You have seen the substance of the Address, reader; and, do you see any thing in it that is calculated to *degrade* those by whom it was passed? I will say nothing upon the unmeasured severity of this expression as applying directly to the mover of the Address, who, if the Address was degrading to those who passed it, must *already have degraded him who moved it*; but, I must say here, that, when Mr. Waitman, was afterwards reminding the Hall of Mr. Sturch's exertions in the cause of liberty in Westminster, he could hardly have forgotten, that Mr. Wood did not merit an attack like this, and especially that it was not worth while to quit the field of Westminster for, apparently, the sole purpose of making this attack.—But, Mr. STURCH's reasons: we have not yet seen any of them.—He said, that the motion was *premature*; that the question was *not ripe for discussion*.—Not ripe! When, then, I pray, is it to be ripe? The whole of the transactions are before the public; the evidence on both sides is in print; explanations of the conduct of particular parties have been given in parliament and elsewhere; in short, every fact and every circumstance belonging to the matter have found their way into print; and, at the end of seven years of mysterious secrecy, the whole is out in broad day-light, so that nothing is now hidden, or can be hidden, from any person in the kingdom. And yet Mr. STURCH does not think the question *ripe* for discussion. If it be not *yet* ripe, it will not be ripe till we are all rotten.—Much evidence, he said, remained behind

as to the *SOURCE of the conspiracy*.—We have no evidence at all to *that point*. Nor did Mr. Wood want any for his purpose. His address only called the thing a conspiracy, without saying any thing about the way in which that conspiracy originated. No evidence, therefore, was wanted as to the *source of the conspiracy*. It was sufficient for Mr. Wood that the Hall should be convinced that there had been a conspiracy. If it should hereafter appear who were the original hatchers of the conspiracy, Mr. Sturch may then, if he likes, bring forward a motion relative to them. Mr. Wood's Address appears to have had no such object in view.—But Mr. STURCH disapproved of the Citizens of London meddling with matters of *this kind*. He highly approved, he said, of their discussing questions of *Parliamentary Reform* and of *Peace and War*, but, he asked, “Why should the Livery decide, whether Captain Manby did or *did not kiss the Princess of Wales?*” — Perhaps Mr. Sturch meant this for *wit*, and, if so, let it, in that respect, pass for its full worth; but, taking it in a plain common-sense sort of way, I must say that it is one of the poorest attempts at perversion that I have ever met with.—“Why should *the Livery decide, &c.?*” But, Mr. STURCH, *why* should you ask such a question, when you well know, that they were *not*, by Mr. Wood's motion, called upon to decide any such point? The Address talked not of *kissing*; the Address was not foolish enough to deal in any such matters; it said nothing of Captain Manby; nor does it appear to have contained any thing implying a doubt upon any *point* whatever. Was it, then, fair to endeavour so to pervert its tendency?—Well, but Mr. Sturch, while he tells the Livery that he disapproves of their discussing of questions of *this kind*, is obliging enough to point out to them what kind of questions he does approve of their discussing; which (to speak as mildly as possible of it) might as well have been spared by a gentleman, who, according to his own account, appeared before the Livery for the first time.—The questions, however, which he does approve of their discussing, are such as relate to *Parliamentary Reform*, to *Peace and War*, and the like.—Yes, these trifling concerns, the changing of the state of the representation, the arrangements indispensably necessary to a different mode of collecting the voices of the people, the settling of who shall and who shall not

necessary to guard the throne and the nobility against an overweight in the popular scale; these trifling matters, Mr. Sturch thinks that the Livery may be permitted to handle freely; and also the no less trifling matters of *peace and war*, the extreme simplicity of which put them within the scope of every understanding!—But as to a question about an Address to a Princess, whose ill-treatment and whose long-suffering was notorious to all the world: this was a matter too high and too complicated for the Livery to meddle with!—I, for my part, should have thought, that this was, of all others, a matter with regard to which the Livery were competent to decide. It was a question clear in the understanding, and coming home to the heart of every sound-minded and sound-hearted man. It was a question, upon which no man could possibly be in error. There was no room for subtlety or doubt; and the only point upon which a difference of opinion could possibly exist was this: whether the motion for an Address was called for by sound sense as well as by justice.—Perhaps, Mr. STURCH might mean, that a question of this sort was *beneath* the Livery to entertain; that the questions as to *Parliamentary Reform*, *Peace and War*, and the like, were rendered proper by their *importance*; and that the present question *degraded* the Livery by its want of importance.—If Mr. STURCH is ready to avow, that the conduct of the Royal Family is of no consequence to the nation; that Addresses to them, or any of them, are, at all times, under whatever circumstances, *degrading* to those who move or pass them, his opposition to Mr. Wood's Address will appear consistent; but, then he should have *avowed this opinion*, and not have endeavoured to disguise his real ground of objection under a plea of *want of light*, *deficiency of evidence*, and a mis-statement about *kissing and Captain Manby*. On the other hand, if Mr. Sturch is not ready to avow such an opinion; if he allow, that Addresses presented by the City upon the *recovery of the King*; upon his escape from the pen-knife of a mad woman, and from the bullet of a mad man; if Mr. Sturch allow, that these Addresses were not degrading to the City of London, upon *what ground*, I am curious to know, can he build an objection to an Address to the Princess upon her escape from what all the world is ready to designate a foul and detestable conspiracy? Mr. Alderman Shaw said, and he said it manfully, that, speaking as a magistrate, he



viewed the evidence against the Princess as being, *from beginning to end, a tissue of perjury and subornation.* How great, then, must her danger have been! And, shall it be thought *degrading* to the Citizens of London to express their pleasure at her escape, and also to express their abhorrence of the perjured and suborned accusers?

—The object of an Address is to express the sentiments of those who pass it. There is no immediate practical effect contemplated; and to ask what *good* such an Address can do, is to challenge the propriety of all the Addresses that ever were presented in the world. Plain, sound sense said, that this was an occasion for the people to express their sentiments; a love of truth, a love of justice and fair-play; compassion for a suffering and friendless woman; the sentiments natural to husbands, fathers, sons, and brothers; all the good, all the kind, all the generous feelings of the heart, rose in an unanimous clamour against the objections of Mr. Sturch, who, though Mr. Waithman called him his *excellent friend*, and spoke of his great exertions in the cause of liberty in Westminster, will, I imagine, not fail to profit from the lesson he that day received. Indeed, I cannot help thinking, that he must have been, in some sort, pressed into the service. He has long been an active man in Westminster, and, being so, he seems to have thought, that there was no necessity for his interference in the City of London, where he did not reside; and, it is, on his own account, greatly to be lamented, that this particular occasion should have been selected for a departure from his usual course. —We now come to the speech of MR. WAIMAN, who evidently started under the pressure of the discouragement given by the fate of the speech of Mr. STURCH. He confessed, that he was one of those, who had in vain endeavoured to dissuade Mr. Wood from his purpose; and, it will not fail to strike the reader as a little singular, that, in this respect, Mr. Waithman should have earnestly laboured to the same end as Mr. Alderman Atkins; and, if Mr. Waithman profits from his ill-success upon this occasion, he will in the end be a gainer; because, it will teach him to avoid such unnatural co-operations in future. —Mr. WAIMAN observed, that this was not the way to *accelerate redress and promote reconciliation*; and, he afterwards said, that the object was *reconciliation and harmony*. —Begging his pardon, the Address professed to have no such object. The Address was not

presumptuous enough to attempt to meddle between man and wife; and the anecdote of Alderman Curtis, though full of characteristic wit, was not at all applicable to the point. The Address was not stupid enough to take off, or to hint at, a restoration to conjugal felicity. The Address was no humdrum thing from Doctors' Commons, talking about marriage vows and excommunication. It was called an attempt to *force* the parties to a reconciliation. It does not appear to have contained even a hint of the sort; and all the speeches in opposition to it seem to have been made, to have been got up ready prepared, upon the presumption it would contain some complaint about there being two beds for one married couple. Upon any other supposition the speeches are incomprehensible; for not one word does the Address appear to have contained upon the subject of reconciliation.

—Mr. Wood very judiciously confined himself to applause of the conduct of the Princess and abhorrence of her perjured and suborned traducers, leaving the question of reconciliation, and all other matters *between the illustrious parties themselves*, totally untouched upon. —With what reason, then, was it that Mr. Waithman chose to represent the *object to be reconciliation and harmony*? —However, if this had been the real object, in what way does this gentleman think it could have been more likely to be attained? The Address sealed the innocence of the Princess; it declared the conviction of the Citizens of London, that she was innocent, and that she was worthy of their admiration and loyal affection. Was this likely to "*widen the breach*," Mr. Waithman? Do you think, that the Prince would be less disposed to a reconciliation, because the Citizens of London had shown, that they honoured and admired the Princess? If you do, you must suppose His Royal Highness to have a most singular taste. —But, Mr. Waithman went further, and said, that this was *not* the way to *accelerate redress*. —By *redress* he, of course, meant a removal of the obstructions to the visits between the Princess and her Daughter, together, perhaps, with some steps relative to an establishment. —And *why*, pray, *why*, should not this Address tend towards the producing of the desired effect? Supposing such an effect to have been its ultimate aim, *why* should it not tend towards the producing of it? The Address appears to contain not a syllable calculated to offend either the Prince or his Ministers. It appears to

contain not a hint calculated to sting the pride or to wound any feeling of either. It simply pronounces an opinion of the wickedness of the conspirators against the Princess, and of her own innocence and worthiness; and, I should be glad to know from any one holding the opinions of Mr. Waithman, what he could imagine *more likely* to lead to final redress.—If Mr. Waithman means to say, that to ask for redress *by means of Addresses* is not the way to obtain it; if he means this as a *general proposition*, I should be glad to know what may have been his views in the numerous addresses which *he* has brought forward in Common Halls? Did *he* not expect thereby to *accelerate redress*? Yes, surely, or else we must attribute to him motives, which were certainly foreign from his heart. And, if he, by means of Addresses, has so often entertained the hope of accelerating redress, upon what ground can he now say, that Addresses are not calculated to answer that purpose?—Mr. WAITHMAN reproved the Livery for not paying respect to Mr. STURCH's remarks, which, he said, flowed from a *well-informed understanding*. I will not quarrel with the *grammar* of the phrase, which *may* have suffered under the hands of the Reporter; but, before Mr. Waithman reproved the Livery thus, and applauded Mr. Sturch's sentiments, he should have considered, whether he himself was prepared to back those sentiments with his *own*; or, at least, he should have made up his mind not to oppose the Address upon grounds precisely the contrary of the grounds of Mr. Sturch.—This latter gentleman said, the question was *premature*, that it was *not ripe* (which is the same thing); he wanted *more evidence*; he wished to wait for *additional light*; and, upon these grounds he opposed the Address. But, Mr. Waithman, who had reproved the Livery for not paying respect to these sentiments of his excellent friend, so far from thinking the question *unripe*; so far from wanting *more evidence* and *more light*, thought the Address unnecessary, because "*the whole nation was united in one sentiment that Her Royal Highness was as innocent as her accusers were guilty*;" so that he opposed the Address because the question was *over-ripe*, and because there was no more light to be thrown upon the subject.—Considering, therefore, how widely he differed from his excellent friend; considering how little respect he himself paid to that friend's sentiments, he should have been cautious how

he reproved the Livery for being wanting in the same way; and, I cannot help thinking, that his observation, that "*he did not desire the Livery to submit to his opinions if they thought their own better*," would have been full as well omitted; for, it appears to me, that the *bare idea* of a possibility of their submitting to his opinions upon any *other* ground, or from any *other* consideration, than that of a conviction of the correctness of those opinions, must appear extremely degrading to the body whom he was addressing.—But, as to the opinion itself, of which we have last spoken; namely, that the Address was *unnecessary*, because *the whole nation* entertained the opinions expressed in the Address. As to this opinion, I say, *how will it square with the conduct of Mr. Waithman upon former occasions, and how will it square with reason and common sense?* Let Mr. Waithman look back to the Common Halls where he has been the proposer of Addresses and Petitions, and he will find, not only, that the Halls were assembled because the general feeling of the nation went with the sentiments intended to be embodied into the Addresses or Petitions, but that, on almost every occasion, those who have supported those Addresses and Petitions have boasted that they had *the nation with them*, an assertion which has not unfrequently found its way into the Addresses and Petitions themselves. But, now, behold, an Address is *unnecessary* because it *only* expresses the sentiments of the *whole nation*! Did Common Sense ever before suggest such an objection to a Common Hall, or to any body else possessed of the faculty of reasoning? When, at the time of the Gintara Convention, and at that of the Walcheren Expedition, Mr. Waithman came forward with Addresses to the King, what would he have said to any one, who should have objected to the addresses as *unnecessary*, because the *whole nation* entertained the same sentiments as those contained in the Addresses? In short, adopt this new maxim of Mr. Waithman, and you have left no rational mode of seeking redress but that of open resistance by force of arms; for when the general sentiment of the nation is not for a demand of redress, it is clear, that it will not be granted to the applications of a few; and, if it be, then, improper to demand redress when all the nation are of a mind, it follows, of course, that the only way left of obtaining redress is, that of *physical force*.—Into what

inconsistencies, into what absurdities, men plunge themselves, when once they are, from whatever cause, induced to quit the straight path!—Mr. Waithman, as if not content to differ completely with Mr. Sturch as to the grounds of opposing the Address, and as if resolved to deprive his friends of all possible means of defending his consistency upon this memorable occasion, seems to have gone out of his way as it were for the deliberate purpose of *differing from himself*.—What the Devil (for I must ascribe it to some supernatural agency); what the Devil, I say, had he to do with the proposing of “a Resolution declaratory of the complete acquittal of the Princess of Wales,” after he himself had objected to the Address; after he himself had declared the Address *unnecessary*, because “the whole nation was united in one sentiment that Her Royal Highness was as innocent as her accusers were guilty!” Could such a proposition have originated in any thing short of the suggestion of some malicious demon, bent upon the destruction of this gentleman’s well-earned fame?—The Address was, it appears, much too delicate as well as too dignified to entertain even the idea that a doubt of her Royal Highness’s innocence had ever existed in the minds of those who were addressing her. It sets out (if the above substance of it be correct), with assuring Her Royal Highness that the sentiments of the City of London towards her have never undergone any change; it then rebukes those who have conspired against her; it next expresses admiration of her forbearance and magnanimity; and it concludes with expressing a hope that the nation will be happy under the young Princess, who will have had the advantage of such a mother’s example.—This Mr. Waithman would, it seems, have turned into a *verdict of acquittal*; or, rather, into a sort of vulgar congratulation upon an escape out of a court of justice.—*Acquittal!* The word itself, as applied to the Princess, is an insult. *When and where and by whom and for what* was she ever TRIED? And, if never tried, how can she be said to have been acquitted?—It is not, however, with the words that I am displeased so much as with the tendency and manifest spirit of the proposition, the object of which clearly was to get rid of the Address proposed by Mr. Wood; or, in other words, and to speak plainly, to defeat Mr. Wood. I remember a little poem, which I have not read

since I was about 12 years old, but the two first lines of which have frequently occurred to me through life:

“Envy, eldest born of hell,
“Cease in human breasts to dwell!”

I would fain have forborne to express these sentiments; but they are extorted from me by the love of that truth, which was never yet, under any circumstances, sacrificed or disguised to ultimate advantage.—SIR WM. CURTIS and SIR JAMES SHAW and MR. ATKINS all allowed, and indeed, most explicitly declared, that the Princess was innocent; and had been most cruelly and foully treated; but, they said, that this being notorious to the whole nation, any proceeding on the part of the Citizens of London was unnecessary; and they, therefore, moved to *dissolve the Hall*.—Their conduct, though I disagree with them in opinion, was perfectly consistent. They thought, that it was a matter with which the Citizens of London ought not to meddle. Therefore, said, *let us separate*.—But, Mr. Waithman, while he thought the Address *unnecessary*, because the whole nation were agreed as to the innocence of the Princess, yet proposed a resolution of his own as being *necessary* to declare that very innocence!—This was so palpably inconsistent, that it was impossible it should escape the observation of any one present; there was such a manifest desire to take the thing out of the hands of Mr. Wood; there was, in short, so evident an unfairness, to say nothing of the folly, in the attempt, that the Livery appear to have resented it in a very decided manner; whereupon, as if to make bad worse, Mr. Waithman is reported to have said, that “he was sorry, that his *well-weighed* opinions were in opposition to the *general sentiment so hastily adopted*.” And how did Mr. Waithman happen to learn, that this *general sentiment* had been *hastily* adopted? The persons present had all had the same time and opportunity that he had had of forming their opinions upon every thing relative to the case of her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales; and, as to the simple point, whether his resolution was to oust Mr. Wood’s Address, there required little more time to decide upon that than is required to decide upon a choice between ugliness and beauty.—Besides, mind the convenient doctrine that this reproof implies. The proposer must, of course, generally have weighed his proposition before-hand; so that, if his proposition does not go down, he can always,

with as much propriety and modesty as Mr. Waithman, accuse the assembly of *hastily* rejecting what he has well weighed.

—But, in sober sadness, did Mr. Waithman imagine, that the Livery were to wait in the Hall all day in order to show respect to his *well-weighed opinions*? Or, did he presume that they were to go home and come again after having, out of respect to him, taken time to consider and to weigh his weighty proposition? There is something so absurd in all this, that, really, one is almost tempted to believe, that the speaker's head was gone at the time when he uttered it.—I am happy to perceive that I am drawing fast to a close of Mr. Waithman's speech; for it gives me sincere pain to be compelled to notice in it these unaccountable inconsistencies.—He hoped, he said, that the Livery would preserve its character for *purity* and *wisdom*.

—These qualities are of a nature widely different, and should not have been thus joined by what grammarians call the copulative conjunction. The Livery may be *pure* and *wise*; but, they might be *wise* and not *pure*. Purity may exist without wisdom; and wisdom may exist without purity; at least, this may be the case in the usual sense of the words, and the sense in which they are here employed; because, if *wisdom* is to embrace the quality of *righteousness*, then Mr. Waithman has made use of it superfluously.—Taking it for granted, then, that he meant *purity* as the contrary of *corruption*, and *wisdom* as the contrary of *folly*, I would, if I had been present, certainly have taken the liberty to ask him how he had been able to discover any thing of the nature of corruption to be practised or accomplished through the means of the Address proposed by Mr. Wood; and how it was likely that the Livery should lose its character for purity by agreeing to that Address. And, I would also have taken the liberty to ask him, whether folly appeared more conspicuous in that Address than in a proposition to declare, in the shape of a resolution, the innocence of the Princess, when, by the rejection of the Address, such a declaration had been previously declared to be *wholly unnecessary*.—I am truly grieved to observe by the report, in the Courier, that Mr. Waithman said, that he thought the Address, if proposed at all, ought to have been proposed in the *Common Council* and *not to the Livery at large*.—I say, I am truly grieved to observe this, and I would now fain hope, that it is an

interpolation of the Courier's reporter; for it does hold forth such an aristocratic idea; it is so hostile to the well-known rights of the Livery of London; it has its birth in a sentiment so congenial with the practices of corporation encroachments, borough corruptions, and all the means by which popular representation and the people's rights have been undermined and destroyed; it implies so much contempt for the judgment and virtue of the people, and so much arrogance in one who owes all the little political power he has to their voice; and it is, besides, in such direct contradiction to the whole course of the political life of Mr. Waithman, who has called, I believe, more Common Halls than any other man now alive, and who has repeatedly been the cause of putting upon record declarations of Common Halls, that the *Livery* ought to be received by the King upon the Throne as well as the Common Council, that I really am filled with astonishment that he should have said any thing liable to such an interpretation; and I must say, that I shall not be able to bring myself to believe it, until I have better authority than that which any news-paper can give.

—I have now gone through all the material parts of this debate. To be obliged to make remarks such as I have made upon the speeches of Messrs. STURCH and WAITHMAN is by no means pleasant; but, what I have said the case imperiously called for, and I am satisfied that I have done no more than what strict duty demanded at my hands.

WM. COBBETT.

Bolley, 7th April, 1813.

LETTERS OF LORD MOIRA AND MR. WHITEBREAD, RELATIVE TO THE PRINCESS OF WALES.

Letter of Lord Moira to the head Freemason.

CORRESPONDENCE OF LORD MOIRA AND MR. WHITEBREAD.

March 23, 1813.

My dear Sir,—The difficulty of taking down, with accuracy, in the House of Lords, what is said by any individual, as the reporters are not allowed to make notes, has occasioned the account of what passed there yesterday to be incorrect in many of the papers. I am thence anxious to detail to you the substance of the explanation given by me, that you may communicate

it to our Brethren of the Lodge, whom I had requested to suspend their opinions on the subject till I might feel at liberty to enter upon it. I thought it expedient to separate the matter into distinct heads, that each of the misrepresentations I had to combat may be answered the more precisely.—1. I never happened to be at Belvidere, or in its vicinity, in the whole course of my life. It follows that I could not have sought there any information respecting the Princess's conduct. But the negative does not only apply to that place. In no one instance have I ever spontaneously endeavoured to obtain particulars respecting Her Royal Highness's behaviour; and I should certainly have declined such a function had the Prince requested it of me, which I am persuaded never entered the most distantly into his contemplation. It is not in his nature to prompt so vile a practice. When any matter has been referred to me, or any communication has been made to me in an authentic and formal manner, my oath, as one of the Prince's Council, bound me to such examination of the point as I might think the honour and interest of His Royal Highness required.—2. Two of Lord Eardley's servants were examined by me in London, in a spirit very different from what was slanderously imputed by the Princess's legal advisers. Lord Eardley had given to the Prince an account, absolutely uninvited, and no less unwelcome, of meetings between the Princess and Captain Manby at Belvidere, which his Lordship had represented (from the report of his servants) as having caused great scandal in the neighbourhood; his Lordship had asked an audience of the Prince, who had no suspicion of his object, for the purpose of stating the fact, and exonerating himself from any supposition of connivance. When the Prince did me the honour of relating to me this representation of Lord Eardley's, expressing great uneasiness that the asserted notoriety of the interviews at Belvidere, and the comments of the neighbours, should force him to take any public steps, I suggested the possibility that there might be misapprehension of the circumstances; and I entreated that, before any other procedure should be determined upon, I might send for the steward (Kenny) and the porter (Jonathan Partridge) to examine them. This was permitted. I sent for the servants and questioned them. My report to the Prince was, that the matter had occasioned very little observation in the house, none at

all in the neighbourhood, and that it was entirely unnecessary for his Royal Highness to notice it in any shape. The servants had been desired by me never to talk upon the subject; Lord Eardley was informed that his conception of what had been stated by the servants was found to be inaccurate; no mention was ever made by any one, not even to the Lords who conducted the inquiry, three years afterwards, of the particulars related by the servants, and the circumstance never would have been known at all had not the legal advisers of the Princess, for the sake of putting a false colour on that investigation, indiscreetly brought it forward. The death of Kenny, in the interval, tempted them to risk this procedure. Jonathan Partridge having been known at the time when he was questioned to be devoted to the Princess, from his own declaration to the steward, no one can doubt but that Her Royal Highness would the next day be informed by him of his having been examined. The measure was most offensive, if not justified, by some uncommon peculiarity of circumstance. Yet absolute silence is preserved upon it for so long a period by Her Royal Highness's advisers; a forbearance only to be solved by their being too cautious to touch upon the point while Kenney was alive.—3. The interviews with Dr. Mills and Mr. Edmeades did not take place till between three and four years after the examination of Lord Eardley's servants, and had no reference to it.—Fanny Lloyd, a maid servant in the Princess's family, had, in an examination to which I was not privy, asserted Dr. Mills to have mentioned to her that the Princess was pregnant; a deposition which obviously made it necessary that Dr. Mills should be subjected to examination. This happened to be discussed before me; and it was my suggestion that it would be more delicate to let me request the attendance of Dr. Mills at my house, and to have him meet the magistrate there, than that publicity and observation should be entailed by his being summoned to the Office in Marlborough-street. Dr. Mills came early, and then it was immediately discovered that it was his partner, Mr. Edmeades, who had bled Fanny Lloyd, though the latter (knowing the Princess's apothecary to be Dr. Mills, and imagining it was that apothecary who had bled her) had confounded the names. Dr. Mills was therefore dismissed, without being examined by the Magistrate; and he was begged to send Mr. Edmeades on another morning. Mr. Edmeades came accordingly, and

was examined before the Magistrate. An attempt is made to pervert an observation of mine into an endeavour to make Mr. Edmeades alter his testimony, injuriously for the Princess. So far from there being any thing of conciliation in my tone, Mr. Conant must well remember my remark to have been made as a correction of what I deemed a premeditated and improper pertness of manner in Mr. Edmeades. It was an unmitigated profession of my belief that he was using some subterfuge to justify his denial; a declaration little calculated to win him to pliancy, had I been desirous of influencing his testimony. My conviction on the point remains unchanged. One or other of the parties was wilfully incorrect in their statement; if Fanny Lloyd were so, it was downright perjury; Mr. Edmeades might have answered only elusively. I have been told that some individual, pointing at the direct opposition between the affidavits of Mr. Edmeades and Fanny Lloyd has indicated the preferable credit which ought to be given to the oath of a well-educated man, in a liberal walk of life, over that of a person in the humble station of a maid servant. I shall not discuss the justice of the principle which arbitrarily assumes deficiency of moral rectitude to be the natural inference from humility of condition. The inculcation in the present instance would have been somewhat more rational, had it advised that, in a case of such absolute contradiction upon a simple fact, the comprehension of which could have nothing to do with education, you should consider on which side an obvious temptation to laxity appears. Fanny Lloyd was not merely a reluctant witness, but had expressed the greatest indignation at being subject to examination. When she swore positively to a circumstance admitting of no latitude, the only thing to be weighed was, what probability of inducement existed for her swearing that which she knew to be false. It will appear that her testimony on that point was not consonant to the partiality which she had proclaimed; that by the other parts of her evidence she was barring the way to reward, if any profligate hopes of remuneration led her to risk the falsehood; and that she could not be influenced by malice against Mr. Edmeades, with whom it was clear she was unacquainted. Nothing, therefore, presented itself, to throw an honest doubt upon her veracity. Mr. Edmeades was very differently circumstanced. A character for dangerous chattering was absolute ruin to him in his profession. He

had the strongest of all motives to exonerate himself from the charge, if he could hit upon any equivocation by which he might satisfy himself in the denial of it. And the bearing of my remark must not be misunderstood. No man would infer any thing against the Princess on the ground of such a random guess as that of Mr. Edmeades' must have been, unless Mr. Edmeades should support his proposition by the adduction of valid reasons and convincing circumstances; but there was a consequence ascribable to it in its loosest state. His having been sufficiently indiscreet to mention his speculation to others as well as to Fanny Lloyd, would well account for what was otherwise incomprehensible; namely, the notion of the Princess's pregnancy so generally entertained at Greenwich, and in that neighbourhood. It was my conviction that such indiscretion had taken place, not any belief of the fact to which it related that I endeavoured to convey by remark.—4. This construction is not put upon the circumstances now, for the first time. A paper of mine, submitted to His Majesty at the period of the investigation, and lodged with the other documents relative to that inquiry, rebuts in the same terms the base attempt of insinuating conspiracy against the Princess.—Why that paper has not seen the light with the other documents may be surmised. I had thought it incumbent on me, from the nature of the transaction, not to furnish any means for its publication from the copy in my possession. The present explanation unavoidably states all the material points contained in it. But it will be felt by every one that the detail has been extorted from me.—5. The Editor of a Sunday publication has asserted his having been told, by a person known to him, that I had commissioned that person to insert in an Evening Paper anonymous paragraphs, injurious to the Princess. The procedure is so little consistent with any custom of mine, that, to the best of my recollection and belief, I never sent an unauthenticated article, of any form or tenor, to a newspaper, but once in my life. That was upon an erroneous statement, affecting myself alone, which I pointed out to a Gentleman who happened to call upon me, expressing my wish that he would contradict it. A matter so trivial would not have been mentioned by me, did it not shew that, even in cases which might be considered indifferent, I had habitual objection to sending any thing for insertion in a newspaper; therefore, I could not have slidden inconsiderately

into the turpitude with which I am now charged. But if upon insertions that might be uninteresting to others I speak only as to memory, it is not the same with regard to anonymous attacks on the character of another. On that I make no reservations; I deny with the most solemn appeal to the Supreme Being, the having ever levelled such a shaft against the feelings of any individual whatever. I know not the seduction on earth that could reconcile me to what I consider as equally mean and atrocious. No excuse of wit, no plea of public good, could palliate to me the baseness of wounding another covertly. If I feel this generally, I must do so in a peculiar degree towards the exalted Personage in contemplation, whose sex, whose station, and whose circumstances, would make such detraction execrable beyond what words can express. I know not any person who would pass that sentence on the act more decidedly or more indignantly than the Illustrious Individual whose favour might be supposed to be sought by the dirty procedure. These were the points which I advanced to the House of Lords; I there vouched them, on the faith of a Gentleman, and I repeat to you that assertion of their accuracy.

I have the honour to be, my dear Sir,
Most truly yours,
(Signed) MOIRA.

Lord Moira to Mr. Whitbread.

April 2, 1813.

Dear Sir,—The first report of what had passed in the House of Commons, made me conceive that your procedure had been hostile; and the matter was the more inexplicable to me, from my thinking that your access to documents, as well as the conversations you had held with me, ought to have secured me from any misapprehension on the points agitated. From that impression I found myself strangely embarrassed about an explanation which I was at the same time highly solicitous to give. I felt invincible repugnance to answering you in an Assembly where you could not reply; and direct address to yourself was precluded by what I had understood as the tone taken by you. The correct statement of your speech in *The Morning Chronicle*, which I must consider as the true version, has done away all difficulty; and I am truly indebted to you for having now the means of correcting an ambiguity, if any thing of the sort be supposed to exist in my statement. I cannot say, that in my view of the sub-

ject, any expression of mine is equivocal; but if there be room for a double construction, even from a want of advertence in persons to the context, I must think myself fortunate in an opportunity of rendering the points distinct.—Your remarks attach upon two passages: that which represents Jonathan Partridge as devoted to the Princess of Wales; and that which surmises the existence of Kenney to have been a check on the advisers of Her Royal Highness.—The word *devoted* presented itself to me from recollection that it was Kenney's phrase; but I certainly used it in no other sense than that which it was intended to bear by him. If it be supposed capable of implying that Jonathan Partridge was in the pay of the Princess, or so connected as to be the instrument in any plans, I totally disavow any such meaning—a meaning, indeed, not reconcilable to the details. The particulars related by Kenney clearly indicated his conception to be only that Partridge was won into admiration of the condescension and liberality of the Princess, and was thence zealous to testify attachment. To imagine that a man, under the influence of that sentiment, would not hasten to make a merit of imparting that he had been examined respecting Her Royal Highness, would be to know nothing of human nature. This disposition led him into a suppression which your statement obliges me now to notice, though it was not necessary that I should animadvert upon it in the letter of mine which was the ground of your motion. The omission to which I am pointing will define the second passage; yet I must say, I do not comprehend how any man who reflected for a moment could understand that passage as pointing at the Princess. What consequence to Her Royal Highness could attend the bringing forward the discussion while Kenney was alive, when the whole matter (as related to her) was dismissed in 1803, when Kenney was forthcoming? Partridge, in his deposition, states himself to have told me of the Princess having visited Belvidere House with three ladies and a gentleman. This representation is correct. He did state this to have taken place on a Sunday. But he sinks the fact of his having mentioned at the same time that the Princess had also been there with only Mrs. Fitzgerald and Captain Manby on the Thursday preceding that Sunday. This was the visit which had been particularly pointed out to Lord Eardley, and which had occasioned his

Lordship's procedure. With any reference to the Princess, it was absolutely indifferent, and was treated by me as such at the time. Not so, with regard to those at whom my observation was pointed. The assertion, that the long forbearance of the Princess's advisers could only be solved by their being too cautious to touch on the points when Kenney was alive, alludes to their knowledge of the meeting on the Thursday—a fact which, represented as it had been, made inquiry into the circumstances unavoidable. The existence of Kenney barred the unworthy imputation which those Gentlemen were desirous to affix; because Kenney would have exposed such a wilful suppression in Partridge's deposition, as was necessary to give a colour to their purpose. In that purpose the Princess could have no community of interests: it was simply a measure of political intrigue. With regard to the visit at Belvidere House on the Thursday; though Kenney be dead, Mrs. Fitzgerald could easily be questioned whether it took place or not. The substantiation of it involves no kind of charge against the Princess. It only rebuts the management of those who, by attempting to make it be conceived that there was but one visit (a visit so circumstanced as to be incapable of any possible misinterpretation), would fain establish their position, that the inquiry was wanton or designing.—I trust I have been explicit on these points; and I must feel myself entitled to hope, that this answer of mine to your call upon me, may have as much publicity as the doubts which you thought it expedient to urge.—I have the honour, dear Sir, to be your, very obedient Servant,

(Signed) MOIRA.
Samuel Whitbread, Esq.

Dover-street, April 8, 1813.

My dear Lord,—I had the honour to receive your Lordship's letter in the afternoon of yesterday; and I take the earliest opportunity in my power of expressing to your Lordship my perfect satisfaction at the explanation you have thus been pleased to give of the passages in your published letter to a Member of the Lodge of Freemasons which had been so generally misconstrued.

Your Lordship has most emphatically asked with respect to Kenney, "What consequence to her Royal Highness could attend the bringing forward the discussion whilst Kenney was alive; when the whole matter (as related to her) was dismissed in 1803, when Kenney was forthwithing?" Your Lordship's answer to this question is implied, and must meet with immediate and universal concurrence.—"No consequence whatever."—Respecting Partridge, the word "devoted" is stated by your Lordship to have been used by you, from the recollection of its having been the phrase of Kenney, when examined by your Lordship, and not intended by him to convey the slightest imputation upon the Princess of Wales. Your Lordship has thus disarmed the world of all imaginable offence.—As to the alleged additional visit to Belvidere, not mentioned in the deposition of Partridge, it is unnecessary to make much comment, as your Lordship has said, "that with any reference to the Princess of Wales, it is absolutely indifferent, and was treated as such by you at the time." Besides, the parties are alive; and if a suspicion of impropriety could exist, they might and would have been examined. Your Lordship's judgment on this matter, after investigation, is most satisfactorily decisive, when you further say, "the substantiation of it" (the additional visit to Belvidere) "involves no kind of charge against the Princess of Wales."

I am concerned that any report of my Speech in the House of Commons, should have led your Lordship to think, for a moment, I had proceeded hostilely towards yourself; and I was sorry to see how very inaccurately what I had said in the House of Commons on Wednesday, was reported in some of the papers of the succeeding day. The report to which your Lordship adverts, as containing the true version of my Speech, had been seen by me late on Wednesday night, and was intended for insertion in the paper of Thursday morning. I was afterwards informed it had arrived too late to find a place in the paper of Thursday. I was glad to perceive it in The Morning Chronicle of yesterday. Having seen it before it was sent to the press, I can have

(To be continued.)

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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TO JAMES PAUL,
OF BURSLEDON, IN LOWER DUBLIN TOWNSHIP, IN PHILADELPHIA COUNTY, IN THE STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA; ON MATTERS RELATING TO HER ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCESS OF WALES.

Letter VII.

My dear Friend,

When I concluded my last Letter to you, I did not suppose that I should find it necessary to address you again upon this subject; but, an event has occurred which induces me to do it. Towards the close of that Letter; at page 500, I told you, that I had heard, that the Citizens of London were about to address Her Royal Highness, the Princess, upon the subject of the conspiracy against her, and I stated the reasons, which, in my opinion, rendered this a proper step. Indeed, I had, in a former Letter, told you, that it was a matter for the people to take up without delay. You may judge, therefore, of my pleasure at hearing that it was actually done by the City of London, which, when not misled by the base sycophants of the Court, has always given an example of good sense and public spirit.

Upon the present occasion, the Address (a copy of which you will find below) was proposed by a Mr. Wood, who is an Alderman of London, and, I have the pleasure to add, that, as SHERIFF at the time of my imprisonment for two years for writing about the *flogging of English militia-men* at the town of Ely, in England, who had been first subdued by German troops, he was very kind to me, and assisted in procuring me what, in all probability, was the cause of preserving my life. This Mr. Wood it was, who had the honour to propose the Address to the assembled Citizens of London; and, this Address having been unanimously agreed to, it was, the day before yesterday, presented to Her Royal Highness, at her apartments at Kensington Palace. Not being in London at the time, I cannot give you an account of the procession from my own observation: I, therefore, give it you in the words of a very excellent daily news-paper, called the *States-*

man, and I take this opportunity of informing persons in America, who get newspapers from England, that the *Statesman* is the very best daily news-paper that we have.

“ At a quarter past twelve o'clock yesterday, the Lord Mayor, attended by the Sheriffs, and the usual retinue, proceeded in state from Guildhall to Kensington Palace, to present to the Princess of Wales the Address, voted by the Livery, in Common Hall assembled, congratulating Her Royal Highness on her triumph over the foul conspiracy formed against her honour and her life. There were upwards of a hundred carriages in the procession, which extended from Guildhall to the west end of Cheapside, where a short pause took place, for the purpose of receiving instructions; when a card was handed to the City Marshal from the Lord Mayor's carriage, with orders to proceed by Newgate-street, Skinner-street, Holborn, through St. Giles's, Oxford-street, entering the Park at Cumberland-gate, Tyburn, then to Hyde Park-corner, along Rotten-row, and out at Kensington-gate, on to the Palace;—thus making a circuitous route of more than a mile. The crowd in King-street and Cheapside was considerable, but not to be compared to the immense assemblage of persons of all descriptions who collected in St. Paul's Church-yard, along the Strand, Pall Mall, and in the streets through which the procession was expected to pass, and who felt, as might be imagined, greatly mortified at its taking a circuitous route. Mr. Alderman Combe fell into the procession, next to the state-coach, just as it turned down Newgate-street. The acclamations of joy with which the procession was greeted, evinced the deep sense entertained by the public of the honest and manly expression of the sentiments of the Livery of London. They were loud, cordial, and reiterated. — In the Park, however, which contained an assemblage no less respectable than numerous, no disappointment occurred. The carriages, horse-

“men, and spectators on foot, were numerous beyond all precedent, and the procession was greeted, as it passed, with the most enthusiastic shouts and plaudits.
 “—About eleven o'clock Her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, attended by Lady Charlotte Lindsey and Charlotte Campbell, left Montague House, Blackheath, for Kensington Palace. Her Royal Highness travelled the most private way across the country and over Battersea Bridge, and arrived at Kensington Palace at a quarter past 12 o'clock.
 “The populace had begun to assemble round the Palace by eleven o'clock. Soon after one, Bacon, belonging to Bow-street office, who was intrusted with the direction of the Police upon this occasion, cleared all those assembled near the entrance of the Princess's apartments, to the outside of the railing which encloses the grass-plot, to enforce which he called in a number of the military to his assistance. The Lord Mayor's gentlemen in waiting arrived about one o'clock, to be in readiness to receive his Lordship. At ten minutes past two, the grand cavalcade arrived; the crowd that accompanied it overpowered the police and the military, and burst open the gates, at which it entered. The Lord Mayor was received with marks of disapprobation by the incalculable crowd that surrounded the Palace and those in the trees. The Aldermen were received with three huzzas; Alderman Wood experienced unbounded applause, his carriage being drawn from Holborn to the door of the Palace by men. The Common Councilmen who attended on the occasion, did not appear in that character, but merely as Liverymen. Among them Mr. Waithman was discovered, and he was received with loud huzzas. The Lord Mayor, Aldermen, &c. were shown into the small dining-room, between the grand dining-room and the drawing-room. The Procession consisted of the two City Marshals, in their state uniforms, on horseback; the state carriage, and six bays, in which was the Lord Mayor, the Mace-bearer, the Sword of State, and his Lordship's Chaplain; Aldermen Combe, Wood, Goodbehere, and Heygate; Sheriff Blades and the City Remembrancer, Mr. Sheriff Hoy and his Chaplain; the Chamberlain, the Comptroller, the Solicitor, the Town Clerk, and about 150 of the Livery, in their gowns. It occupied exactly half an hour

“the setting down from their carriages. It being announced to the Princess that the whole were arrived, Her Royal Highness entered from a back anti-room into the grand dining-room, and took her station at the upper end of the room, with her back to a small marble slab, before a large looking-glass; Ladies Charlotte Lindsey, Charlotte Campbell, and Lady Ann Hamilton, Her Royal Highness's ladies in waiting, stood to her right hand; and Mr. St. Leger, her Vice-Chamberlain, and Mr. H. S. Fox, on her left. The Town Clerk, in the absence of the Recorder, approached the Princess, and read the following Address:

“TO HER ROYAL HIGHNESS THE
 “PRINCESS OF WALES.

“*The humble Address of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Livery of the City of London, in Common Hall assembled.*

“May it please your Royal Highness,
 “We, His Majesty's loyal subjects, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Livery of the City of London, in Common Hall assembled, bearing in mind those sentiments of profound veneration and ardent affection, with which we hailed the arrival of your Royal Highness in this country, humbly beseech your Royal Highness to receive our assurances, that in the hearts of the citizens of London, those sentiments have never experienced diminution or change.

“Deeply interested in every event connected with the stability of the Throne of this Kingdom, under the sway of the House of Brunswick; tenderly alive to every circumstance affecting the personal welfare of every branch of that illustrious House, we have felt indignation and abhorrence inexpressible, upon the disclosure of that foul and detestable conspiracy which, by perjured and suborned traducers, has been carried on against your Royal Highness's honour and life.

“The veneration for the laws, the moderation, the forbearance, the frankness,

“the magnanimity, which your Royal Highness has so eminently displayed under circumstances so trying, and during a persecution of so long a duration; these, while they demand an expression of our unbounded applause, cannot fail to excite in us a confident hope, that under the sway of your illustrious and beloved Daughter, our children will enjoy all the benefits of so bright an example; and we humbly beg permission most unfeignedly to assure your Royal Highness, that, as well for the sake of our country, as from a sense of justice and of duty, we shall always feel, and be ready to give proof of the most anxious solicitude for your Royal Highness’s health, prosperity, and happiness.

“The Address was then delivered to Her Royal Highness, who read the following answer:—

“I thank you for your loyal and affectionate Address. It is to me the greatest consolation to learn, that during so many years of unmerited persecution, notwithstanding the active and persevering dissemination of the most deliberate calumnies against me, the kind and favourable sentiments with which they did me the honour to approach me on my arrival in this country, have undergone neither diminution nor change in the hearts of the Citizens of London.

“The sense of indignation and abhorrence you express against the foul and detestable conspiracy which by perjured and suborned traducers has been carried on against my life and honour, is worthy of you, and most gratifying to me. It must be duly appreciated by every branch of that illustrious House with which I am so closely connected by blood and marriage; the personal welfare of every one of whom must have been affected by the success of such atrocious machinations.

“The consciousness of my innocence has supported me through my long, severe, and unmerited trials; your approbation of my conduct under them is a reward for all my sufferings.

“I shall not lose any opportunity I may be permitted to enjoy, of encouraging the talents and virtues of my dear daughter, the Princess Charlotte; and I shall impress upon her mind my full sense of the obligation conferred upon me by this spontaneous act of your justice and generosity.

“She will therein clearly perceive the value of that free Constitution, which, in the natural course of events, it will be her high destiny to preside over, and her sacred duty to maintain, which allows no one to sink under oppression; and she will ever be bound to the City of London in ties proportioned to the strength of that filial attachment I have had the happiness uniformly to experience from her.

“Be assured, that the cordial and convincing proof you have thus given of your solicitude for my prosperity and happiness, will be cherished in grateful remembrance by me to the latest moment of my life; and the distinguished proceeding adopted by the first city of this great empire, will be considered by posterity as a proud memorial of my vindicated honour.

“Her Royal Highness read the answer with great propriety, feeling, and dignity; and some particular passages, upon which any comment would be unnecessary, were marked with peculiar sentiment and emphasis.—Immediately after the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs had kissed Her Royal Highness’s hand, and while the Livery were pressing forward to enjoy the same honour, she seemed slightly agitated; but she almost instantaneously recovered herself, and exclaimed, ‘I beg, Gentlemen, that you may not hurry: you will have plenty of time.’ Mr. Alderman Wood remained in conversation a considerable

“time with Her Royal Highness; noticing
 “to the Princess the most prominent cha-
 “racters as they had the honour of kissing
 “her hand. The apartment in which
 “Her Royal Highness received the depu-
 “tation of the Livery was so very close
 “to the Gardens, where thousands were
 “assembled, that many persons near the
 “windows could see Her Royal High-
 “ness’s person distinctly.—After the
 “departure of the Livery, Her Royal
 “Highness condescendingly went to both
 “the doors, accompanied by her atten-
 “dants; and courted to the assembled
 “multitude. Her Royal Highness after-
 “wards presented herself from the balcony
 “on the first floor, where she was also
 “received with great acclamations, and
 “after remaining there a short time, she
 “retired to her private apartments, and
 “had a select party to dine.—The car-
 “riages of the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs
 “were drawn round into the Duke of
 “Kent’s yard, where his Lordship and
 “his friends took their seats, and return-
 “ed to town in the same order they had
 “come.—Mr. Alderman Wood was, as
 “before, drawn by the populace, and was
 “greeted by the exulting shouts of the
 “spectators, who lined the roads and
 “filled the windows as he passed.—
 “Upon the arrival of the carriage of the
 “Lord Mayor at Parks-lane, he ordered it
 “to turn up, in defiance of the cries ‘to
 “*Carlton House*,’ which burst from all
 “quarters—he was followed by the two
 “Sheriffs; and in his retreat encountered
 “the strongest marks of indignation from
 “the crowd, who groaned, hissed, and
 “pelted his carriage, and that of the She-
 “riffs, with mud, as long as they were in
 “view.—The remaining part of the
 “procession; at the head of which was
 “Mr. Alderman Wood’s carriage, pro-
 “ceeded down Piccadilly, cheered as they
 “went, and saluted by all who passed,
 “with the most marked respect. The
 “streets were lined with Gentlemen’s car-
 “riages, from the windows of which the
 “inmates waved their handkerchiefs, and
 “gave other demonstrations of pleasure.
 “As Alderman Wood’s carriage passed
 “the house of Sir Francis Burdett, three
 “cheers were given in honour of the wor-
 “thy Baronet, for the part he had taken
 “in the vindication of Her Royal High-
 “ness. The Procession then pursued the
 “line of St. James’s street into Pall-mall,
 “where, on passing *Carlton House*, which
 “they did with unusual speed, some

“groans and expressions of disapprobation
 “were uttered, but no act of violence or
 “impropriety was committed. It next
 “proceeded to Charing-cross, through the
 “Strand, Fleet-street, Ludgate-hill, St.
 “Paul’s Church-yard, to Guildhall, where
 “the ceremony concluded, amidst loud
 “and reiterated cheers.—Upon the
 “whole, considering the multitude assem-
 “bled, we never witnessed a spectacle
 “conducted with more propriety; attend-
 “ed with less ill consequences, for we did
 “not hear of a single accident or occur-
 “rence to lessen the heartfelt pleasure.”

Thus, I think, my friend, this matter may be looked upon as settled. The Address of the City of London expressed the full and clear sense of the nation. In the shouts of the people, upon this occasion, the guilty, the base, the cowardly, the unmanly, the detestable *Conspirators* might read the sentence which honesty passed upon them. I wonder how the wretches looked at each other, if any two of them happened to be together when they heard those shouts. Their feelings were to be envied by those only who, for some odious offence, are pelted in the pillory.

The sentiments of the Address and of the Answer are worthy of the parties and of the occasion; but, I am particularly pleased with that passage in Her Royal Highness’s Answer, wherein she so judiciously and so feelingly refers to the support that she has thus received from the people’s possessing rights under a *free Constitution*. And, as I observed to you in my last Letter, her Daughter cannot fail here to receive a lesson, that may be most beneficial to herself as well as to the country. Had the people possessed no political rights; had they had no right to assemble and to express their opinions in this public way, the Princess could not have received this mark of their good will, “this proud memorial of her vindicated honour.”

Neither will it escape either Mother or Daughter, that those who have taken the most active part in the defence of the former, are such as are called *Jacobins*. Mr. Wood, by the base hirelings of the press, has long been represented as a *Jacobin*; as a man who wishes to destroy all government and all law. The Princess Charlotte will not fail to bear in mind, that they were the *friends of freedom* and of *parliamentary reform*, amongst whom her injured Mother found zealous and successful supporters, which all the horde, who

live upon corruption, were either leagued against, or were careful to keep aloof.

I am your faithful friend,
WM. COBBETT.

*Bolley, Wednesday,
14th April, 1813.*

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

NORTHERN WAR. — PEACE. — The successes of the Russians have, at last, produced the effect of inducing the King of Prussia openly to join them by a treaty of alliance, and, at the same moment, to declare war against France. — Thus are these two powers once more pitted against Buonaparté, who, on his side, appears to be making dreadful preparations for recovering the influence he has lost, and for chastising these his late allies. — In taking a view of the state of the war on the continent, we will not notice the particulars of that mass of falsehoods which is contained in the divers proclamations and state-papers that have appeared within these four or five months. According to these, each party is in the right; each has been ill used; each has ground of complaint against its adversary. There is, indeed, hardly a word of truth in the whole of their stories, and they are all unworthy of any particular attention. — But, on the conduct of the several powers we may remark; and may be able, perhaps, to form something like a correct opinion as to what will be the result of the next campaign. — The origin of this Northern war was, the refusal of the Emperor of Russia to fulfil the Treaty of Tilsit, in which he stipulated to adopt the Continental system; that is to say, to shut English commerce out of all the ports under his command. No matter what was the cause of this refusal: the refusal was certainly the cause of the war. — The terrible measure of burning Moscow, and the severities of the Russian winter, turned the tide of that war against Napoleon; and, it is not to be at all wondered at, that Prussia has swum with that tide. In fact, the King of Prussia is a mere shuttle-cock between the two Emperors. — He is, and he must be, on the side of him who has possession of his dominions. — The Duke of Bassano gives a pretty good description and history of the conduct of Prussia from the out-set of the French Revolution to the present day; and, really, when one does consider what that conduct has been, one cannot help smiling to hear the Morning Chronicle say, that the proclamation of his Prussian

Majesty to his people will be read by every Englishman with sentiments of delight. — What should induce any Englishman to feel delight at any thing which such a King can say to a people? What has he to tell them, except that, having lately been a province of France, his states are now become a province of Russia; and that they, his subjects, who, a few months ago, were fighting for France and the Continental System, are now to fight against France and the Continental System? — That the means of Napoleon have been very much crippled there can be no doubt, and it may be impossible for him so far to recruit his means, as to be able to re-enter Russia in the course of a single campaign; but, on the other hand, we see that he has been making enormous exertions to this end, and there is no doubt that he will return to the combat with an immense army. — We have, during the last twenty years, seen enough to convince us, that the French are a people not to give up easily any object of their ambition. Napoleon is ambitious enough; but he is not more ambitious than other Frenchmen. The enthusiasm of the Revolution; that is to say, the enthusiasm of liberty, against which our Government so long warred in vain, does certainly no longer exist; but, still it is the same people, increased in population, enriched by new sources of industry, and accustomed to conquer. When I consider this, I think that this is the moment to offer Napoleon reasonable terms of peace, lest, by any accident, he should recover his lost ground in the North, in which case, we may be quite sure, that the States of Prussia would pass for ever from the House of Brandenburg. — The same principle, however, which produced this war of twenty years, appears still to animate our Government; namely, a fear of France; a fear, that if she be left undestroyed; or, at least, uncrippled, we cannot be safe. — It was this fear that was the avowed ground, upon which Mr. Burke called for the war in 1792, and justified its continuance afterwards. In vain did the Republican government disavow conquest; in vain did it beseech England to look upon France as a friend in the cause of freedom; in vain did it declare that it would make any commercial sacrifice rather than break with England. Nothing would do. France was becoming free, and was evidently about to possess all the vigour of a free state; and this was an object of dread. — The example, too, of real freedom, was

something formidable in the minds of some persons. That example, however, was, unfortunately, soon rendered of no avail.—But, still there remained the power, the increased power, of France, in the hands of *new men*; and that power still remains. While war continues we feel but half the consequences of this power. Peace would shew it to us in all its alarming effects.—All the world would flock to France, which is now become the repository of all those things, to have a sight of which people formerly had to travel thousands of miles.—France, owing to various causes, is now comparatively *lightly taxed*; and, in a state of peace, she would scarcely feel the weight of taxation. This circumstance alone would draw thousands and thousands of rich people to her fine climate. The emigration from this country would, in all probability, be very great. By changing countries an Englishman would, indeed, cease to hear speeches and songs about liberty; but, he would, at the same time, lose the pretty little printed papers that are handed to him every now and then, with nice blank spaces for him to write down how much he receives, how much he earns, how many children he has to keep, how many horses, mules, wheels, dogs, footmen, and so forth, he employs, and whether his head be, or be not, powdered. He would, in short, lose the liberty of having a *case*, at his own expense, drawn up for the Judges, without a Jury, to determine, whether his goods shall, or shall not, be seized, if he refuse to pay the sum, which Commissioners, appointed by the Government, demand from him.—Here, in my opinion, we may look for one of the chief causes of the continuation of this war. The cause is a persuasion, in the mind of our Government, that, if France be left as she now is, there would be no safety for England in a state of peace; that the former would, in a few years, *grow over her*; and, that to begin a new war, at the end of four or five years of peace, would be attended with difficulties not to be overcome. Besides this, peace would do nothing for us, unless we could lay down our fleet and our army; and how could we do either, France being in possession of all her present power and her present means? The time which we must employ in disbanding and dismantling, she would be able to employ in recruiting and building. A peace with the establishments of war would answer us no purpose at all; and yet, if France retain her present power, how are we to dispense with these estab-

lishments?—These are the arguments against peace so long as France remains what she now is; and, hence it is concluded, that we ought to persevere in the war, *until the power of France be so reduced as to make peace a measure of safety*; for, if we never succeed in reducing the power of France, we shall be no worse off than we should be in making a peace with her now, seeing that such a peace must end in our subjugation.—Supposing *all this to be true*, and some part of it is true, what have those to answer for who began the war, and who, by refusing repeatedly to make peace, have, at last, reduced us to such a dilemma? They went to war on the pretence of preventing the French from partaking with the Dutch in the navigation of the river Scheldt; and what has been the result?—However, the grand question is, what is to be done *now*? Ought we to offer to negotiate, or not, at this moment? Or, ought we to run the risk of another campaign, and to take other chances of reducing the power of France before we negotiate? I think we ought to negotiate if we can; that we ought to see what we are able to do by negotiation, since we have been able to do nothing by war.—I would, for my part, give up all our conquests; I would leave Sicily, Spain, and Portugal to defend themselves; for, after all, leave them we must; I would disband nine-tenths of the army; I would keep up, in good order, a moderate fleet; I would give up the pretended right of impressing people on board the ships of America; I would put arms into the hands of the people of Great Britain and Ireland; I would reform the Parliament; I would reduce the taxes; and then I would set France at defiance. Those who are not prepared to do this; those who are not prepared for doing *all these things*, must be content with a continuation of the war; for, without reform, and a reduction of taxes at home, it appears to me clear as day-light, that it would be impossible for this country to maintain itself in peace against the overgrowing power of France. France must be reduced by war, or we must make such reforms as to enable us to exist in peace. One of these two must take place, or this nation must fall under the power of France.—This is my opinion, and I should be glad to hear any one seriously maintain the contrary. I should be glad to hear what those have to say, who cry out for peace, and who are silent upon the subject of reform at home.—I have seen petitions for

peace; but I have never noticed them as being worthy of great attention; because I know that no *real* peace can be made unless it be accompanied with reform; because I know, that, until England be made a different place to live in from what it now is, there can be no real peace with France, possessed of all her present power. Those, therefore, who oppose reform, are perfectly consistent in being opposed to peace with France at this time; and, as both the great political factions are opposed to reform, they ought both to be opposed to peace.—The Morning Chronicle, which, in general, speaks the sentiments of the Whigs, is often reproving the Ministers for not entering into negotiations for peace.—But, will Mr. Perry undertake to shew any one benefit with which peace, without the previous reduction of the power of France, would be attended? A peace would, at once, open all the ports and harbours of France; it would bring out the French ships; it would, in a short time, create a French navy. It would give Napoleon the time and the means to make himself formidable by sea. We must, therefore, keep up our navy to nearly its present amount of force. The army we must also keep up; for he need not disband a single battalion. What *saving*, therefore, would peace bring us? If it produced no saving of expense, it would, of course, not reduce the taxes; and, if it did not reduce the taxes, who, with such a prospect before him, would remain in England if he could quit it? Who that had ten thousand pounds would remain here to pay, in one way or another, one-half of the interest of it to the Government, and that, too, without the most distant prospect of alleviation? The nation, under such circumstances, must dwindle into a state of feebleness that would naturally prepare the way for utter subjugation. To reduce the taxes without reducing the army; indeed without disbanding the army, it is nonsense to talk of; to disband the army without putting arms into the hands of the people would be to invite invasion; and, to put arms into the hands of the people, without giving them a share in the concern by the means of a Parliamentary Reform, would be madness.—No: as Major Cartwright has long ago contended, and long ago proved, the only sure defence is in an armed people, represented in parliament by persons chosen by that population. His scheme is, that the duty of arms-bearing and the right of voting should go hand in hand: and to this we must, I

am persuaded, at last, come, if the independence of this kingdom is to be preserved.—There are people weak enough to believe, that, if the Whigs were in power, we might *hope for peace*. But, did any man ever hear the Whigs talk of a reform in parliament? Yes, *formerly* they did; but the moment they were in possession of power they ceased to talk upon such subjects. They are now full as much the enemies of reform as are any of their opponents; so that their talk about *peace* is a mere trick practised against the Ministers, who are much more consistent in talking neither about peace nor reform.—They see clearly, that without reform, that is to say, without a great change in the system of ruling this country and managing its resources, including always a reform in the Commons' House of Parliament, this country cannot exist in peace, if France retains her present power and possessions; and, therefore, as they are bent against reform, they are also bent on war, until the power of France be reduced. They, very likely, have doubts as to the result of the war; they have their fears, perhaps, that the power of France will finally be increased by the war, instead of being reduced by it; but, even in that case, they are consistent; for, it is no matter that ruin come in that way, if they be convinced that ruin would also come in the other way. The Ministers, therefore, are consistent; and those only are inconsistent; who call for peace and are silent upon the subject of Parliamentary Reform.—Now is the moment to offer peace. Napoleon is so situated as to make him lend an ear to such an offer; but, unless you can prevail upon him to give up two-thirds of his power, which is not very likely, it is useless to make peace, if you be not, at the same time, prepared to make a reform at home.—I should be very glad, if I could prevail upon the manufacturers, and upon all those who suffer from the war, to see the matter in this light.—They feel the evils of war; the masters are ruined and the journeymen are starved by the war. That is enough: they look no further: they ask for *peace*. But, they do not reflect on the causes of peace being refused; they do not ask themselves how peace is to be got; they do not take time to inquire into the consequences of peace as things now stand with regard to the relative power of the two countries. If they did, they would soon discover, that peace is not to be had without a parliamentary reform; or without a reduction of the power

of France by war; and, of course, instead of calling out for peace, they would call out for the previous measure of Parliamentary Reform.—A peace at this time, or at any time, leaving France in possession of Holland, the Austrian Netherlands, Italy, and Naples; such a peace, it cannot be too often repeated, would not enable us to save a shilling, while it would reduce our means of paying taxes, and would enable Napoleon to make a marine force capable of giving us serious annoyance in case of another war. But, if we, by arming the people of this kingdom, could save, at once the expenses of the army and of a large portion of the navy, then, indeed, a peace would be worth having; we should then be in safety, and the country, relieved from a large portion of its enormous burdens, would be comparatively happy. This, I repeat it, is to be accomplished only by making voting and arms-bearing go hand in hand; and, therefore, I say, give us a Parliamentary Reform, as being the only sure road to a safe and lasting peace.—As to the wars of Russia and Prussia; as to the proclamations of those sovereigns and their generals; as to the vows and acclamations of the people whom they address; what do all these amount to? They are of very little consequence to us. Even the complete success of these our new friends would do nothing for the people of England, whatever it might do for the people of their own countries. For my part, I can see nothing that the people of the Prussian States are likely to gain by the change. They will change masters. They will fall back into the hands that they were formerly in. Their condition will not be mended. The successes of Russia may open a channel for our commerce; but, I take it, that will be all. The power of France will continue nearly the same with regard to England. At the very best, all I expect from those successes is a mitigation of the Continental System.—So far, however, am I from believing in the continuation of those successes, that I believe most firmly they will speedily come to an end. The French armies are upon the point of once more moving forward; and it will not be easy to make me doubt of their defeating those whom they have so often driven before them. I am aware of the effect of the turning of the tide of victory; but, this is not the first time that the French armies have had to stem such a tide. Reverses in war have never yet subdued their spirit: the whole nation partakes in the feelings of its chief—they are now goaded on by the

two furious passions of ambition and revenge: and, whatever they are capable of, may now be expected from them.

In the last Number, p. 562, l. 6,
for take off read talk of.

LETTERS OF LORD MOIRA AND MR. WHITBREAD, RELATIVE TO THE PRINCESS OF WALES.

(Continued from page 576.)

no hesitation in saying, that, to the best of my recollection, it contains the substance of what I said in my place. Some verbal inaccuracies are quite immaterial.—I am bound to fulfil your Lordship's hope, by making your Letter to me public. In endeavouring to obtain the explanation of passages so generally misunderstood, I knew not how to proceed effectually, but by motion in the House of Commons; and the motion having been calculated to obtain your Lordship's attendance in the House of Commons, if successful, your Lordship would have had the opportunity of giving the explanations, in the very place where they were asked for; and I never had any doubt of their honourable and satisfactory nature. But the discussions in the House of Commons having now been dropped (as I sincerely hope never again to be revived), I will send your Letter, and my answer, directly to the Public Journals.—It will give me pleasure to acknowledge, by the same means, much personal civility received at various times from your Lordship; and particularly in the manner in which I was requested, and the urbanity with which I was received, to peruse the documents to which your Lordship has referred in the early part of the present year. In the discussions which afterwards arose, I did not use the knowledge I had so acquired of any one of them, until after it had appeared in print.—I regret, that in the course of these discussions I have given momentary pain to their Lordships, or cause of dissatisfaction to any persons, of whose friendship and esteem I was pleased in thinking I possessed a share. The loss, if lost, is entirely my own—it is painful to me. But justice has been the object of my pursuit—that pursuit has been conscientiously conducted by me, and must therefore, of necessity, have been free from all selfish considerations.—With the addition of these explanations from your Lordship, so honourable to the Princess of Wales, and so just to yourself, the public will be satisfied, that justice has been completely obtained. I have the honour to be,



my dear Lord, your Lordship's obliged and obedient servant,

SAMUEL WHITBREAD.

To the Right Honourable the Earl of Moira, K. G. &c. &c.

AMERICAN STATES.

Commodore Bainbridge to the Secretary of the Navy.

St. Salvador, Jan. 3.

Sir,—I have the honour to inform you, that on the 29th ult. at two p.m. in South lat. 13. 06. and West long. 38. about ten leagues distance from the coast of Brazil, I fell in with and captured His Britannic Majesty's frigate Java, of 49 guns, and upwards of 400 men, commanded by Capt. Lambert, a very distinguished officer. The action lasted one hour and 55 minutes, in which time the enemy was completely dismasted, not having a spar of any kind standing. The loss on board the Constitution was nine killed and 25 wounded. The enemy had 60 killed and 101 wounded certainly (among the latter Capt. Lambert mortally); but by the enclosed letter written on board the ship (by one of the officers of the Java), and accidentally found, it is evident that the enemy's wounded must have been much greater than as above stated, and who must have died of their wounds previously to their being removed. The letter states 60 killed and 170 wounded.—For further details of the action, I beg to refer to the extracts from my journal. The Java had, in addition to her own crew, upwards of 100 supernumerary officers and seamen, to join the British ships of war in the East Indies; also Lieut.-General Hislop, appointed to the command of Bombay, Major Wilke, and Captain Wood, of his Staff, and Captain Marshall, Master and Commander of the British navy, going to the East Indies to take the command of a sloop of war there.—Should I attempt to do justice, by representation, to the brave and good conduct of all my officers and crew during the action, I should fail in the attempt; therefore, suffice it to say, that the whole of their conduct was such as to merit my highest encomiums. I beg leave to recommend the officers particularly to the notice of Government, as also the unfortunate seamen who were wounded, and the families of those brave men who fell in the action.—The great distance from our own coast, and the perfect wreck we made the enemy's frigate, forbade every idea of

attempting to take her to the United States, and not considering it prudent to trust her into a port of Brazil, particularly St. Salvador, as you will perceive by the enclosed letters 1, 2, and 3, I had no alternative but burning her, which I did on the 31st ult. after receiving all the prisoners and their baggage, which was very tedious work, only having one boat left (out of eight), and not one boat left on board the Java.—On blowing up the frigate, I proceeded to this place, where I have landed all the prisoners to return to England, and there remain until regularly exchanged, and not serve in their professional capacities in any place or in any manner whatever against the United States of America, until the exchange shall be regularly effected.—I have the honour to be, &c.

W. BAINBRIDGE.

House of Representatives, Wednesday, Feb. 24.

The following message was received from the President of the United States, which, after being read, was referred to the Committee of Foreign Relations:—

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States.

I lay before Congress copies of a Proclamation of the British Lieutenant Governor of the island of Borneo, which has appeared under circumstances leaving no doubt of its authenticity. It recites a British Order in Council of the 26th of October last, providing for the supply of the British West Indies, and other colonial possessions, by a trade under special licenses, and is accompanied by circular instructions to the Colonial Governors, which confines licensed importations from the ports of the United States to the ports of the Eastern States exclusively.—The Government of Great Britain had already introduced into her commerce during a war, a system which at once violated the rights of other nations, and, resting on a mass of forgery and perjury unknown to other times, was making an unfortunate progress in undermining those principles of morality and religion which are the best foundation of national happiness.—The policy now proclaimed to the world introduces into her mode of warfare a system equally distinguished by the deformity of its features and the depravity of its character; having for its object to dissolve the ties of allegiance, and the sentiments of loyalty in the adversary nation, and to seduce

and separate its component parts the one from the other.——The general tendency of these demoralizing and disorganizing contrivances will be reprobated by the civilized and Christian world; and the insulting attempt on the virtue, the honour, the patriotism, and the fidelity of our brethren of the Eastern States, will not fail to call forth all their indignation and resentment, and to attack more and more all the States to that happy union and constitution against which such insidious and malignant artifices are directed.——The better to guard, nevertheless, against the effect of individual cupidity and treachery, and to turn the corrupt projects of the enemy against herself, I recommend to the consideration of Congress the expediency of an effectual prohibition of any trade whatever, by citizens or inhabitants of the United States, under special licenses, whether relating to persons or ports, and, in aid thereof, a prohibition of all exportation from the United States in foreign bottoms, few of which are actually employed, whilst multiplied counterfeits of their flags and papers are covering and encouraging the navigation of the enemy.

JAMES MADISON.

February 24, 1813.

PRUSSIA AND FRANCE.

Note of the Prussian Government annexed to the Report of the French Minister for Foreign Affairs.

The undersigned Chancellor of State has just received an order from the King to lay before his Excellency Count de Marsau, Minister Plenipotentiary from His Majesty the Emperor of the French, King of Italy, &c. &c. the following:——The King, in all his political conduct since the peace of Tilsit, had principally in view to give and ensure to his people a state of tranquillity which might gradually enable them to recover from the numberless misfortunes and losses which they had just suffered.——For this purpose he fulfilled with exactness, as far as his means permitted him, the engagements which he had been forced to by that peace. He has supported with resignation the arbitrary exactions, the spoliation of every description of which the provinces did not cease to be the object; the enormous charges with which they were loaded. He neglected nothing in order to establish between him and the French Government a sincere confidence,

and thus dispose it to measures of justice and equity, which he almost always demanded in vain.——When the North of Europe saw itself menaced with a new fatal war, the King, after doing every thing that depended upon him to avert the storm, took the part which the intermediate position of his States that admitted not of neutrality, and a certain perspective of the destructive measures that awaited them on the part of France, if he refused what was demanded of him, imperiously prescribed. He resigned himself to the sovereign engagements, out of all proportion to the ability of the country, to which he found himself obliged to acquiesce by the treaty of alliance of the 24th February, and the conventions which accompanied it, in the hope of having obtained for Prussia solid support, and in case of necessity, efficacious succour, of which, after so many reverses, she daily felt the greater necessity; and that the French Government, answering the fidelity with which the King purposed to fulfil his obligations, would, on its side, fulfil with the same exactness the obligation it had contracted with him.——Unhappy experience proved to him but too soon, that such were not the intentions of that Government. Whilst the King furnished the number of troops agreed upon, to form the stipulated auxiliary corps; whilst that these troops shed their blood in the cause of France, with a bravery to which the Emperor himself has not refused to do justice; whilst that in the interior of the country they bore up, by extraordinary efforts, against furnishing the enormous supplies, and loans of all kinds, which the wants of the troops, who did not cease to inundate it, required. France fulfilled not, in any manner, the obligations contracted, the exact accomplishment of which could alone prevent the entire ruin of the country and its inhabitants.——It was stipulated that the garrison of Glogau should be provisioned at the expense of France, reckoning from the date of the treaty, and those of Custring and Stettin, after the entire payment of the contributions; the latter was paid, and even more, in the month of May, in last year, by the deliveries which had been made—nevertheless Prussia remained charged with provisioning these three garrisons, without any representations being able to effect what justice and the letter of the treaty demanded. We had flattered ourselves, at least, according to the recent promise of His Majesty the Emperor, the country round these

places, as the Prussian territory, would henceforth have been sheltered from all forced requisitions, but at the very moment when we delivered ourselves up to this hope, the Commandants received a formal order, to take for ten leagues round the fortresses, every thing of which they believed they stood in want, which was executed with all the violence which was foreseen. It was agreed, that sums advanced by Prussia for supplies of all kinds, should be settled every three months, and the balance paid down at the end of the campaign. But she could not obtain that even these accounts should be examined, and when the balance amounted to very large sums, of which she was every moment to furnish the proofs, when at the end of the year it was 94,000,000 of francs, the most lively representations were not able to procure payment of a single account, although the King had, for the amount, confined his demand to a sum less than half the urgent, absolute, and indispensable necessity for which had been demonstrated by the most powerful evidence. The clause of the treaty of alliance which ensured the neutrality of a part of Silesia, could not, under the circumstances which since occurred, take effect, unless Russia, on her part, acquiesced in it, and this acquiescence, supposed of necessity, that they should treat about this object. Nevertheless the Emperor caused it to be declared, that he would not consent that the King should send any one to the Emperor Alexander for this purpose, and in thus rendering the stipulation entirely illusory, in point of fact, withdrew from, annulled it. Fresh attempts were made against the King's incontestable rights, by the arbitrary dispositions indulged in, with respect to the corps of Prussian troops in Pomerania, under General Bülow, by calling it to join the Duke of Belkuno's division, and in placing it previously to having obtained His Majesty's consent, under the orders of that Marshal, as well as by the prohibition of all recruiting whatever in the Prussian states, occupied by the French troops, which was published by order of the Viceroy of Italy, without informing His Majesty of it. Never, undoubtedly, was the sovereignty of a friendly Prince, attacked in a more terrible manner.—It is unnecessary to recapitulate the melancholy details which have lately appeared, they are perfectly known to your Excellency and the Duke of Bassano, by the numerous remonstrances of which they have been the sub-

ject. Besides, General de Krusenstark is charged to deliver a note to the Minister, which will enlarge more upon so many objects, which clearly proves, that the French Government, in holding in no consideration the principal stipulations of the treaty of alliance in favour of Prussia, which, nevertheless, formed so many essential conditions of it, and without which the latter would have, whatever might have been the consequence, subscribed to the conditions imposed on her, has itself freed her from these reciprocal obligations contained in it. No person is ignorant of the situation in which Prussia now finds herself, in consequence of these circumstances, and generally of the events of the Autumn and Winter, abandoned to herself, without hope of efficacious support on the part of a power, to whom she was bound; and from whom she did not even obtain the objects of the most strict justice, which she only wished the latter to grant her; seeing two-thirds of her provinces exhausted, and their inhabitants reduced to despair, what remains for her, except taking council of herself, raising and supporting herself? It is in the love and courage of his people, and in the generous interest of a great power, which compassionates his situation, that the King has determined to seek the means of getting out of it, and of restoring to his Monarchy the independence which can alone ensure its future prosperity.—His Majesty has just taken the measures which so grave circumstances exact to join himself by a strict alliance with His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias. He is persuaded that France, as well as all Europe, will appreciate the powerful motives which have decided his measures.—These measures tend in their final result but to a peace, founded upon bases equitable and calculated to augment its solidity. It has always been, and will constantly remain, the most ardent of the King's wishes, and if Providence blesses his efforts, His Majesty will find himself at the height of happiness in being able to contribute in rendering benefit to humanity. The undersigned has the honour to renew to his Excellency Count de St. Marsau, the assurances of his high consideration.

(Signed) HANSENBERG.

Breslau, 16th March.

COPY OF A LETTER FROM M. DE KRUSEN-
STARK.

Paris, March 27, 1813.

MONSIEUR LE DUC,—I have just receiv-

ed an order from my Sovereign to lay before you the following:—The propositions which I have anteriorly had the honour of submitting to you were of a nature to merit a reply equally prompt as decisive. The progress of the Russian arms in the centre of the monarchy, does not permit Prussia any longer to prolong that state of uncertainty in which she is. On one side the Emperor of Russia, united to the King by bonds of personal friendship, offers Prussia, in this decisive moment, the support of his power, and the advantages of his friendship; on the other, his Majesty the Emperor of the French persists in repulsing an Ally who has sacrificed himself in his cause, and disdains even to explain himself upon the motives of his silence. For a length of time France has violated, in every point, the treaties which connected her with Prussia. Not contented with having dictated at Tilsit a peace, equally hard and humiliating, she has not even permitted her to enjoy the trifling advantages which that treaty seemed to allow her. She has made use of odious pretexts to shake to their foundations the fortune of the State, and those of individuals. Since that epoch, Prussia has been treated as a conquered country, and oppressed by a yoke of iron. The French armies remained in it contrary to the terms of the treaty, and lived at discretion in it during eighteen months; exorbitant and arbitrary contributions were imposed upon her; her commerce was ruined by obliging her to adopt the continental system; French garrisons were placed in the three fortresses of the Oder; the country was obliged to defray the expense of their appointments; in short, by the treaty of Bayonne, the property of widows and orphans was disposed of, in manifest contradiction to the stipulations of the treaty of peace; every thing announced that no sort of regard would be kept with an unfortunate and oppressed state. In this state of things, peace became an illusory benefit. The King groaned under the enormous weight which oppressed his subjects. He flattered himself with vanquishing, by the force of condescension and sacrifices, an animosity the effects of which he knew, but of whose principle he was ignorant. He gave himself up to the hope of sparing his people greater misfortunes, in fulfilling scrupulously his engagements towards France, and in carefully avoiding, every thing which could give her offence. By extraordinary and unheard-of efforts, Prussia succeeded in paying two-thirds of the

contribution: she was preparing to pay the remainder, when clouds arose between Russia and France, and when the immense preparations of those two powers did not any longer permit her to doubt of the war about to be kindled in the North. The King, faithful to his principle of saving, at any price, the national existence, judging of the future by the past, felt that he had every thing to fear from France. He sacrificed his affections, and concluded with her a treaty of alliance. At the epoch of the conclusion of the treaty, before the news could have reached Berlin, the French troops entered Pomerania and the Marche Elcetroale. The King with grief saw that no attention was paid to his frank and loyal intentions. They would obtain by force what it appeared impossible to obtain by negotiations. Agents of Prussia, frightened by the menacing attitude of France, had signed at Paris separate conventions, which contained conditions extremely burdensome, relative to the provisioning and wants of the Grand Army. The French Government, instructed, respecting the mediocrity of our resources, foresaw a refusal,—prepared to gain the King's consent by the appearance of force, and deceived itself. His Majesty ratified these conventions, although he felt the difficulty of fulfilling them; he reckoned upon the devotion of Prussians, and he hoped that by defining the extent of our sacrifices, he would preserve his people from arbitrary requisitions, and their fatal consequences. Experience did not justify this hope. Whilst Prussia exhausted all her means to pour into the magazines the stipulated products, the French armies lived at the expense of individuals. At the same time were exacted the fulfilment of the treaty, and the daily consumption of the troops. The sacred property of the inhabitants was taken away by main force, without rendering the least account of it, and Prussia lost by these acts of violence above 70,000 horses, and 20,000 carriages. —Notwithstanding all these shackles, the King, faithful to his system, fulfilled with religious faith all the engagements he had made. The supplies were successfully realized, the stipulated contingent advanced; nothing was omitted to prove the loyalty of our conduct. France only replied to this devotion by pretensions always new, and believed herself able to dispense, on her side, with fulfilling the stipulations of the treaty which fell to her charge. She constantly refused to examine the accounts for supplies furnished, although she had en-

tered into a formal engagement to settle them every three months.—The Military Convention ensured to the Emperor, till a new arrangement with Prussia, possession of the fortresses of Glogau, Stettin, and Gustrin; but the provisioning of the first of those places was, from the date of signing that convention, to have been at the expense of France; and the others, from the day on which the King should have fulfilled his new engagements respecting the discharge of the contribution. The King, in acquiescing in this article, had already given France proof of his condescension, in renouncing the stipulations of 1808; according to which Glogau was to be given up to Prussia, as soon as half the contribution should be paid. The new treaty was not better observed by France than that which preceded it. The provisioning of Glogau, and that of the other fortresses, caused by the Convention, and the discharge of the contributions already realized in the month of May last year, notwithstanding the most pressing representations, remain at the expense of Prussia to this day. The Convention stipulated nothing respecting the fortresses of Pillau and Spandau; they, in consequence, were to remain occupied by Prussian troops; the French troops, however, entered them by a sort of military surprise, and maintained themselves in them.—Whilst the weight of Prussia's expenses was indefinitely augmented—whilst she proved, that, after having paid her contribution, her advances were enormous—all kinds of assistance were persisted in being refused her: all her demands were answered by a contemptuous silence, and incessantly demanding fresh sacrifices: the inconceivable efforts of a burdened nation appeared to be considered as nothing. At the end of the preceding year, the advances by Prussia amounted to 94,000,000 of francs. The accounts were in as good order as they could be, considering the constant refusal of the French Authorities to settle them agreeably to the treaty. His Majesty never ceased to represent, through his agents, that it became urgent to do justice to his demands, that his exhausted States could no longer support the French armies. The King, for the moment, confined himself to demanding an account respecting these advances, candidly declaring that he could not answer for events in case of a refusal. This language, equally just as clear; these demands, founded on the most sacred titles, remained without reply, and only produced vague assurances

and distant promises. Besides, as if it was not sufficient to violate the most positive treaties, new proceedings took place to enlighten Prussia respecting the Emperor's intentions, and what she had a right to expect from him. The King seeing one part of his provinces invaded, and the other menaced, without being able to rely upon the assistance of the French armies, obliged to reinforce his own, and the ordinary way being tedious and insufficient, his Majesty addressed an appeal to the young Prussians who wished to range themselves under his colours. This awakened in every heart the desire of serving the country. A great number of volunteers were preparing to leave Berlin for Breslau, when it pleased the Viceroy to interdict all recruiting, and the departure of the volunteers, in the provinces occupied by the French troops. This prohibition was issued in the most peremptory manner, and without acquainting the King with it. Any attempt so directly aimed at the rights of Sovereignty, excited in the heart of his Majesty, and those of his faithful subjects, a just indignation. At the same time, and whilst the fortresses on the Oder ought for a long time to have been provisioned at the expense of France, after the Emperor had formally declared in an audience given to Hatzfeldt, that he had interdicted the French authorities from making any kind of requisitions in the States of the King, the Governors of these fortresses received orders to take by main force, for a circle of ten leagues, every thing which was requisite for their defence and provisioning. This arbitrary and unjust order, and which they did not even take the trouble of acquainting the King, was executed in all its extent, in defiance of the sacred title of property, and with details of violence which it would be difficult to depict. Notwithstanding all the reasons which the King had for breaking with France, he yet wished to try the effect of negotiations. He informed the Emperor Napoleon, that he would send a confidential person to the Emperor of Russia, in order to engage him to acknowledge the neutrality of that part of Silesia which France had acknowledged. It was the only means which remained to the King, abandoned, at least, for a moment, by France, for having a sure asylum, and not being placed in the cruel situation of leaving his States. The Emperor haughtily pronounced against this step, and did not even deign to explain himself upon the propositions which accompanied that overture. In such a state of things, the King's deci-

sion could not long remain doubtful. He had for years sacrificed every thing for the pretervation of his political existence: now France compromised that existence, and did nothing to protect it. Russia can aggravate his misfortunes, and generously offers to protect him. The King cannot hesitate:—faithful to his principles and his duties, he joins his arms to those of the Emperor Alexander, changing his system without changing his object. He hopes, in breaking with France, and attaching himself to Russia, to obtain, by an honourable peace, or by force of arms, the only object of his wishes—the independence of his people—the benefits which will result from it, and the inheritance of his fathers, the half of which has been ravished from him. The King will adhere, with all his power, to every proposition conformable to the common interests of the Sovereigns of Europe. He is earnestly desirous that they may lead to a state of things, in which treaties may no longer be simple truces—where power becomes the guarantee of justice,—and where each returning with his natural rights, may no longer be tormented in all the points of his existence, by the abuse of power.—This is, M. Le Duc, what I am charged to state for your Excellency's information. Be pleased to give an account of it to his Majesty the Emperor. Europe has seen with astonishment the long resignation of a nation distinguished in the annals of history by its brilliant courage, and its noble perseverance.—Now, directed by the most sacred motives, there is no person among us, who is not determined to sacrifice every consideration to the great interests of his throne, the country, and the independence of Europe; no one who will not think himself happy in perishing for this noble end, and in defending his house.—I have orders immediately to proceed to the King, my august Master, with Prince Hatzfeldt, his Privy Councillor of State Beguelin, and the persons attached to these different missions. I have the honour to beg your Excellency to forward me the necessary passports for this purpose.—I hasten to renew to you, at the same time, the assurance of my most high consideration.

(Signed) KRUSEMARCK.

REPLY TO THE NOTE OF M. THE BARON DE KRUSEMARCK.

Paris, April 1, 1813.

M. Baron,—I have laid before His Imperial and Royal Majesty, the Note which you did me the honour of addressing to me

on the 27th of March.—What is most deserving of serious consideration may be reduced to what follows.—That Prussia solicited and concluded an alliance with France in 1813, because the French armies had approached nearer to the Prussian States than the Russian armies.—Prussia declares in 1813, that she violates her treaties, because the Russian armies have approached nearer to her States than the French armies. Posterity will judge, whether such conduct be faithful, and worthy of a great Prince, conformable to equity and sound policy.—It will always do justice to the perseverance of your Cabinet in its principles.—In 1792, when France was inwardly agitated by a Revolution, and from without, attacked by a formidable enemy, appeared like to sink, Prussia made war on her.—Three years afterwards, and at the moment when France was triumphant over the coalesced powers, Prussia abandoned her allies, she left the side of the combination together with its fortune, and the King of Prussia was the first of the Sovereigns who had taken up arms against France, that acknowledged the Republic.—Four years had scarcely elapsed (in 1799), when France felt the vicissitudes of war; some battles had been lost in Switzerland and Italy; the Duke of York had landed in Holland, and the Republic was threatened both from the North and the South; Fortune had changed, and Prussia had changed with her.—But the English were driven from Holland; the Russians were beaten at Zurich; victory again came under our colours in Italy, and Prussia became the Friend of France.—In 1805, Austria took up arms: she carried her arms to the Danube; she took possession of Bavaria; whilst the Russian troops passed the Niemen, and advanced towards the Vistula.—The union of three great powers, and their immense preparations appeared to presage nought but defeat to France. Prussia could not hesitate an instant; she armed herself; she signed the treaty of Berlin; and the names of Frederic the Second were called upon to witness the eternal hatred which she vowed against France. When her Minister, sent to His Majesty to dictate the law to him, had arrived in Moravia, the Russians had just lost the battle of Austerlitz, and it was owing to the generosity of the French that they were allowed to return into their own country. Prussia immediately tore the treaty of Berlin, concluded only six weeks

before, abjured the celebrated oath of Potsdam; betrayed Russia as she had betrayed France; and entered into fresh engagements with us. But from these eternal fluctuations in politics, proceeded a real anarchy in the public opinion in Prussia; an exultation took place in men's minds which the Prussian Government were not able to direct; they supported it, and, in 1806, declared war against France, at a moment when it was their best interest to keep up a good understanding with her. Prussia being entirely conquered, saw herself, above her own hopes, admitted to sign, at Tilsit, a peace by which she received every thing, and gave nothing.—In 1809, the war with Austria broke out: Prussia was again going to change her system; but the first military events leaving no doubts of the definitive result of the campaign, Prussia was governed by prudence, and did not dare to declare herself.

—In 1811, the preparations made by Russia threatening Europe with a new war, the geographical situation of Prussia did not permit her to remain an indifferent spectatress of the events which were about taking place: and you, M. le Baron, were charged so early as the month of March in the same year, to solicit the alliance of France; and it is useless for me to recall to your remembrance what passed at that period. It is useless for me to repeat either your reiterated instances of your warm solicitudes.—His Majesty, remembering what was past, at first hesitated what part he should take. But he thought that the King of Prussia, enlightened by experience, was at length become sensible of the versatile policy of your Cabinet. He felt himself obliged for the steps which it had taken at St. Petersburg to prevent the rupture. It was, besides, contrary to his justice and his heart to declare war, merely for the considerations of political convenience. He yielded to his personal sentiments towards your Sovereign, and consented to make an alliance with him. So long as the chances of war were favourable to us, your Court shewed itself faithful; but scarcely had the premature rigours of the winter attacked our armies on the Niemen, when the defection of General D'Yorck reawakened suspicions but too well founded. The equivocal conduct of your Court in so weighty a circumstance; the departure of the King for Breslau; the treachery of General Bulow, who opened to the enemy the passage of the Nether Oder; the public Ordinances, to excite a turbulent and factious youth to take up arms; the

junction at Breslau of men designated as chiefs of the disturbers, and as the principal instigators of the war of 1806; the daily communications established between your Court and the head-quarters of the enemy, had for a long time left no doubt of the resolutions of your Court; when, M. Baron, I received your note of the 27th of March, and it has therefore caused no surprise. Prussia wishes, it is said, to recover the inheritance of her ancestors: but we may ask her, if, when she speaks of losses which her false policy has caused her to suffer, she has likewise made some acquisitions to put into the scale: if, among those acquisitions, there be none which she owes to her faithless policy? It is, that she owes Silesia to the abandonment of a French army in the walls of Prague; and all her acquisitions in Germany, to the violation of the laws and interests of the Germanic Body.—Prussia talks of her desire of obtaining a peace founded on a solid basis; but how is it possible to reckon on a solid peace with a power which believes herself justified when she breaks her engagements according to the caprices of fortune.—His Majesty prefers a declared enemy to a friend always ready to abandon him.—I will not carry these observations any farther; I shall content myself with asking, what would an enlightened Statesman, and a friend to his country, have done, who, in thought, placing himself at the helm of affairs of Prussia, from the day when the revolution in France broke out, would have conducted himself according to the principles of a sound and moral policy.—At present, M. Baron, what remains for Prussia? She has done nothing for Europe; she has done nothing for her ancient Ally; she will do nothing for peace. A power, whose treaties are only conditional, cannot be an useful mediator; she guarantees nothing; she is nothing but a subject of discussion; she is not even a barrier. The finger of Providence has shewn itself in the events of this winter; it has produced them to unmask false friends, and mark the faithful ones; it has given his Majesty power sufficient to ensure the triumph of the one, and the chastisement of the others.—I have the honour to transmit you the passports which you have requested of me.

(Signed) THE DUKE DE BASSANO.

NORTHERN WAR.

LONDON, *Foreign Office, April 10, 1813.*
 Dispatches of which the following are Co-

pies, have been received by Viscount Castlereagh, His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, from General Viscount Cathcart, K. T. His Majesty's Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the Court of Russia.

*Imperial Head-quarters, Kalisch,
March 6, 1813.*

Referring to my dispatch from St. Petersburg, by the messenger Lyell, I have now the honour to acquaint your Lordship, that having begun my journey, upon the Emperor's invitation to join him at head-quarters on the 12th of February, I reached Riga in forty-eight hours, and arrived in this town before day-break on the 2d of March.—The Emperor received me in his accustomed most gracious manner, and, in an audience immediately after the parade, was pleased to state the outline of his recent operations.—In the first place, the result of his Imperial Majesty's communications to the Court of Berlin, made on his first arrival at Wilna, has been the conclusion of a treaty of peace and alliance, offensive and defensive, with that power.—The Plenipotentiaries are Marshal Prince Kutusoff Smolensko, and the Chancellor Baron Hardenberg.—In pursuance of this renovation of amicable relations, the most active combined military operations are already in progress.—This day a report has been received of the actual occupation of Berlin by the forces of his Imperial Majesty, under the Aid-de-Camp-General Chernicheff.—The head-quarters of the Russian army are established in this central position, to give the necessary time for receiving recruits and convalescents, who are daily arriving, and for supplying necessaries to troops who have been engaged in a campaign of an unexampled and uninterrupted series of military operations and marches for eleven months.—This pause will, however, be of short duration. Nothing can be more striking than the contrast between the march of the Russian army, and the conciliatory proceedings of the Emperor, with that of Buonaparté, and the troops under the French Generals.—The most rigid and correct discipline has been observed in the Duchy, as well as in Prussia.—His Imperial Majesty, though in possession of the keys of Warsaw, has not

placed a soldier within its walls; and has, in every instance, treated the Poles with the utmost clemency and indulgence.—The Austrian auxiliary force, in consequence of an unlimited armistice, are gradually retiring to the Gallician frontier.—Regnier's corps, as I conjectured, retired behind the Austrians, by Rawa, to this place; they were here overtaken by General Winzingerode, who attacked them with inferior force, and put them to flight, taking prisoner the Saxon General Rostitz, three colonels, forty-seven other officers, fifteen hundred rank and file, with two colours and seven cannon. The remainder of this corps pursued their retreat in the direction of Glogau, probably not exceeding five or six thousand men.—It remains for me to offer my congratulations on the signal success which has hitherto attended the great and unremitting exertions of the Emperor, who, in the course of two months, at this season, has continued the pursuit of the enemy from Wilna to the Oder; and has united to his own zealous endeavours, the decided and hearty support of the King of Prussia, and of the whole population of his dominions, who seem most solicitous to emulate the Russians in patriotic donations, as well as in personal service.—I understand the Polish government, which withdrew from Warsaw under Prince Poniatowski, went, in the first instance, to Petrikaw, and a part with the Prince are gone to Czentochaw, where it is said some force has been assembled: and I have also understood that the Polish part of Regnier's corps, after the affair of Kalisch, took that direction. A Russian corps is stationed to the southward of Warsaw, to observe their motions.

*Imperial Head-Quarters, Kalish,
March 26, 1813.*

My Lord,—In my dispatches of the 6th instant, I had the honour of reporting my arrival at this place, and of detailing to your Lordship the progress which the Emperor had made in his arrangements, and in preparations for the campaign, together with the gigantic steps which had already been taken in carrying on the military operations already begun. These reports in—
(To be continued.)

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

WESTMINSTER ADDRESS. — PARLIAMENTARY REFORM. — On Thursday, the 15th instant, a very numerous meeting was held in the City of Westminster, at which an Address to Her Royal Highness, the Princess of Wales, was voted, to be presented by Sir Francis Burdett and Lord Cochrane, the two Members for that city. — At this meeting the following resolutions were passed; and, I insert them, because I think it of great consequence that it should be known, that the people of England have not passed over these things without perceiving them. — “Resolved, 1st. “That it is the undoubted right of every “British subject to retain the reputation, “rights, and immunities of innocence, until convicted of guilt before a tribunal recognized by the law, known to the people, and possessing that glorious and indispensable attribute of freedom and justice, a trial by Peers; and that this Meeting view with deep regret any attempts “to introduce tribunals unknown to the “Constitution, unauthorized by the law of the land, and therefore possessing no constitutional power to enforce the attendance of witnesses, no power to punish persons giving false evidence, or no requisite of a Court of Justice. — “2d. That this Meeting feel the greatest “horror at the late nefarious conspiracy against the Honour and the Life “of Her Royal Highness the Princess “of Wales; and fully convinced, from “every document before the Public, of Her “Royal Highness’s innocence, do resolve “that a loyal and humble Address be presented to Her Royal Highness, expressive “of their happiness at her complete triumph “over her enemies.” — To be sure, it is necessary, that the nation should express its opinion upon that tribunal, which was formed in 1806. SIR SAMUEL ROMILLY stated, in the House of Commons, that it was legal and customary for the King to refer matters relating to a charge of High Treason to certain of his *Privy Counsellors*, in order for them to ascertain, whether any

real grounds exist for preferring the charge in a more formal manner, and for bringing the accused, or suspected, person to trial. — Very true; and, if the Four Lords had acted in their capacity of *Privy Counsellors*, there would now have been no room to regret what is regretted by all the nation, namely, that Lady Douglas cannot have her petition granted, and be put on her trial for perjury. If she had sworn before the Four Lords as *Privy Counsellors*, they being, in that capacity, *Magistrates*, she might have been prosecuted for perjury; but, it seems, that, by virtue of the King’s warrant, or commission, these four Lords were deprived of that quality, for the time being, which made it perjury for any one to swear falsely before them. — It would, perhaps, be thought impertinent in us to inquire, *why* this commission was formed; *why* the same four Lords did not act in their capacity of *Privy Counsellors*; *why* they were, upon this particular occasion, made Commissioners? This might be thought impertinent; but, of one thing we are certain; namely, that their being made Commissioners has, as it has happened, prevented Lady Douglas from being liable to be tried for perjury. — How hard, reader, was this upon the Princess! The witnesses against her might swear just what they pleased, and without any danger, for they could not be prosecuted for perjury. What they deposed was taken as coming from persons on their oaths; but, in this case, they were oaths without responsibility, as it now appears; yet, if the evidence had been of sufficient weight, it would, in all human probability, have sent the Princess to trial for her life. — She was acquitted by the Four Lords of the charge of High Treason; but, they left her touched with minor offences. And, was it not hard, that she should have been thus left upon the evidence of persons, who, from the nature of the tribunal, had not the restraint of the fear of prosecution for perjury hanging over their heads? — It is greatly to be lamented, that this was not perceived by either of the two “Great “Law Lords” before the Commissioners preceded to act; for, if either of them had

perceived it, we may be quite sure, that they would have taken good care to prevent the cause of our present regret.—To the Westminster Meeting, SIR FRANCIS BURDETT, who, it appears, was unable to attend from ill-health, sent a Letter, to apologize for his absence, and also to express his sentiments upon the subject before the Meeting.—This Letter I must also place upon record amongst the proofs of the nation's opinion with regard to this memorable affair.—Let those, who are unhappy at seeing all this stir, blame for it, not the persons who make the stir, not the person who is the subject of it; but let them blame those who were the CAUSE: let them blame the *base and detestable conspirators*, be their rank in life what it may.—Sir Francis most excellently well points out the inconsistency and folly of those who pretend, that this is a matter with which the people have nothing to do. But his Letter, when we have read it, will call for something further in the way of comment. It was in the following words:

“PICCADILLY, APRIL 15, 1813.

“GENTLEMEN,—I am exceedingly mortified at my inability, through illness, to attend the Meeting of the inhabitants of the City and Liberties of Westminster, convened on this important occasion, both because it is my duty, and because, that which rarely accompanies my duty in other places, pleasure and satisfaction, would have accompanied me on this. Gentlemen, there never was an occasion which appeared to me more calculated to call forth those manly feelings, and that love of justice, for which the people of this country have been ever remarkable. To protect the oppressed, and to prove to our future Sovereign the interest we take in what so nearly concerns her, is a measure creditable in itself, and founded no less in policy than in humanity and justice. With respect to the importance of maintaining that great bond of society, justice, no difference of opinion can be entertained, and as little, I should think, of the violation of all its fundamental principles and maxims in the person of Her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales—a Lady eminent in rank, eminent in virtue, but super-eminent in misfortune; and, I trust, our opinions will be as unanimous of the propriety and importance of this Meeting, as our determination will be, to shew every mark of respect, and afford every support in our

Dissimulate, 4.

“power to the meritorious, persecuted, and illustrious object of it. The long and cruel suffering she has undergone, the many estimable qualities she has displayed throughout, and the destitute and forlorn condition in which, notwithstanding her now universally acknowledged merits, she is left, having lost her father not long since, and her mother still more recently; the King, to whom alone she looked for justice in this country, deprived of his mental faculties, and that the cup of affliction might be full, the mind of His Royal Highness the Prince, her husband, poisoned against her; and can it be possible that there are men, and even good men, who think this a cause unbecoming the people of England to espouse? one in which they ought not to interfere, and in which they have nothing to do? Is it not curious to observe, that those persons whose sensibility was so alive to the misfortunes of the Queen of France, who thought all England and all the world should draw the sword to avenge her injuries, have no sensibility alive, no commiseration awake, to the injuries of the innocent and calumniated Princess of Wales? What, in fact, has been proved with respect to Her Royal Highness? that Her Royal Highness is full of condescension and kindness, and of a most benevolent mind! that her charity is not of the vulgar, casual, and eleemosynary stamp, but a well regulated principle, uniform and alive! that Her Royal Highness takes the trouble to think how her charity can be applied most beneficially for its object and for society! nor could benevolence, united with wisdom, direct a course more admirably adapted to these enlarged views, than the one which Her Royal Highness is proved to have adopted. The well-considered objects of Her Royal Highness's charity are the children of poor but honest parents; these Her Royal Highness not only maintains, but educates; not only educates, but places in useful and creditable callings; nor even then does the superintending, ever active and enlightened benevolence of Her Royal Highness cease; but the little influence Her Royal Highness possesses is ever ready to exert itself for their fair advancement according to their merits; and the nation has only to regret, that this influence is not as extensive as the benevolence which directs it. These Her Royal Highness's virtues have not been displayed by ostentatious hypo-



"crisey, or the modern pharisaical cant of those who ever stand praying in public places; no; nor by any friend or well-wisher to Her Royal Highness; but by her enemies—by those who, like Balaam, when sent for by Balak to curse, was compelled to bless, and was thus reproached: "Lo, I sent for thee to curse mine enemies, and behold thou hast blessed them altogether." Thus have Her Royal Highness's enemies dispelled the foul vapours engendered by their own malice, and thrown a sunshine upon those virtues which would, but for them, have continued to flourish in the shade.

"And that should teach us
 "There is a Divinity that shapes our ends,
 "Rough hew them how we will."
 "Their blind and indiscreet malice seem literally to have considered "her virtues as sanctified and holy traitors to her," and preposterously imagined that Divine charity, which in others covers a multitude of sins, could be by falsehood perverted into the means of covering Her Royal Highness's innocence, magnanimity, and virtue, with the appearance and confusion of guilt.—Gentlemen, the treatment Her Royal Highness has received, owing, no doubt, to the ear of His Royal Highness the Prince, her husband, having been abused, the severity of Her Royal Highness's lot—a woman, a Princess, and a stranger in a foreign land, is of itself more than sufficient to injure every generous feeling, every Englishman's feeling, in anxiety for Her Royal Highness's welfare, and gives Her Royal Highness a natural and irresistible claim to the protection of every honourable mind.—Gentlemen, unable as I am to have the honour of attending this Meeting, I think it due to the respect I bear you, thus shortly to lay before you my plain, undisguised sentiments on this singular and important occasion.—I have the honour to subscribe myself, your most devoted very humble servant,
 "FRANCIS BURDETT."

Certainly, it is *curious* indeed, to perceive these completely dumb; nay, at best dumb, and generally openly hostile to all steps in defence of the Princess of Wales; those very persons, who were so loud, so clamorous for war, because the republicans of France were ill-treating the Queen of that country.—It was not pretended that Marie Antoinette was, though living with her husband, the best model of conjugal

fidelity that the world had ever beheld. Indeed, her warmest friends did not scruple to confess, that her conduct was not unexceptionable; and, her extravagance, her waste of the public money, and other acts offensive to the public, were loudly railed of on all sides. Yet, did all the aristocracy and the clergy in this country rise, as it were, in an insurrection of indignation at the ill-treatment she received. It puzzled John Bull, who, though a great *thinker*, is not very deep-sighted: it puzzled John's pate to find out, *why* they should trouble their heads so much about a Queen of France. Be that as it may, we cannot now fail to observe, that neither the aristocracy nor the clergy move an inch in the way of resenting the treatment of the Princess of Wales. I think this conduct of the clergy worthy of particular notice. Upon the death of Perceval, they did not fail (especially in the diocese of Salisbury, I remember) to come forward with Addresses in a most heroic strain. They could feel and express *indignation* and *abhorrence* unbounded at the killing of that minister; but, how *quiet* they are now! How *still*! How placid and smooth they are! They do not wish to *agitate the public mind*. Agitate the public mind, reverend Sirs, what do you mean by that? Would it agitate the public mind more for you to cry out against *perjury* and *subornation*, than it did when you cried out against *murder*? Would you agitate the public mind any more by addressing the Prince upon the subject of infamous attempts against the life and honour of his own wife, than you did in addressing him upon the subject of the shot that killed his minister? *Why*, reverend Sirs, should an Address from you in support of injured innocence, *agitate the public mind*? One would think, that this, above all others, was a subject upon which the Clergy would come forward.—And, what can be the *cause* of their not doing it? They are said to have very fine noses; but, surely, they cannot have smelt out any thing offensive in such a proceeding on their part? They cannot but be well assured, that His Royal Highness, the Regent, must feel greatly gratified by every testimonial of the innocence of the Princess, his spouse. And, as to the ministry, it is the very same set who declared her honourable acquittal in April, 1807. They may, indeed, be called *her ministry*; for she was manifestly the principal cause of their first getting possession of power; and, for which the Whig faction love her as the Devil is said to love

water that has passed under the sanctified paws of a priest.—What, then, can possibly keep the Clergy back upon this occasion? An occasion when they might gratify both Prince and Ministry in the highest degree, and might, at the same time, give encouragement to virtue, and anathematize perjury, subornation, and all the base and black arts of the most cowardly and execrable conspiracy that ever was heard of in the world.—What can keep them back? What have their fine noses smelt out? Do they suspect, that they should displease any body, whom it is their interest to please?—However, be this as it may, they have not yet come forward; and, if they do not, they shall hear of it, upon proper occasions, as long as I hold a pen to write for the public perusal.—I am decidedly of opinion with SIR FRANCIS (whose *present* Letter, at any rate, can hardly have been written by MR. HORNE TOOKZ !); I agree with him decidedly, that *policy* as well as *justice* call for these movements on the part of the *people*.—In the first place, there is a *right* to exercise, and the exercise of a political right is, ninety-nine times out of a hundred, a good of itself. It becomes the people to let the Prince, to let his ministers, to let the aristocracy and the Clergy see that they (the people) have not forgotten, that they have rights. If the people were to be kept silent, at this time, by being told, that they have no business with the matter, why not keep them silent another time upon the same ground? It is a *family* affair; and so was the *marriage* of the Prince, and so was the birth of the Princess; and yet court sycophants could see nothing improper in Addresses upon those occasions.—The object of an Address now is to applaud the conduct of the Princess, and to reprobate her base enemies. Justice, bare justice, skin-flint justice, demands this; but, it is also demanded by policy; for, it is of great consequence, that *the people* should cause it to be kept fresh in the minds of all the branches of the Royal Family, that the former have a right, at all times, when they deem it proper, to express, in this solemn manner, their opinions and their wishes as to the conduct or treatment of the latter. The Royal Family are amenable to no law as other people are. They are not exempted, indeed, by the letter of the law; but, it is impossible, in practice, to subject them; in all cases, to common rules; nor would it be desirable to do it. There is, therefore, the greater necessity that they should feel themselves continually liable to

the censorship of the public.—It is curious enough to hear men talk about the domestic virtues of the King, as a ground for love of him in the people; while, in almost the same breath, these same men will tell you, that the people have no business to meddle with the *family affairs* of the Prince and the Princess. Just as if the King's domestic virtues, the qualities as a *father* and a *husband*, were not also an affair of *family*? Yes, but *these* we are permitted to meddle with; we are permitted to praise these, and even to consider them as a compensation to us for the misfortunes of the reign; for the loss of America, and for a Debt of countless millions. But, if we should detect, in any quarter, upon any occasion, qualities of a rather opposite kind, in any branch of the Royal Family, we are by no means, I suppose, to open our lips upon the subject.—This is too degrading; one cannot bear the thought of this; and, the people do very right in showing, that they know how and when to exercise the only right, that, in such cases, they have.—I made the remark before, but I will not deny myself the pleasure of making it again: that the persons, who have appeared most prominent in doing justice to the Princess of Wales, are those who have been denominated *Jacobins*; those who have been accused of being enemies of the Royal Family; enemies of all law, government, and order; men who wished for universal confusion and a consequent scramble for property. If this were true with regard to Sir Francis Burdett, whom the vile hired newspapers have put at the head of this desperate set of men, he must have a very high opinion of his powers at *scrambling*; for, unless he saw himself in this light, he could hardly hope to gain by a scramble. Mr. WARRHEAD, too, who has been put pretty nearly upon the same level, must scramble hard to get back again what would slip out of his hands by universal confusion.—However, be this as it may, it does so happen, that those, who have been thus stigmatised by the tools of corruption, have been the most forward, and, indeed, have been the only persons, who have appeared at all in support of the Princess of Wales. Mr. COCHRANE-JOHNSTONE has not till now been much known in politics, and has, therefore, not been honoured much with the abuse of the tools of corruption; but, Sir Francis Burdett, Mr. Whitbread, Mr. Alderman Wood, Mr. Thompson, Major Curwen, Mr. Wishart, Mr. Harris, have all been long numbered amongst the men of despe-

state politics; nor do I believe, that I shall be thought to arrogate too much to myself, if I take it for granted, that the tools of corruption have done me the honour to put me, however low down, in the same list. — Now, then, let the nation observe, and bear well in mind, that it is this “*desperate faction*” who have appeared *alone* to do public justice to the Princess of Wales. The whole nation have declared her to be an innocent and most injured woman; the whole nation have felt her wrongs, and have also felt that she merited support; never was there any person, whose case called forth so universal a wish in favour of the oppressed. How comes it, then, that the “*Jacobins*” only should have really made any movement, any public demonstration in her favour? The truth is this: the “*Jacobins*,” as they are jestingly called, have no views but such as are consistent with *public liberty*; with *justice*; with the support of the *rights of the people* and of the *throne*. They are under no corrupt influence; they are not goaded on by the hopes of gain, or, held in check by the fear of losing a share of the public money. They seek for no places, pensions, contracts, or any other thing for their own emolument; and they possess none of either. — Having, therefore, nothing to hope for, nothing to lose, nothing to fear for themselves, they are under no influence, in such a case, but that of their reason and their sense of justice; and this being the case, they have stepped forward to speak their sentiments freely; they have stepped forward to give utterance to the national feeling. — Is it too much, then, for us to hope, that those persons, those men who have been misled by the calumnies of the tools of corruption, will now, upon perceiving that it has been reserved for the Parliamentary Reformers to act this honourable part, a part so necessary to the fair reputation of the country; is it too much to hope, that good men, thus misled, will now hesitate before they give their further countenance to these calumnies? Is it too much to hope, that they will now begin to think, that the Parliamentary Reformers are not the men who have no sense of law and justice? — The Princess of Wales, and also the Princess Charlotte, will, too, now be able to form an estimate of the real character of the different descriptions of politicians. They will be able to judge of the value of the *people’s* good opinion. When the Princess of

Wales received the Citizens of London; when she saw, and when her Daughter read of, the procession of the citizens to Kensington Palace; and when they heard or read of the shouts of applause which accompanied that heart-cheering ceremony; they would then, undoubtedly, contrast this with the silence in other quarters; and, I much question if either of them would have been so much gratified by a joint Address of all the privileged orders put together; I much question whether they would exchange this testimonial for any other that could have been given. — We have known of Addresses before; thousands of Addresses have been presented to kings, queens, princes, and princesses, upon various occasions; some on marriages, some on births, some on recoveries from dangerous disorders, and some on escapes from attempts at assassination; but, did any man living ever before hear of an Address, an Address of *loyalty and affection*, escorted by hundreds of thousands of the people, and the mover of it, in approbation of his conduct, drawn in his carriage for many miles by the people themselves? When, I ask, was such a thing heard of before? And, must it not be a little mortifying to our calumniators to be obliged to acknowledge, that this address, this “*loyal and affectionate*” Address, the “*noble sentiments*” of which even the Morning Post has been compelled to applaud, was brought forward by, was the work of, was begun and carried into execution through the sole agency of, those who have been called Jacobins and Levelers? If this fact be lost upon the obdurate tools of corruption, it will not, I am convinced, be lost upon the Princess of Wales and upon her Daughter, our future sovereign. They will see, that, after all, it is the *people* on whom alone any safe reliance can be placed. They will see, that real loyalty is the associate of an attachment to *popular rights*; and that those who are the friends of the people are also the best friends of the throne. — They will not, I am sure, forget the conduct of the two great political factions upon this occasion. Not a word, in the way of support, has the Princess received from either of them. How they have acted towards her she need not be told; what they have done in her case she well knows; and, indeed, she will want no one to remind her of what they have now left *undone*. — It will appear strange to posterity; and, indeed, it does now strike every

one with great force, that, while her Letter, that excellent Letter, which she addressed to the two houses of parliament, through the Lord Chancellor and the Speaker; while that Letter lies wholly unnoticed by the two Houses, *the people* have taken up the matter, publicly and constitutionally discussed it, and pronounced their decision, in the most decided and most regular manner.—She will, herein see, and her Daughter will also see, the *value of the people's rights*; they will reflect on the awkward state in which Her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, would even *now* have been, if the people, according to the wish of the enemies of liberty, had been possessed of *no rights*. She will see, that the eyes, not only of this nation, but of the world, were fixed upon her. Her case was become as notorious as any great question between nations; and, if the English *people*, whose love of justice and fair-play is their best characteristic, had remained silent; if they had taken no notice of her treatment; if they had shunned her cause, what would have been the conclusion of the world? The documents were, indeed, all published; her innocence was clear to all those who had the means of reading these documents; her cause had been espoused by public writers; but, with the *silence of parliament upon her remonstrance*; and with a *people silently looking on*; with both these before their eyes, the unreading mass of the nation and the world at large would still have had their doubts. The step taken by the City of London, followed, as it has been, by the City of Westminster, have settled the point for ever. She has obtained a glorious triumph over all her enemies, a triumph for which she is, in the first place, indebted to her own innocence, sense, and courage, but which could not have been sealed to the satisfaction of the world without that exercise of popular rights, which led to her palace the Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, and Citizens of London, accompanied by ten thousand times more people than, probably, ever before accompanied an Address to any king, queen, prince, or princess in this country.—The benefit, which the people will receive from these memorable occurrences, will naturally proceed from the impression, which, at an age of susceptibility, will be produced on the mind of Her Royal Highness the Princess Charlotte of Wales. That impression must be in favour of *the people's rights*; and, I trust, that no sy-

cophant will ever be able to remove it from her mind. Her love for her mother; the joy, the exultation, which she must experience, at these spontaneous, these unpurchased, these unfeigned movements on the part of the people, must implant in her heart feelings of gratitude towards them. She will now, I dare say, see them in a light in which she never before saw them. Those notions of contempt for the people, which court sycophants are but too apt to inculcate, she will now be in much less danger of imbibing. She has had a striking proof of the great importance of the people, of the great weight of public opinion; and, I trust, that it will, through her whole life, serve to guard her against the insidious counsels of those, who would teach her, that the people are nothing; that they have no rights that are of any use, and that they ought always to be an object of Royal jealousy.—From the scene now before the eyes of Her Royal Highness, who is of an age to form a correct judgment, she will not, I am persuaded, fail to gather most useful knowledge. She will see what it is to deserve and to receive the people's love and admiration; and she may easily form an idea of the condition of a Queen, as she one day will be, who should be an object of the people's hatred, or, still worse, of their contempt. She will, I hope, conclude, that, to reign over a people without reigning in their hearts; that to command their unwilling and sullen obedience; that to possess a life about the preservation of which, even for a single day, her people would not care a straw; that thus to reign and thus to live, though surrounded with hundreds of flatterers, would be intolerable existence. This, I hope, will be her conclusion; and then, in striving to make herself beloved, she will make her people happy; she will watch over their rights as the best, and, indeed, as the *only*, securities of her own; she will set the example of a love of freedom, in casting from her the trammels of faction; she will be indeed a Queen, and the nation will be great, happy, and free.—It is the constant endeavour of courtiers to persuade princes, that the people are their natural enemies. The Princess of Wales is now able to contradict this wicked doctrine, which has its rise in a desire to make the prince and people hate each other, to keep them at perpetual variance, and, by that means to subdue both to the will of those who hold such doctrine. They terrify the Prince

with the hostility of the people, and they use his power to keep the people in awe. Let the Princess Charlotte search all history through, and she will find, that this has been the great source of plots, conspiracies, rebellions, and civil wars. Sometimes the misguided sovereigns have fallen, and sometimes thousands of their people; but, in every case gain to themselves has been the object of those who have fomented the differences between them.—Those persons, who, in this country, seek for a reform, have been represented, always represented as the *enemies of the throne*, as if the throne depended for its existence, upon the practice of corruption. The reformers have been most insolently termed “a low, degraded crew.” These reformers it is, who have now come forward with a “loyal and affectionate” address to the Princess of Wales. Nay, when a motion, in the late parliament, was made for the giving proof at the bar of the House of Commons of the *sale of seats* in that House, the *actual sale of seats*, there were persons of both the parties to cry out, that it was time “to put a stop to POPULAR ENCROACHMENT!”—I trust, that the Princess Charlotte of Wales will not want for right notions upon this all-important subject; I trust, that the specimen which she has now seen of the effect of popular rights, will be sufficient to guard her against those, who would persuade her that the people encroach too far, when they complain of the sale, the actual sale, of seats in that House, which is spoken of as conspiring the *people's representatives*.—It appears to me something truly surprising, that any sovereign in England should be made to believe, that a reform of Parliament would be hostile to the throne. The contrary is so evident, that I cannot conceive how it can be doubted.—The powers of the king are so great; they are so effectually guarded against every thing but unconstitutional combinations of corrupt men; that he can have nothing to fear from a parliament freely chosen by the people.—But, from such combinations, from corrupt trafficking in seats, from the influence which naturally arises out of that, a king of England has every thing to fear; that is to say, if he fears being made a mere cipher in the government.—If the people at large, or, at least, all those who pay taxes, were to choose the Members of the House of Commons, it is certain, that they would choose men in the first place whom *they know*; their choice would very

seldom, if ever, fall upon needy men, or men of questionable character. And, if the House of Commons were filled with men of good character and of good fortune, how is it possible to suppose, that they would wish to overthrow the king and his family? How is it possible to suppose, that such a House of Commons, being the actual owners of no inconsiderable portion of the country, would wish to plunge that country into confusion and anarchy?—Such a House of Commons, independent in point of property, free from all temptation to invade the public purse, and having no view upon any thing derivable from a misuse of its power of voting, would leave the king to the full enjoyment of all his prerogatives; it would not want to seize from him any part of that which he would have to bestow; and, at the same time, that it took care of the nation's purse, it would have a plenty to leave at his discretion.—A king of England, with such a House of Commons, would be exposed to none of the mortifications, which must inevitably arise from having servants or pensioners or any thing *forced upon him*. He would be, as far as the law allowed, *his own master*; and, such he should be. The law prescribes bounds to his authority, and that authority ought to have no other restraint.—The doctrine, preached by the Whigs, of the *necessity of a combination of great families as a check upon the crown*, is a most wicked doctrine. It is directly in the teeth of the letter, as well as the spirit of our government. It transforms the limited kingly government into a detestable aristocracy, or something even worse than that. It sets the people at naught. It considers them as little better than cattle. *Check upon the Crown!* What check do we want other than that imposed by our own voices, by the mouths of *real representatives*? What an insult is this doctrine both to the Crown and the people! *Great families*, indeed! And who are they? Have they not power enough in their own House? Quite enough in all conscience, without forming any combinations against the king.—But, this is another of those devices, which shallow men have resorted to, in order to supply the place of that real, that effectual, that natural and undegrading check, which a Commons' House of Parliament, freely chosen, forms to all the powers of the Crown, or, rather, to the abuse of those powers.—The aristocracy would, I must confess, lose power by a reform of parlia-

ment; but, then, it is only that power, which it has taken from the Crown and the people. The king ought, in reason, to be at the head of the reformers, for, I am sure, he would gain most. As things now stand, we see several sinecure placemen, each of whom has greater emoluments than the whole that one of the sons of the king has to live upon. I cannot tell what it is that blinds them; but, it appears to me, that the Members of the Royal Family ought to be the very loudest in the kingdom for a parliamentary reform. The Duke of Sussex, for instance, has £18,000 a year, while Lord Arden's places are stated at about double the sum. Could this be with a reformed parliament? Is there amongst the people one single man, who would give his vote for such a distribution of the public money? No; not one. Perhaps the Duke of Sussex, with all his encumbrances, has not enough to enable him to keep a carriage and three or four horses. Not a man in all England would wish to see a son of the King in this state. Yet, some how or other it is contrived to persuade the members of the Royal Family, that the reformers are their enemies.——The notion that the enemies of reform always endeavour to inculcate, is, that, if the people were left to choose whom they please, they would choose men of no property and no principle, and that, during the very first session of parliament, they would abolish the kingly part of the government.——This is saying, in effect, that a *decided majority of the people do now wish the kingly part of the government to be destroyed.*——But, this our enemies dare not say in plain words. On the contrary, they assert, that a vast majority of the nation are perfectly loyal and well-disposed, and that they prefer this form of government to any other.——Well, then, if that be the case, *why are you afraid to trust them?* Why not let them all vote for members of parliament? Why object to a reform upon the principles of the Constitution.——But, as I said before, the people, if left to themselves, would always choose persons of the greatest weight and respectability in their own neighbourhoods. They would be sure to do this. It is not in the nature of things that they should prefer strangers and adventurers; and what *danger*, I pray, could possibly arise from the seating of all the most respectable gentlemen in the kingdom in the House of Commons? What danger to any one, except those who *unmercifully* pocket the

public money? Would such an assemblage of gentlemen have any motive for producing "*anarchy and confusion*," which is always most impudently held forth as the object of the reformers? The Members of such a House would have no motive; they could have no motive; for degrading the Royal Authority, upon the due support of which the possession of their own fortunes and estates must depend. I know, that there are some persons, who are for a reform, as the means of bringing forward what are called *men of talents*. It is not *talents* that we want. We want independence of fortune; we want good principles; we want probity more than we do talents, of which latter we have enough. We want, in short, honest men, who shall not be exposed to any of the temptations attending poverty; and such men a reform of Parliament would certainly give us.——I desire the reader to consider, for a moment, what the effect would be of the people's seeing the House of Commons filled with gentlemen, all distinguished in their several districts for their fortunes and their probity. I beg him to consider what weight this would give to all their proceedings; with what respect it would stamp all their measures. If there be a man so blind as not to perceive this, I pity his want of political insight. Such a change would certainly mar the game of wrangling adventurers, who live by their wits; for, most assuredly, not a man of them would ever see the inside of the House. A foolish, or an unprincipled ministry would, indeed, find such a parliament very intractable; but, would it be an injury to the king that the parliament should, in such a case, be found intractable? The king would have no care upon his mind. Such a House of Commons would not be led much; but it would never be far from doing what was perfectly right.——Away we might sweep all the mass of election laws; for there would be, and there could be, neither bribery nor corruption. There would need no law about *qualifications*; for, as I said before, you have in the heart of man the best guarantee for a district never choosing a person of questionable fortune. Men do not go and pick out their equals to put them to make laws for them. Leave them only *free to choose*, and their choice will always fall upon persons, whom they know to be a great deal richer than themselves.——The people (and I cannot repeat it too often), the people, if left to their free choice, would never choose

adventurers. They would never choose any man they did not *know*. No law would be necessary to compel them to choose persons resident amongst them; for they would never be prevailed upon to do it, any more than you could prevail upon them to choose a stranger for an apothecary or a man-widwife. It is out of nature to suppose that they would choose any persons, but those esteemed the most amongst their rich and powerful neighbours. What ground, then, is there for the pretended dread of anarchy and confusion, as the fruit of a Parliamentary Reform?—Petitions are now coming forward for this measure, which, let us hope, will, at last, be adopted. Of one thing I am quite satisfied, and that is, that without a Reform of the Commons' House of Parliament, there is neither permanent peace nor safety for this nation.

WM. COBBETT.

Bolley, 21st April, 1813.

PRINCESS OF HANOVER.

The following article is extracted from the *KENTISH CHRONICLE*, and is well worthy of being circulated.

Extract from Cox's Memoirs of Walpole, with some remarks thereon.

“George the First, when Electoral Prince of Hanover, was married to Sophia Dorothy, only daughter of William Duke of Zell. Sophia, at the time of their marriage, was only sixteen years of age, and was a princess of great personal charms and mental endowments; yet her attractions did not retain the affections of her husband. After she had brought him a son and a daughter, he neglected his amiable consort, and attached himself to a favourite mistress.—Such was the situation of Sophia, when Count Konigsmark, a Swedish nobleman, arrived at Hanover. He was a man of a good figure, and professed gallantry; had been formerly enamoured of Sophia at Zell, and was supposed to have made some impression on her heart. On the sight of her, his passion, which had been diminished by absence, broke out with increasing violence; he had the imprudence publicly to renew his attentions; and as George was absent at the army, made his solicitations with redoubled ardour. Information of his attachment, and of his success, was conveyed to Ernest Augustus; and one evening, as the Count came out of her apartment, and was crossing a passage, he was

put to death by persons placed to intercept him, in the presence of the elector; and tradition still marks the spot where the assassination was committed. Sophia was immediately put under arrest; and though she solemnly protested her innocence; yet circumstances spoke strongly against her.—George, who never loved his wife, gave implicit credit to the account of her infidelity, as related by his father; consented to her imprisonment, and obtained from the ecclesiastical consistory a divorce, which was passed on the 28th of December, 1694. And even her father, the Duke of Zell, who boasted on his only daughter, does not seem to have entertained any doubts of her guilt; for he continued upon the strictest terms of friendship with Ernest Augustus, and his son-in-law.—The unfortunate Sophia was confined in the castle of Alden, situated on the small river Aller, in the duchy of Zell. She terminated her miserable existence, after a long captivity of thirty-two years, on the 13th of November, 1780, in the sixty-first year of her age, only seven months before the death of George the First; and she was announced in the Gazette, under the title of the Electress Dowager of Hanover.—During her whole confinement, she behaved with no less mildness than dignity; and on receiving the sacrament once every week, never omitted on that awful occasion, making the most solemn asseverations, that she was not guilty of the crime laid to her charge. Subsequent circumstances have come to light, which appear to justify her memory; and reports are current at Hanover, that her character was basely defamed, and that she fell a sacrifice to the jealousy and perfidy of the Countess of Platen, favourite mistress of Ernest Augustus. Being enamoured of Count Konigsmark, who slighted her overtures, jealousy took possession of her breast: she determined to sacrifice both the lover and the princess to her vengeance, and circumstances favoured her design.—The prince was absent at the army; Ernest Augustus was a man of warm passions and violent temper, easily irritated, and when irritated, incapable of control. Sophia herself had treated Count Konigsmark with regard and attention, and the lover was hot-headed, self-sufficient, priding himself on his personal accomplishments, and accustomed to succeed in affairs of gallantry.—Those who exculpate Sophia, assert either that a common visit was construed into an act of criminality; or that the Countess of Platen,

at a late hour summoned Count Konigsmark in the name of the princess, though without her connivance; that on being introduced, Sophia was surprised at his intrusion; that on quitting the apartment, he was discovered by Ernest Augustus, whom the countess had placed in the gallery, and was instantly assassinated by persons whom she had suborned for that purpose. — It is impossible, at this distance of time, to discover and trace the circumstances of this mysterious transaction, on which no person at the Court of Hanover durst at that time deliver his opinion. But the sudden murder of Count Konigsmark may be urged as a corroboration of this statement: for had his guilt, and that of Sophia been unequivocal, would he not have been arrested and brought to a trial for the purpose of proving their connexion, and confronting him with the unfortunate princess? — Many persons, of credit at Hanover have not scrupled, since the death of Ernest Augustus and George the First, to express their belief that the imputation cast on Sophia was false and unjust. It is also reported, that her husband having made an offer of reconciliation, she gave this noble and disdainful answer of haughty virtue, unconscious of stain: 'If what I am accused of is true, I am unworthy of his bed; and if my accusation is false, he is unworthy of me; and I will not accept his offers.'

REMARKS.

Unfortunate as was the fate of this unhappy princess, it is but doing justice to the memory of George the First—the first prince of the house of Hanover that reigned in these Kingdoms, to state, that he was neither suspected at the time, nor by any circumstances that have since come to light, of being privy to, or in any manner accessory to the plot, of which his consort became the victim. This unfortunate princess had no public to appeal to—no public to overawe and thwart the malice of her enemies; in a word Hanover was not England. It is impossible to contrast the fate of this princess, with that of another amiable princess of our own times, without a just and manly consciousness of the superior weight and authority belonging to public opinion in our country. No person of the court of Hanover durst at that time deliver his opinion. Persons are not wanting who would wish to see the people of this country equally silent—they are accused by what should be as grave, as it is high authority, of having an *appetite for scandal*—this curse of the times! They have

an opportunity of nobly rebutting the imputation, of proving it *as false as hell*! Will the historian of the present times have to record that the discovery of a foul and diabolical conspiracy against the life and honour of a princess, the mother of their future sovereign—the hope of England, made no other impression than furnishing conversation for the tea-table? or will he have to record the zeal with which all ranks came forward to protect the innocent, and confound the guilty? Let every man do his duty, and may princes learn from the example, they have no better security for life and honour than those liberties which the real enemies, but pretended friends of royalty, would teach them to despise and trample upon.

OFFICIAL PAPERS.

NORTHERN WAR.

(Continued from page 608.)

cluded the conclusion of a treaty of peace and alliance with Prussia, the ratifications of which have since been exchanged; also the capture of Berlin, where General Wittgenstein has established his quarters since about the 10th instant. — Since that period His Imperial Majesty has visited the King of Prussia at Breslaw; Hamburg has been occupied by the Russian forces; Lubeck has opened its gates. — The enemy has been entirely driven from Swedish Pomerania, Mecklenbourg, Lauenbourg, and all the Prussian territory within the Elbe. — Detachments of the Russian army have penetrated to Dresden, which capital they now occupy, Marshal Davoust having retreated across the Elbe, and having destroyed some of the arches of the magnificent bridge at that place. — A portion of the Prussian army has passed the Silesian frontier into Lusatia, and is advancing towards Dresden. — Three detachments of the division under General Wittgenstein have by this time crossed the Elbe; one in the centre under Major-General Dornberg, who is moving upon Hanover, with Major-General Tettenborn upon his right in the direction of Bremen, and Major-General Czernicheff upon his left in the direction of Brunswick. — Lord Walpole is the bearer of the present dispatches; his Lordship proceeds by Berlin, and I have no doubt but that he will find it perfectly easy to take his departure from Cuxhaven. — I have already stated that the Prussian army is in the best state of preparation;

nothing can exceed the condition of that part which was assembled at Breslaw on the Emperor's arrival, and it is impossible to exaggerate the enthusiasm which has been exhibited by all ranks of persons throughout the Prussian dominions; or the demonstrations of joy with which the Emperor was received.—The King of Prussia has made an excursion to Berlin, where he was to see General De York.—The inhabitants in Saxony have every where received the Russian forces with expressions of cordiality not inferior to those of the Prussians: the same has occurred in Mecklenbourg.—Your Lordship will see by the printed reports, the manner in which General Tottensborn and his detachment were received at Hamburgh: the same zeal was manifested at Lauenbourg, where, in a moment, the French arms were destroyed.—The Baltic ports, and that of Hamburgh, have been opened by proclamations.—The blockade of Dantzic by land continues, as stated in my last dispatch, but the navigation of the Baltic having opened, Captain Asklen lost no time in detaching some of His Majesty's ships under his command, by which that place is now closely blockaded by sea; those vessels having already captured two ships which attempted to come in with supplies. The sickness with which the French have infected every place they have entered during their retreat, rages in Dantzic, and numbers of the garrison, as well as of the inhabitants, are stated to have perished by it.—Spandau is besieged. The Russian reinforcements continue to arrive upon the frontier, and numbers of convalescents daily join the ranks of their respective regiments.—I have the honour to be, &c.

CATHCART.

Lord Viscount Castlereagh, &c. &c. &c.

FRANCE.

Situation of the French Armies in the North, March 30, 1813.

The garrison of Dantzic dislodged the enemy from all the heights of Oliva, in the beginning of March.—The garrison of Thorn and Modelen were in the best state. The corps which blockaded Zamose had removed to a distance.—Upon the Oder, the fortresses of Stettin, Custrin, and Glogaw, were not besieged. The enemy still kept without cannon shot of them. The garrison of Stettin had burnt all the suburbs, and prepared all the ground round

the fortress.—The garrison of Spandaw had also burned every thing which could operate against the defence of the place.

—Upon the Elbe, on the 17th, an arch of the bridge of Dresden was blown up, and General Durutte had taken a position upon the left bank. The Saxons had marched round Torgaw.—The Viceroy had left Leipzig, and had, on the 21st, his head-quarters at Magdeburg. General Lapoye commanded the bridge and fortress at Wittenberg, which was armed and provisioned for several months, and was given up to him in good condition.—Arrived at Magdeburg, the Viceroy on the 22d instant, sent Gen. Lauriston upon the right bank of the Elbe. Gen. Maison had marched to Mockern, and pushed forward his posts upon Bug and Zuxar: he found only some pulks of light troops, which he overthrew, and of which he took or killed about sixty men.—On the 12th, General Saint Cyr, commanding the 32d military division, judged it advisable to repossess to the left bank of the Elbe, and leave Hamburgh to the National Guards. From the 15th to the 20th, different insurrections broke out in the department of the mouths of the Elbe and the Ems.—General Morand, who occupied Swedish Pomerania, having been informed of the evacuation of Berlin, retreated upon Hamburgh. He passed the Elbe at Zelenpassehe, and on the 17th effected his junction with General Carra St. Cyr. Two hundred of the enemy's light troops having overtaken his rear-guard, he caused them to be charged, and killed some men. General Morand took post upon the left bank, and General St. Cyr marched upon Bremen.—On the 24th, General St. Cyr dispatched two moveable columns; to march against the batteries of Carlsbourg and Bleken, of which some smugglers, assisted by the peasantry, and some English disembarkations, had taken possession. These columns routed the enemy, and retook the batteries. The Chiefs were taken and shot. The English who disembarked were but about an hundred. We were only able to take forty prisoners from them.—The Viceroy had collected all his army, 100,000 strong and 300 pieces of cannon, round Magdeburg; manœuvring upon the two banks. The General of Brigade, Montbrun, who with a brigade of cavalry occupied Stundal, having learned that the enemy had passed the Lower Elbe in boats, near Verden, marched thither on the 28th, dispersed the enemy's light troops, and entered Verden at full gallop. The

4th Polish Lancers made a successful charge, in which they killed about 50 Cossacks and took 12. The enemy hastened to gain the right bank of the Elbe. Three large boats were sunk, and some smaller ones shivered to pieces; they were laden with about 60 horses, and a similar number of men. We succeeded in saving 17 cavaliers, among whom were two officers, one an Aid-de-Camp to General Domsberg, who commanded this column.—It appears that a corps of 1,000 horse, 3,000 infantry, and six pieces of cannon, have marched from the side of Brunswick, to excite a revolt in Hanover and the kingdom of Westphalia. The King of Westphalia has set out in pursuit of this corps, and other columns dispatched by the Viceroy will fall upon its rear.—Fifteen thousand of the enemy's light troops on the 27th passed the Elbe near Dresden, in small boats. General Durnatze marched against them. The Saxons had left this point undefended, by collecting round Torgau.—The Prince of Moskwa, with his head-quarters and corps d'armée, on the 26th arrived at Wurzburg; his advanced guard debouched from the mountains of the Thuringe. The Duke of Ragusa had on the 22d March his head-quarters at Hanau. His divisions were collecting there.—On the 30th March the advanced guard of the Corps of Observation of Italy had arrived at Augsburg. All the corps crossed the Tyrol.—On the 27th, General Vandamme arrived in person at Bremen. Dumoncaur and Dufour's divisions had already passed the Wesel. Independently of the army of the Viceroy, of the armies of the Mein, and of the corps of the King of Westphalia, there will be in the first fifteen days of April near 50,000 men in the 22d military division, in order to make a severe example of the insurrections which have troubled that division. Count Bentinck, Mayor of Varel, had the infamy of putting himself at the head of the insurgents. His estates shall be confiscated, and he will have for his consummate treason, the certain ruin of his family.—During the whole month of March there has been no affair. In all the skirmishes, of which that of the 28th (at Verden) was much the most considerable, the French army has always had the advantage.

Paris, April 4.—On Thursday, April 1, the Senate assembled at three o'clock, under the Presidency of his Serene Highness the Prince, Arch Chancellor of the Empire. In conformity with the orders of his Ma-

jesty the Emperor and King, the Prince Arch Chancellor has caused to be inserted in the Registers of the Senate, the letters patent signed in the Elysian Palace, on the 30th of March last, by which the Emperor confers on her Majesty the Empress and Queen, Maria Louisa, the title of *Regent*.

Speech of His Serene Highness the Prince Arch Chancellor, President of the Senate, in the Sitting of April 1.

Gentlemen,—His Majesty the Emperor and King will put himself at the head of his armies.—The Emperor wishes to give his August Partner a double proof of his confidence.—It is for these motives that he has caused the letters patent to be expedited, which I am charged to communicate to you.—Therefore, Gentlemen, the Empress will assist at the Councils, where the greatest interests of the State will be discussed. She will have the Regency of the Empire until the moment when victory will return the Emperor to our wishes.—His Majesty could not make a disposition more consistent with the public good, nor which would be more agreeable to his people.—The Senate will give their applause to it, and preserve in their records this act of the Sovereign will.—Other objects of high importance ought likewise, Gentlemen, to fix your attention.—A report from the Minister of Foreign Affairs will inform you of the alteration that has taken place in our political relations, by the defection of one of the Northern Powers.—The part she has embraced is a sad consequence of the character which the steps of that Cabinet has taken for a long time past.—This circumstance imposes on the nation the obligation of making a grand effort, the means whereof will be found in the projects which are going to be proposed for your deliberation.—At a moment of such interest, the Senate will perceive of what great importance it is to develop the resources of France; to cause the enemy to feel its full weight; to convince him of the inutility of his projects; and, finally, to reduce him to desire sincerely that peace, which the Emperor's triumphant hand has so frequently offered him, but which would not be worthy of his Majesty, unless it ensured the repose of Europe, and the free commerce of all nations.

The letters patent are conceived in the following terms:—

Napoleon, by the Grace of God, Emperor of the French, King of Italy, Protector of the Confederation of the

Rhine, Mediator of the Helvetic Confederation, &c. &c.

To whomsoever these presents may come, greeting.

Being willing to give to our well beloved spouse, the Empress and Queen, Maria Louisa, some marks of the high confidence that we repose in her, we have resolved to invest her, and we do by these presents accordingly invest her with the right of assisting at the Cabinet Councils whenever such shall be convoked, during our reign, for consideration of the most important affairs of the State, and considering that it is our intention immediately to place ourself at the head of our armies to liberate the territories of our allies, we have likewise resolved to confer, and we accordingly do, by these presents, confer on our well beloved Spouse, the Empress and Queen, the title of Regent, to exercise the functions thereof, in conformity with our orders and instructions, such as we have caused to be inserted in our book of State, intending that information of the said orders and instructions, shall be given to the Princes, Grand Dignitaries, and to our Ministers; and that the Empress shall, in no case whatsoever, depart from their tenor in the exercise of her function as Regent.—We will that the Empress Regent shall, in our name, preside in the Senate, the Council of State, the Council of Ministers, and the Privy Council, especially for the examination of addresses for pardon, on which we authorize her to give sentence after having heard the Members of the Privy Council. But in all cases it is not our intention that, by reason of the Presidency conferred on the Empress Regent, she should either authorize by her signature the presentation of any *Senatus Consultum*, or proclaim any law of the State; in this respect we refer to the orders and instructions above-mentioned.—We direct our Cousin, the Prince Arch-Chancellor of the Empire, to communicate these present letters patent to the Senate, which will cause them to be entered in their registers, and to our Grand Judge, the Minister of Justice, who will cause them to be published in the bulletin of the laws, and send them to our Imperial Courts of Law to be there read, published, and transcribed into their registers.—Given at our Elysian Palace, on the 20th day of March, 1813, and the 9th year of our reign.

(Signed)

NAPOLEON.

By order of the Emperor, the Minister Secretary of State.

(Signed)

COUNT DARU.

Seen by us the Arch-Chancellor of the Empire.

(Signed)

CAMBACERES.

Paris, April 5.—Yesterday, (Sunday, the 4th of April), the Empress received a Deputation from the Senate, composed of thirty Senators, when the President of the Senate presented to her Majesty the following address:—

Madame—His Majesty, on the eve of setting out to command his armies, has confided to your Imperial Majesty and Queen, the Regency of his Empire. He could not have granted to his people a greater consolation in his absence.—The Senate, Madame, experiences a lively satisfaction in thinking it shall see its walls adorned with all the brilliant virtues with which your Majesty embellishes the throne.—It offers you the tribute of its respect and of its devotion. It adds, Madame, that of its inviolable fidelity to the greatest of Monarchs and his dynasty, as the homage the most dear to your Majesty's heart, and the most worthy of the grand daughter of Blanche and Maria Theresa, of the mother of the King of Rome, and of the august spouse of Napoleon.

The Empress replied in these terms:—

The Emperor, my august and well beloved husband, knows what love and affection my heart contains for France. The proofs of devotion which the nation daily gives us, increase the good opinion which I had of the character and grandeur of our nation.—My heart is much oppressed at seeing that happy peace distant which alone can render me content. The Emperor is lively affected at the numerous sacrifices which he is obliged to demand of his people; but since the enemy, in place of giving peace to the world, will impose shameful conditions upon us, and every where preaches civil war, treason, and disobedience, it is necessary the Emperor should have recourse to his always victorious arms, to confound his enemies, and save civilized Europe and its Sovereigns from the anarchy with which they are threatened.—I am truly affected with the sentiments which you express in the name of the Senate.

INTERIOR.

Paris, April 4.

Conservative Senate.—Sitting of April 1st.

The Sitting was opened at three o'clock in the afternoon, under the Presidency of His Serene Highness the Prince Arch-Chancellor of the Empire. His Excellency the

Minister of Foreign Affairs was present at the Sitting.—His Excellency the Duke of Bassano, Minister of Foreign Affairs, communicated the following Report :—

Report of the Minister for Foreign Affairs, to His Majesty the Emperor and King.

Sire—The days of Jena and Friedland had laid the whole of the extent of the Prussian Monarchy at the disposal of your Majesty. Powerful considerations rendered it advisable either to keep the fruits of those victories, or to place on the Throne of Prussia a Prince who would have no interest contrary to that of France—who would have nothing to reclaim from her—and who, above every thing, would not suffer himself to be led away by that versatility which has, for a hundred years past, characterized the policy of the House of Brandenburg.—But the Emperor of Russia offered, at Tilsit, to declare War against England; to concur in shutting the Continent against her commerce, in order to constrain her to wish for Peace, if the King of Prussia was replaced among the rank of Sovereigns.—This perspective operated on your Majesty as a seduction to which you could not resist, you indulged the hopes of seeing the tranquillity of the world re-established, and the commerce of France at length enjoy that splendour to which it is ensured by the richness of our soil and the industry of her people. You sacrificed to such great interests the calculations of suspicious policy, and at your second interview with the Emperor Alexander you consented to receive the King of Prussia, whose presence, instigated by a just resentment, you would have avoided.—It had been formerly the general opinion, that the King of Prussia had been drawn to take part in the war against his own will; your Majesty was pleased to think that the experience he had lately made would for ever put him on his guard against dangerous seductions and dark illusions; in short, your Majesty, to whom generosity is habitual, easily persuaded yourself that that you were going to use would never be forgotten.—The Prussian Monarchy was restored; and the House of Brandenburg continued to reign. Your Majesty ought to have put him from the frontiers of the Rhine, and taken from him the protection of the coasts. You created the Kingdom of Westphalia, and stipulated that Dantzic, Glogau, Custrin, and Stettin should remain in your hands until peace was concluded with England. You wished

that the restoration of those important places should be made an object of compensation in the negotiations with England for our maritime possessions.—The King of Prussia had no right to discuss the gifts which he received from your Majesty's generosity, the importance of which elevated him above his hopes. The contributions of war laid on the Prussian territories were reserved as equitable and necessary indemnities for the expenses of the unjust war which Prussia had kept up.—Your Majesty's armies were not to evacuate the territory ceded to the King of Prussia until after the entire payment of the contributions. Nevertheless, Sire, by the Convention concluded at Berlin on the 5th November, 1808, in consequence of the conferences at Erfurth, your Majesty consented to remit Prussia a part of her debt, and withdraw the French troops from her territory, before the payment had been made.—The alliance of France with Russia appeared to have guaranteed the fidelity of Prussia. Your Majesty wished to rely upon it; but the weakness, habitual indecision, of that Court, might every moment deceive that confidence. The conduct of Prussia during the first years which followed the peace of Tilsit, was guided by sentiments very different from those of gratitude. Far from fulfilling her engagements, she appeared to watch for occasions, and wait opportunities which might permit her to avoid them. In 1809 entire regiments were surrendering to the influence that secret and seditious societies exercised, ranged themselves under the standards of your Majesty's enemies,—a scandal unparalleled in the annals of Government.—In 1811, when a sensible change in the dispositions of Russia gave reason for fearing that war was again about to be kindled in the North, Prussia understood that her fate depended entirely upon her foresight, that if she allowed events to take place, she could no longer be mistress of chusing a part, and that it was requisite to adopt one whilst she was at liberty to make a choice—she requested the favour of your Majesty of being admitted to your alliance.—This question presented itself in its full importance. It appeared prudent and right policy to profit by the grievances which Prussia had given you by the continual incertitude of her conduct; and if war should take place with Russia, to declare it against her at the same time, in order not to leave a dubious power in your rear.—Prussia did not spare her

solicitations and entreaties. The steps which he took at St. Petersburg to endeavour to influence the determinations of Russia whilst it was yet time, bore such a character of frankness, and were so evidently directed with a sense to the interests of France, that it struck your Majesty—you no longer balanced—you again saved Prussia by admitting her to an alliance with you.—When your Majesty went to Dresden, the King came there to meet you, and there by word of mouth reiterated the assurances of an inviolable attachment to the system you had embraced.—

—As soon as your Majesty was become master of events, and that was as soon as it could be effected by genius and courage, Prussia remained faithful, and the Prussian corps did its duty: but when the French army in its turn experienced the chance of war, the Cabinet of Berlin kept no longer any measures. The defection of General De York called the enemy into the states of the King of Prussia, and obliged our armies to evacuate the Vistula and fall back on the Oder. Prussia, to dissimulate her intentions, offered to furnish a new contingent. She had a sufficient number of troops, all formed, and of cavalry in Silesia, and from thence to the Oder, which would then have been so useful in opposing the incursions of the enemy's light troops. But she was resolved not to keep her promises.—The King unexpectedly left Potsdam; he abandoned a residence in which he was covered by the Oder, to throw himself into an open city and go into the enemy's presence.—Scarcely was he arrived at Breslaw, when General Bulow, who commanded some thousands of men on the Lower Oder, when imitating the treason of General De York, he opened his cantonments to the Russian light troops, and facilitated the passage of the Oder to them.—It was under the guidance of newly-enrolled Prussians that these troops came to make little skirmishes at the gates of Berlin. The Prussian Cabinet had thrown off the mask. The King, by three successive ordonances, immediately called to arms all such young men of family as were rich enough to equip and mount themselves; then all the youth, from seventeen to twenty-four years of age; and, lastly, the men above that age. It was an appeal made to the passions which Prussia had felt the necessity of reprimanding, whilst she was desirous of our alliance, and whilst she remained faithful. The Chancellor of State called around him the heads of those Secretaries, who, in their seditious fanaticism,

preach up the overthrow of all social order and the destruction of the throne. Prussian officers were sent with eclat to the Russian head-quarters. Russian agents succeeded to each other at Breslaw. At length, on the 1st March, the Prussian Government consummated by a treaty with Russia what General De York had commenced.—It was on the 17th March at Breslaw, and on the 27th at Paris, that the Ministers of the King of Prussia, officially announced their Master's having made common cause with the enemy.—Thus Prussia declared war against your Majesty in return for the treaty of Tilsit, which replaced the King on the throne, and for the treaty of Paris, which admitted him to an alliance.—I add to this Report, the pieces presented to your Majesty when Prussia solicited your alliance, with an extract of the letters of M. the Count de Saint Marian, on the same subject. (Under letter A.)—The treaty and conventions concluded at Paris for establishing the alliance. (Under letter B.)—The convention concluded by General De York with the Russians, and his proclamations. (Under letter C.)—The papers relative to the dispositions made by Prussia, on the subject of the defection of General De York. (Under letter D.)—The papers relative to the mission of General Hatzfeldt at Paris. (Under letter E.)—The Extract of a Report on the connivance of General Bulow with the enemy. (Under letter F.)—The three Edicts for the extraordinary levies. (Under letter G.)—The King's Ordonance, which acquits and recompenses General De York. (Under letter H.)—And, finally, the Notes by which the Prussian Government has accepted, notified to your Majesty's Ministers, that they have violated the alliance, and declared war. (Under letter I.)—I am, with the most profound respect, your Majesty's most humble and most obedient servant and faithful subject,

(Signed) The Duke of Bassano.

CONSERVATIVE SENATE.

After the Report being read, the Counsellors of State presented two projects of a *Senatus Consultum*, and Count Defermon explained the first, in the manner following:

My Lord and Senators,—You have just heard the communications which his Majesty has ordered to be made to you; existing circumstances render an augmentation of our military force indispensable; it is the object of the *Senatus Consultum* which we are charged to present to you.—If we must regret the defection of our Ally, it is

better to see him openly in the enemy's ranks, than be exposed to his daily treacheries. The disposable force of Prussia is not such, but that the Empire may make her repent of again having entered into a contest with her; but you know, Gentlemen, that if we wish for peace, it must be obtained by successes, that will guarantee its durability; and to obtain that object, it is much better immediately to employ great means, rather than gradually exhaust overtures in feeble efforts.—The first title of the project puts 180,000 men at the disposal of the Minister at War, to be added to the active armies.—Ninety thousand men taken of the Conscription of 1814, whose levy has already been authorized, will only find a change in their destination.—Ninety thousand men are to be levied agreeably to the disposition of Title II. and III. of the Project.—The defection of Prussia may augment our enemy's forces with eighty or one hundred thousand men, and it is, therefore, right and advisable to increase the army of the Empire in the same proportion.—Title III. creates four regiments of Horse Guards of Honour, in the whole to complete 10,000 men.—The departments have demanded the formation of companies of Body Guard. This institution, necessary to the throne, can only be progressively realized.

The officers are only to be taken from the first ranks in the army, and their presence in the corps they command is now necessary. If they were taken from less elevated ranks, they would fail of the intended end, and be contrary to the institution, because there would not be placed at their head those who are to be especially responsible for the safety of the Emperor and his family; men who are clothed with the first dignities in the army and in the State.—The body guard is otherwise not needful for the present moment; the gen's d'armes, the troops of the garrison, and five or six thousand men of the Imperial Guard, both of horse and foot, which are now at Paris, and are composed of old soldiers, not so able to go to war, and young men, commanded by Officers d'Elite, guarantee the maintenance of good order in the capital.—It is nevertheless useful to proceed to the formation of these companies of Body Guards,

and to strengthen the army, with men, still in the flower of their age, whose profession is arms, and who are languishing out of employment.—It is even necessary to open a career for young people who are fitted for it, by the education they have received, to become soldiers; but who having attained their 24th or 25th years, consider themselves as being then too old to run the chance of a slow promotion in the military career.

It is with this view that we have conceived the dispositions of Title II.—The men called to compose the 4th regiments shall cloth, equip, and mount themselves at their own expense, but they have the certainty of obtaining the Brevet of Officers, after a campaign of twelve months; and they shall be capable of admission into the formation of the four companies of body guards, if they shall be promoted thereto when the campaign is finished; they may even be employed in detachments of three or four hundred men, to assist in the service of the Empress, or that of the King of Rome.—These regiments shall receive the pay of horse chasseurs in the Imperial Guards.—In fine, the Members of the Legion of Honour, or their sons, if they have not a sufficient fortune to do it themselves, may be equipped and mounted at the charge of the Legion. These united advantages will no doubt lead the children of the Members of the Electoral Colleges of the Department, and Circles of the Municipal Councils, the sons of the most respectable people in the departments and the communes, and in short of all those who are depositaries of the public authority, to inscribe themselves in these regiments; and there will be no excuse left for those idle young people who complain of having no employment open for them, and who too often give cause for reprimanding their excesses.

—Title III. makes a call for 80,000 men of the first Bans, as well for recruiting the army, as for forming an army of reserve; but from which are excepted such men as were married before the publication of the *Senatus Consultum*.—This call will give soldiers of the age of from twenty-one to twenty-six years, and consequently men in the full vigour, and capable of entering into

(*To be continued.*)

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

MR. ALDERMAN WOOD and the CELEBRATED COMMISSION.—I dare say that Mr. Wood, when he brought forward the Address in the Common Hall, was not weak enough to imagine, that he should escape the shafts of party malice. He, who has had some experience in such matters, must have laid his account with receiving a due portion of the venom of the hireling prints on both sides.—His conduct was well worthy of their resentment, and, accordingly, they have both attacked him with great fury. The attacks of the ministerial prints I will not particularly notice; but, there is one article in the *Whig organ*, the *Morning Chronicle*, that I cannot let pass, it being at once so artful and so malignant. The faction, from whom it proceeds, is become so very low in the public estimation; it is fallen so far beneath the serious notice of the ministry, that it is now become what the Jews and Genoese are in Gibraltar, who, by their malice, by the injuries which they slyly do to the Christians, seek a compensation for the insults which they want the spirit openly to resent.—Such is the state of that towering faction formerly called the *Talents*, and of which faction the *Morning Chronicle* is the mouth-piece.—This circumstance will, alone, account for the following jew-like article, published in that paper on the 26th of April.—I will insert it entire, so that the author shall not have to complain of mutilation. The occasion, to which the writer refers, I shall more fully have to notice by-and-by. At present, we will first take the article as it lies before us, and then see, in a short commentary, what stuff it is made of.—“The moderate part of the public must have read with no little surprise the language of some of the most zealous advocates for the Princess of Wales, who, not content with vindicating Her Royal Highness from the aspersions thrown out against her since her acquittal, go out of their way to abuse the first Inquiry itself, by which she was justified. In doing this they do not

“scruple to misrepresent the history, though so recent in the memory of their hearers. Thus Mr. Alderman Wood, in addressing the Borough Meeting, said that *important documents had been withheld from the knowledge of His Majesty in 1806*, for he was sure, that if the affidavits of Mr. Edmeades and Mr. Mills had been submitted to him, he would not have issued the Warrant to the Four Commissioners for the Inquiry. Now every reader of a newspaper knows, that when the warrant was issued in May, 1806, *those affidavits were not in existence*;—they were produced by the Princess in her Defence. So much for the accuracy of the patriotic Alderman! —“But the tribunal,” it seems, “was *unconstitutional*.” Indeed! Does not this intelligent Magistrate know that it is an essential part of the duty of the Privy Council to institute an inquiry into every charge of high treason that shall come before them, and that it is right of their office they are qualified Magistrates for that purpose? That they are bound to examine on oath, and that, like the Grand Jury, they may either send the parties to trial, or declare that there is no ground for trial?—The tribunal, therefore, was clearly constitutional, since the main charge amounted to high treason.—“Aye, but the Commissioners *went beyond the main charge*.” They could not avoid it. For the purpose of inquiring into the main charge there was no necessity for a Special Warrant; it was their official duty to inquire into it as soon as it came to their knowledge. But the public know that all the declarations made by Bidgood, Cole, and Fanny Lloyd, as well as that of Lady Douglas, were submitted to His Majesty, and it was on account of the *minor circumstances* contained in those declarations that the King thought fit, as Father of the Royal Family, specially to enjoin four of his confidential servants to inquire into the truth of these allegations, and to report to him upon the whole. The four Commissioners had, therefore, a Warrant

“to authorize them to go into all the particulars, and they could not avoid the painful and delicate duty.—In the discharge of that duty, we are persuaded that all those who have taken the pains, as we have done, to examine their proceedings with accuracy, must acknowledge that they were governed by the most generous candour, and that they acquitted themselves with the clearest conscience—the proof of which was made manifest by the result—for it turned out that they satisfied no one of the parties that were concerned.”—While it is before me, I cannot help remarking upon this closing position; namely, that it is manifestly PROVED, that the Four Lords acquitted themselves with the clearest conscience, by this fact: “that they satisfied no one of the parties that were concerned.”—I wonder where Mr. Perry found the maxim on which this assertion is founded.—Now, mind, I do not say, that the Four Lords did not obey the dictates of their conscience in drawing up the Report of the 14th of July, 1806; and, I am aware, that one of them has asserted, that insinuations to the contrary are “as false as Hell;” but, what I say is this: that Mr. Perry’s PROOF is not worth much; for, that it is possible for a judge or jury to give satisfaction to none of the parties, and yet to act with great and notorious injustice. What does Mr. Perry think, for instance, of the conduct of the Monkey in the litigated case between the two cats? The judge, in that memorable case, could certainly give satisfaction to neither of the litigants, and yet it will hardly be contended, that, in swallowing the whole of the disputed property, he acquitted himself with the clearest conscience.—How often does it happen, that injustice is done to a weak party at the suit of a strong party, and yet to see the latter dissatisfied? I have known a soldier receive a hundred or two of lashes upon the complaint of one who was dissatisfied that he did not get double the number; and yet, it was evident to me, that the man ought not to have been punished at all, and that what was given was given to please the complainant.—So far from Mr. Perry’s maxim being generally true, it appears to me to be, in cases of accusation for serious offences, generally false.—At any rate, that which he cites as PROOF of the clear conscience of the Four Lords, is no proof at all. Their consciences might, for aught I know to the contrary, have been very clear indeed; but he

has produced no proof of it; and, I cannot help thinking, that his sitting so weak a presumption is calculated to do the character of their Lordships no good. It seems as if he was *hard pushed*, which has always a sorry look for the client in whose favour the advocate is arguing.—Now for the charge against Mr. Wood, who is here called “the patriotic Alderman,” and from what sort of feeling the reader will easily judge.—The writer of the article says, that Mr. Wood, at the Borough Meeting, said, “that important documents had been withheld from His Majesty, in 1806; for that he was sure, that, if the affidavits of Messrs. Edmeades and Mills had been submitted to him, he would not have issued the warrant to the Four Lords for the Inquiry.”—For having said this, Mr. Wood is accused of *misrepresentation*.—I will not say that the accusation is “as false as hell;” but, I do say, that substantially it is false.—The fact, the very important fact, to which Mr. Wood referred, was this: The Warrant was issued upon certain *written declarations*, laid before the King. Amongst these written declarations was that of *Fanny Lloyd*. Fanny Lloyd stated, in her declaration, that Dr. Mills had observed to her, that the Princess was with child, in 1802. Dr. Mills was called before Lord Moira, and he declared that what Fanny Lloyd had said was an *infamous falsehood*; for that he never had said so, nor thought so, and that such an idea had never come into his mind. Dr. Edmeades, his partner, said the same thing.—And, observe, these Gentlemen were examined *before* Fanny Lloyd’s declaration was laid before the King, and the declarations of these Gentlemen were NOT laid before the King.—If the declarations of these Doctors had been laid before the King, would he have been in haste to issue the warrant? Would he not have seen enough to make him hesitate?—And was not Mr. Wood’s assertion substantially correct? The affidavits, indeed, of Drs. Edmeades and Mills were not made till *after* the warrant was issued; but, their declarations of the falsehood of Fanny Lloyd’s declaration was made *before* the warrant was issued; and it was issued without the King being informed of the counter-declarations of the two Doctors. Change, then, the words “documents and affidavits,” in Mr. Wood’s speech, into the word “declarations,” and he is correct to the very letter: as his speech now stands, it is perfectly correct as to the spirit and to

the obvious effect. —The next accusation against Mr. Wood, is, that he called the Commission “an *unconstitutional tribunal*,” and hereupon the Chronicle, in calling him an “*intelligent magistrate*,” asks him, if he does not know, that it is “an essential part of the duty of the Privy Council to institute an inquiry into every charge of High Treason that shall come before them; and that, *in right of their Office*, they are *qualified magistrates* for that purpose. The tribunal, therefore, was clearly *constitutional*, since the main charge amounted to *high treason*.” —

Reader, what is Mr. Perry at here? He is no sot, and, therefore, one wonders that he should, while he was contradicting Mr. Wood, take such pains to show that Mr. Wood was right! —It really is surprising to hear any thing so void of sense from such a quarter. —Why, yes, Mr. Perry, the Alderman *does* know, that it is an essential part of the duty of the *Privy Council* to institute an inquiry into every charge of High Treason; he *does* know this, and, therefore, he naturally can see no reason why the *Privy Council* did not institute such inquiry, and why the King was advised to issue a warrant to four Privy Councillors, which, as to this case, *took from them the capacity of Privy Councillors*, and it is for you to tell Mr. Wood *why* this was done.

—Yes, yes, Mr. Perry; Mr. Wood *does* know, “indeed” he *does*, that Privy Councillors are, *in right of their office*, qualified *magistrates* for that purpose: he *does* know this, and, therefore, it is that he wonders why a warrant, making the four Lords something *other* than Privy Councillors, was thought *necessary* upon this particular occasion; and he *regrets* it, because, as it appears, if it had not been for this warrant, the parties, who might swear falsely before the four Lords, would have been liable to prosecution for perjury; whereas, the effect of the warrant was to *deprive the Four Lords, as to this particular case, of that very capacity which would have made it perjury to take a false oath before them*. —

And now, Mr. Perry, it remains for you, the advocate of the Whig ministry, to show *why* the warrant was issued; to show *why* the Privy Council did not perform that which you say was “an essential part of its *‘duty’*,” to show *why* (as Privy Councillors are, *in right of their office*, qualified *magistrates* for such a purpose) the Privy Council did not act in right of office upon this particular occasion; to show *why*, in short, any special warrant was issued to

men, who were duly qualified for the purpose by the well-known laws of the land.

—You attempt it thus:—You say, that, as to the charge of *High Treason*, there was, indeed, *no necessity* for the warrant; but, that the warrant was necessary in order to enable the Four Lords to go into the MINOR *‘circumstances’* contained in the Declarations against the Princess. —“*In deed!*” For, I think, we may have our exclamations as well as you. —Indeed! So, then, according to your ideas upon the subject, it was necessary, when a charge of High Treason was preferred against the Princess, to strip Four of the Privy Council of their official character, to take from them the qualification of magistrates for the time being, in order that they might, *along with the charge of High Treason*, inquire into certain *minor circumstances!* —Indeed, Mr. Perry! —Now, it appears to me; that there was not, and could not be, any necessity at all for this. For, the charge of High Treason might have been first inquired into by the Privy Council; by that body, or any portion of that body, whose essential duty it was so to inquire, and who, in virtue of their office, were qualified magistrates for that purpose. And, afterwards, if it had appeared necessary to the King, he might have *commissioned* any of his servants to inquire into the *minor circumstances*. —If this had been the advice given to the King, we should have never heard of the petition of Sir John and Lady Douglas. They would have had no need to pray to be put into a situation to answer to a charge of perjury. And, it is for you, Mr. Perry, to show, *why* your friends, the Whigs, did not give the King such advice; it is for you, Mr. Perry, to show *why* the charge of High Treason was mixed up together along with the stories about Mr. *Lawrence* and Mr. *Canning*, and along with the insinuations relating to Bidgood’s basons and towels; it is for you to show *why* the charge of *High Treason* and the charge of *flirting* were messed up in one dish; it is for you to show the *necessity* of this; and this you must show before you will have proved yourself an useful advocate. —As to what you say about the “*generous candour*” of the Four Lords upon the memorable occasion referred to, you may, for aught I can assert, be very sincere; nor is it a point which I feel at all disposed to dispute with you; but, Mr. Perry, for there to be much of manliness in your praises, they must be bestowed where you are not well assured that *no one*

will venture to contradict you. The objects of your praise, in this case, may or may not merit it, in the opinions of different persons; but you can have no merit in uttering that praise; because you know, that, in print, it will bring you no antagonist.

—Assertions, in such cases, have no weight with people of sense. You should have *proved*, that the Four Lords were governed by the most “generous candour” towards the Princess, a very fair opportunity for doing which is offered you in an answer, *which yet remains due*, to the Defence of Her Royal Highness, contained in her Letters of the 2d of Oct. 1806, and 16th Feb. 1807.—And here, by way of conclusion to this commentary, I think it perfectly fair to observe, that the Morning Chronicle, which inserted all the matter *against* the Princess of Wales, HAS NEVER INSERTED HER DEFENCE up to this hour. Call you this fair play, Mr. Perry? Call you this “Generous Candour?” The truth is, that that Defence does most powerfully attack the *Whig ministry*; and to that I ascribe its being omitted. There was a sort of garbled summary of it published in the Morning Chronicle; but none of those parts reflecting on the Whig ministry were inserted. Thus it is that faction prevails over justice, and particularly with those exploded and degraded politicians, the Whigs, who are involved in such a labyrinth of inconsistencies and follies, that they really seem, at last, not to know when to open and when to shut their mouths.—They are the outcast of the day. Nobody but their own expectants opens a lip for them; and, what deprives them of all pity, is, they show as much empty pride as at any former period.

LONDON COMMON COUNCIL ADDRESS.

—COMMON HALL REPORT.—In another part of this sheet I have inserted the Report of the proceedings in the Common Council on the 22d of April, and of the Common Hall on the 23d of April.—I have also inserted, in the same place, an account of the proceedings in the Borough of Southwark, and in the City of Rochester, and also an Address of a Meeting of the Freemen of the City of Bristol.—Indeed, I must now limit my publications upon this subject to the mere insertion of the Address, Resolutions, &c. seeing that so many other matters of importance are pressing forward and demanding notice.—There have, however, some things passed in the City of London, which re-

quire to be taken particular notice of without delay.—In the *Common Council* the Address was brought forward by Mr. WAITHMAN, and seconded by Mr. FAVELL. Nothing very particular passed; as the reader will see, except what arose from an amendment, proposed by a Mr. JACKS. After the word “*conspiracy*,” this gentleman proposed to add these words: “entered into by persons admitted to her *society and confidence*, and abusing it to the destruction of her life and honour.”

—As the reason for this proposition, Mr. Jacks is reported to have said, that, “while justice was done to the Princess, *injustice* should, he thought, not be done to the Prince; and, that there was no evidence that could induce any one to suppose, that he was at the bottom of the conspiracy, whatever persons might choose to surmise.”—Now, really, this does appear to me to have been as awkward an attempt as I ever witnessed in my life.—Pray, Mr. JACKS, who had said, or who had insinuated, that the Prince was at the bottom of the conspiracy? I have seen no such expression or insinuation in any Address, Resolution, or Paragraph. Nothing, at any rate, has appeared in print of this sort; and, it was for your exuberant loyalty to tell the world, that there were persons who might surmise such a thing!—Never (and I have said it a thousand times) was there a man so cursed with friends as the Prince of Wales has been, and as he appears yet to be.—To suppose the Prince to be capable of hatching, or abetting, so foul and detestable a conspiracy against the life and honour of any woman, and especially against his own wife, the mother of his only child, a defenceless foreigner; to suppose this is to suppose him to be all that is *treacherous, cruel, and cowardly*; it is to suppose him to be a disgrace to the human form; it is, of course, to degrade the royal authority in his hands, and to prepare beforehand an apology for any act, however disloyal or treasonable, that might be committed or meditated against him.—Do I go too far here? I am sure I do not; and, therefore, I must reprobate the motion, and more especially the speech of Mr. JACKS, who, whatever he might have heard from disloyal men in private; whatever malignant surmises he might have heard round his fire-side, might, surely, have stopped till he heard them in public, before he gave mischievous exposure to them by the means of such a motion and such a speech.—

Nor has Mr. JACKS at all mended the matter by a letter, published the following day in the *COURIER* news-paper, in the following words:—"Sir,—Observing that 'few of the Morning Papers have given any of the reasons which I assigned yesterday, in the Court of Common Council, for addressing it a second time (following Mr. Waithman), and none have inserted the principal one, I beg leave to send you shortly, as nearly as I recollect, what I said—I stated, 'that I never would submit quietly to have motives attributed to me which I did not avow; that my opinion on the utility of addressing the Princess of Wales was unchanged, but for the sake of unanimity I should not oppose the motion; that I should persevere in my amendment if I stood alone, from having overheard during its being read to the Court, many Members loudly clamouring against its adoption, because it went to excuse the Prince; that from having read *'The Book'* with much attention, I was not able to see any evidence whatever to implicate him in the conspiracy; and I was, therefore, the more strongly impressed with the conviction, that the great object of the addresses was to drag the first Magistrate of the country into the dirt.'—The words of my amendment were as follow:—After the word 'conspiracy,' entered into by persons admitted to her society and confidence, by basely abusing it, to the destruction of Her Royal Highness's life and honour.'—I am, Sir, your most humble servant, J. JACKS.—*White Lion-court, Cornhill, April 23, 1813.*"—Now, supposing him to have heard the expressions here imputed to some members of the Court; supposing him to have overheard some of them say that they would oppose it, "*because it went to excuse the Prince;*" I do not, however, believe the fact, I disbelieve, wholly disbelieve this statement of Mr. JACKS; but, if, for argument's sake, we suppose it to be true, whose is the blame? Why, his, to be sure, who was the first to start the idea. From such friends the Prince ought most earnestly to pray for preservation.—Mr. JACKS is the first man, the very first man, who has dared to refer to the Prince in the nefarious transaction. What could the worst enemy of the Prince have done worse than this? Who has given publicity to such an idea against him? His old friends, the Whigs, have, indeed, since he turned his

back upon them, libelled him at a pretty round rate; but, even the malice of a disappointed faction, thrust back from the very threshold of the Treasury, falls short of the ingenuity of the loyal Mr. JACKS, whose motion the Common Council rejected by a vast majority.—The Princess's natural desire to hear her innocence proclaimed by the people has been amply gratified; she has also heard her well-known accusers loaded with just reprobation; and, if one could suppose her (which I do not) to entertain any vindictive sentiment towards her august spouse, even that feeling might be gratified by the result of this proceeding of the meddling Mr. JACKS. Once more, I say, no man ever had such friends as the Prince of Wales.—Praise of the conduct of the Princess; expressions of abhorrence of her perjured and suborned traducers; vows of attachment to her: such were the topics of the Addresses of the City of London; and, yet, in these addresses, Mr. JACKS, as he tells us under his hand, could discover nothing but a desire "*to drag the Chief Magistrate into the dirt,*" though that "*Chief Magistrate's*" name was not once mentioned either in the Addresses themselves, or in any of the speeches of those who brought them forward or supported them. Why, then, I do and must say, that, under the guise of loyalty, Mr. JACKS has made a most daring attempt to vilify the character of His Royal Highness the Prince.—It is, I think, high time for His Royal Highness to reflect upon the consequences of such conduct on the part of those who call themselves his friends; those who call themselves *loyal men*, to the exclusion of all others.—Here are the words told by Mr. JACKS, that he found that the Addresses of the people to the Princess were, in reality, meant as *so many attacks upon the Prince;* and that, even in the Common Council of London, in the Corporation of the first City in the kingdom, having proposed certain words, with a view of clearing the Prince from all share in the conspiracy against his own wife's life and honour, *the said words were rejected!* What a thing is this to proclaim to the world! And this proclamation is made, not by us Jacobins, but by a man, who is everlastingly boasting of his attachment to the throne and to the Royal Family.—So, then (for I cannot help coming back to the charge), the processions to Kensington Palace and Montague House, accompanied by hundreds of thousands of

people; the shouts that rended the air, and that almost stunned the population for miles around; these, according to the *legal* Mr. JACKS, are not to be looked upon as testimonials of the Princess's *innocence*, so much as testimonials of the *guilt* of the Prince! And this is what Mr. JACKS calls *loyalty*, is it! This is the way in which *he* shows his *friendship* to the representative of the King? Mine is a very different way. I say not a word about the Prince; *my* loyalty forbids me to mix the name of His Royal Highness with that of the parties concerned in the transaction; *my* loyalty tells me that I ought to confine myself to a defence of the injured wife; but, indeed (and that is quite enough to say of it), *my* loyalty is just the opposite of that of Mr. JACKS.—Now for the Report at the *Common Hall*.—When a *Common Hall* has been held and has agreed upon an Address, after that Address has been carried up, it is usual for the Hall to meet again, in order to receive the *report* of those who have carried it up.—The *Common Hall* met for this purpose on the 23d of April. What passed there as to the conduct of the Lord Mayor I shall not particularly notice. An account of it will be found in the Report of the day's proceedings, which I insert below, and which I must beg the reader to peruse with attention, as being of considerable importance.—But, I think myself called upon to notice, in a very particular manner, a fact which was brought to light respecting the *non-insertion of the Address of the Common Hall and the Princess's Answer, in the London Gazette*. This is one of the most interesting and most important facts appertaining to the history of this affair; and, therefore, I shall endeavour to make it very clearly understood to the whole circle of my readers, abroad as well as at home.—The LONDON GAZETTE is an official publication of the Government; it is published under the immediate authority of the Government; the WRITER of the Gazette is an Officer of the Government. This publication contains all Proclamations; Orders of Council; Orders of the Lord Chamberlain; and, generally, all documents, issued by the Government. Amongst other things it contains Addresses to the Throne and to the Royal Family from Corporate Bodies, Counties, &c.—The Addresses to the Prince upon the killing of Perceval, for instance, were inserted in the Gazette; the Addresses to the King upon his escape from the pen-knife of poor

old crazy Peg Nicholson were inserted in the Gazette; the Addresses to the Prince upon his becoming Regent were inserted in the Gazette; and, “to come to close quarters,” as Lord Milton would call it, the Addresses to the Prince, as well as those to the Princess, upon their *marriage*, and upon the *birth of their child*, were all inserted in this same official receptacle of the loyal effusions of His Majesty's subjects, as the sure and certain channel to posterity.—Well, then, now let us hear what passed at the *Common Hall* of the City of London on the 23d of April, upon the report of the fate of the loyal and affectionate Address to the Princess of Wales; the long-calumniated, the injured, the outraged Princess of Wales.—“The Report of the proceedings was then read, when, in addition to what has appeared in the public papers, it was stated that Mr. Tyrrel, the City Remembrancer, had sent the Address and the Answer of the Princess to the Gazette writer, to be inserted, as was the custom, in such cases, and not observing them in the next Gazette, had written to Mr. Rawlinson, the writer to the Gazette, to inquire the reason of their not appearing. Mr. Rawlinson returned an answer, that it was not the custom to insert any Address in the Gazette which was not transmitted to him by the Principal Secretary of State for the Home Department. In consequence of this, the Remembrancer communicated by letter the circumstance to Lord Sidmouth, and enclosed a copy of the documents in question for insertion. Lord Sidmouth, in his reply, acquainted the Remembrancer, that he had not thought proper, in the discretionary exercise of the duty of his office, to insert the Address and Answer in question in the London Gazette.”—The following has been published in all the London newspapers, as a copy of Lord Sidmouth's letter to the City Remembrancer upon this memorable occasion.

Whitehall, April 7, 1813.

“Sir,—I have just received your letter of this day's date, enclosing a copy of an Address from the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Livery of London, to Her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, with a copy of Her Royal Highness's Answer thereto, and desiring that I will order the same to be inserted in the London Gazette: in reply, I have to acquaint you, that in the exercise of the discretion which belongs to my official

"situation, I do not think it proper to
 "cause the Address and Answer above-
 "mentioned to be inserted in the London
 "Gazette. I am, Sir, your most obedient
 "humble servant, SIDMOUTH.
 "To the City Remembrancer."

For the information of persons at a distance, it may not be amiss to state, that the personage, who here signs his name "SIDMOUTH," is the same, who was once called Mr. HARRY ADDINGTON. He is the son of a celebrated *Doctor* of that name; was, what is called, bred to the bar; became, during Pitt's time, Speaker of the House of Commons; was made Prime Minister when Pitt was turned out in 1801; was himself supplanted by Pitt in 1804; joined Mr. Fox, and was in place again in 1806 and 1807; was ousted with the Talents in 1807; and came in as Secretary of State for the Home Department at the death of Perceval in 1812. He has a house in *Richmond Park*, and was made a Viscount in 1804, by the title of Viscount Sidmouth. —Such is a short account of what the world knows of the personage, whose *discretion* has been exercised upon this occasion. —It is pity, that his Lordship did not think it worth while to give the City Remembrancer any *reasons* for the refusal. Since he did not think proper to do it, I shall not attempt to discover any, or, at least, to point out such as I think he is likely to have been influenced by. The reader will, perhaps, have very little difficulty in guessing what those reasons were. —However, his Lordship's *discretion* having been his guide, others are free, I hope, to use *their discretion* as to publications under *their control*. I shall, upon this principle, use my discretion; and I hereby request you, Mr. M'CREERY, my printer, to insert the Address of the Common Hall to the Princess of Wales, together with the Answer of Her Royal Highness, in the front page of my Register, once every month, until the 7th day of April, 1814, which will be just one whole year from the date of Lord Viscount Sidmouth's Letter to the City Remembrancer; and for so doing this shall be your warrant and authority. —Given at Botley, this 27th day of April, 1813.

WM. COBBETT.

P.S. Want of time prevents me from offering some remarks upon a publication in a Liverpool paper, respecting the trial of Mr. GREEVEY for a *Libel*. It is a subject of great importance, and ought not to be

slurred over. —The many rumours of Napoleon's *Death* do not seem to have quite killed him. But, it is confidently believed *in the country*, that he is really dead at last. There may be danger in pushing such rumours too far; for, the people may take it into their heads, that Napoleon being dead, *taxes ought to be diminished*. It will be best, therefore, not to spread reports of his *death*; but of his being dangerously ill; of his being in despair; of his carrying ropes and rat's-bane about in his pockets; of his being mad; of his being haunted in his sleep by the apparition of the *Cossack*; and the like. —In my next I will pay attention to the subject of the American Frigates being manned by *our seamen*.

PRICE OF BEER.

SIR. —The just remarks contained in your Number of the 23d Jan. pages 102 to 107—on the late necessary advance in the price of porter, encourage me to offer a few observations on the subject. And this, chiefly, with the view to draw attention to the actual and heavy duties paid by the common brewers, and which are but little known, and still less thought of by the public in general. At the time of the Peace of Amiens, the whole amount of the duty on malt was 10s. 6d. per *quarter*, and on porter and ale 6s. 4d. and on small beer 1s. per *barrel* of 36 gallons. The present duty on malt is 34s. 8d. per quarter, on porter and ale 10s. and on small beer 2s. per barrel. Hence the beer duty is increased more than 50 per cent. and the malt duty more than 200 per cent. since January 1802. The progressive increase in the price of barley, since that time, is too well known to every one to need remarking on; and the contingent expenses of every kind attending the brewery (*exclusive* of malt, hops, and duties) are fully *double*. This accumulation of burdens, together with the obstinate, unreasonable, and *ill-judged* averseness of the consumers to submit to a small advance in the retail price of the beer, has compelled the brewers to draw three barrels, or in some cases more, from each quarter of malt, of late years, instead of two barrels, with small afterwards, as formerly. Hence, the beer duty amounts to as much as the malt duty, on each eight bushels of the latter, and, consequently, the "*brewer is taxed twice as much for the same quantity of malt,*" as the householder who brews at home.

Which, when duly considered, points out a most cruel partiality in taxation, inasmuch as the *poor* man, who has not the means, because he does not possess the necessary utensils, to brew, if he drinks beer, must buy it of the brewer or the publican, and, thus, he pays *twice as much* tax for the same quantity as his wealthy master, the landed gentleman, or the splendid nobleman.

There is an obvious and fair remedy for this hardship, which however it is not necessary to describe here, and I am desirous to avoid too much intrusion on your useful paper. The necessity to which the brewers have been driven to make the beer so much weaker, has the effect to lessen the general repute of the whole trade in the estimation of the public, and even to excite the reproaches of many. How severely unjust this is may be submitted to the candid and intelligent part of the community. Every considerate mind must perceive that there is no other alternative in the case, than an advance in the retail price of the beer, or submitting to the use of a liquor more deserving the appellation of table beer than any better description.—I am, Sir, yours respectfully,

X. Y. Z.

ADDRESSES, &c.

Relating to the Princess of Wales.

London.—COMMON COUNCIL, *Thursday, April 22.*

A Special Court of Common Council was held yesterday. The requisition being read—

Mr. WAITHMAN began by saying, that in bringing forward his Address, very little need be said. He was one who felt it his duty, on all occasions, to uphold the character of the Livery, and the Corporation of London; and therefore, though he concurred in every sentiment expressed in the Address of the Livery, he had thought the Corporation of London the fittest body to interfere on such an occasion. It was not that he thought the subject an unfit one for the Livery to discuss; it was one of vital importance to the state, and therefore highly proper for their consideration: but he thought as the Corporation, and not the Livery, had addressed her Royal Highness on her arrival and on other occasions, the Corporation was more particularly called upon on this occasion. These had been his sentiments, and these his only motives.

He could have wished that an earlier day had been fixed for the present Meeting; but the delay had this advantage, that whatever they did would appear the result of cool and deliberate consideration. It was hardly necessary to say a word on the subject of the Address: if it had been a question which could excite any dispute, he would not have brought it forward. He knew that it had been in the contemplation of some worthy members of the Corporation to have agitated this matter some time ago; but before the documents which had now appeared were generally known, whatever sympathy might have been felt and expressed for the unmerited sufferings of the illustrious Princess, yet the decision of the Council would not have that weight which it must carry, now that it was supported by proof. The public were now in the possession of the whole,—they had seen her sufferings,—they knew her innocence,—they had witnessed her patience, forbearance, and dignity; and it was a great consolation to see that the country expressed an unanimous and unequivocal feeling as to the purity of her Royal Highness's character. If the case had been that of a private individual, such persecution, and such conduct under it, would have excited universal sympathy; how much more, then, when it was the case of so high a personage, and its consequences were connected with the peace and tranquillity of the realm, and its tendency might have been to involve the nation in civil war? it was, therefore, a question particularly demanding attention. There would be nothing in the Address but what, he hoped, would meet the approbation of every Member of that Assembly: he trusted there would be no opposition to it. He then moved, first, "That a loyal and dutiful Address be presented to Her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, to congratulate her on her signal triumph over a foul and atrocious conspiracy against her life and honour."

Mr. FAVELL said, the question was one of great interest, and had been met with honour and spirit by the people. They had shewn that they were not untouched by what affected the dignity of Royalty. He was happy to say that some of the Royal Family followed the illustrious example of their Royal Father, by assisting to disseminate religious instruction, and by plans of benevolence and charity. This was the more important, because it was well known that in the French Revolution the profligacy of the French Princes had

led to their ruin. If the people should once hold their Governors in contempt, the Constitution would be in danger. But the conduct of the people during the present business, had manifested that they did not wish to degrade Royalty. He confessed, that when the question was first brought forward, he had thought it better to be quiet: he thought, that if public meetings were assembled, while the matter was yet before Parliament, it would appear like a design to shelter the Princess with their protection. Now, however, there was but one voice as to the innocence of the Princess.

MR. GRIFFITHS hoped the present Address would be as unanimous as that passed on the marriage of her Royal Highness. He said he had had it in contemplation, to pay the respects of the Court to the husband as well as the wife (*a laugh*), as it might be awkward to address one and not the other. He was sorry this Court had not taken the precedence of the Livery.

MR. JACKS said, he was one of those who had thought at first, that it was better not to interfere, on the ground mentioned by a worthy Baronet, that such interference might widen the breach between man and wife; but as the Livery of London had thought, that some public manifestation of its sentiments should be made, he thought that the Common Council ought not to be behind. He was anxious, however, that while justice was done to the Princess, injustice should not be done to the Prince. There was no evidence which could induce any one to suppose that he was at the bottom of the conspiracy, whatever persons might choose to surmise. He wished, therefore, to add, after the word "conspiracy," these words—"entered into by persons admitted to her society and confidence, and abusing it to the destruction of her life and honour."

MR. ALDERMAN WOOD rose to express his grateful feelings, that the Livery of London had been followed by other public bodies, and now by the Common Council. When he first brought the matter forward, his usual friends seemed to object to its principle; and he had no reason to suppose that he should have experienced their support, if he had brought it forward in Common Council.

MR. QUIN had thought the last time of moving this business not precisely the moment for interfering: because there was a prospect of reconciliation; there was some hope, that the general sentiment of the

people would lead to that pleasing result. Now it was different. The Princess of Wales had appealed to the Lords and Commons: neither of those bodies could interfere: one, because its judicial character prevented such interference; the other, because, to use its own language, the subject was in an untangible shape. What! then, was the Princess of Wales to be the only person in the kingdom whose wrongs were to be without remedy? Private persons, if slandered, had their remedy at common law; they might indict, or bring their actions for damages: the Princess of Wales would be without redress, but for the manifestation of public opinion. The extraordinary proceedings of the four Commissioners, in giving credit to evidence which had been refuted,—the unparalleled effrontery of Sir John and Lady Douglas, in offering to re-swear their assertions,—left the Princess in a situation from which she was without means of refuge, unless the public interfered: their opinion must be her protection; and miserable, indeed, would be the state of the country, if the Princess should be destitute even of this remedy against the evils which oppressed her.

MR. WATTHAM, in his reply, said, that a Gentleman (Mr. Jacks) who had given up his opinion to the general voice of the public, appeared to him to come forward because he was not wanted. His worthy Friend (Mr. Alderman Wood) had warmly commended him for so doing. For his part, he was an enemy to every species of tyranny, and to none more than the tyranny over the mind; and he should therefore always maintain his own opinions, whether they were likely to be popular or unpopular. He should much rather retire for ever from public life than adopt opinions merely from their popularity. As all men were liable to errors, the public sentiment was often the best criterion of what was right; but still every Englishman who had formed opinions on any subject, was fully justified in maintaining those opinions, whatever might be the public voice. He had through the last twenty years of his life given pretty strong proofs, that he was not to be prevented from speaking his opinions from any consideration of their being unpopular. He was sorry that his worthy Friend (Mr. Alderman Wood) had entered so much into subjects which, as they rested on private conversations, it was not easy to explain. A difference of opinion had existed, at a former time, among several of his friends,

not as to the innocence of the Princess, but as to the propriety of the time and the place for bringing the subject forward publicly. One of his friends had supposed that such a motion would, in all probability, not be successful in that Court. He, however, had never doubted of its success. He thought, however, that the present time most peculiarly called for the interference of that Court. After the innocence of the Princess of Wales had been manifested to the world, and confessed in the House of Commons, it was natural to have expected that she would, at least, have been restored to the society of her child; and yet we had not heard of more than one interview for the last ten weeks, and that partly by stealth. It, therefore, appeared as if even her innocence was still doubted in some quarters; for, if innocent, why should she still be punished? It appeared to him, that whatever unfortunate differences might still exist, yet that the Prince ought to be joyful at hearing that the mother of his child was free from guilt. It seemed, however, that there was an opinion somewhere, that this would not be agreeable to the Prince; for, otherwise, how could they account for going all the way through St. Giles's and by Tyburn, when the Livery went up with their Address? He hoped that this Address would be carried unanimously, and that it would be presented in the most respectful manner by the Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, Aldermen, and Law Officers. He thought that the City could not endure to have its Address presented in any other manner but the most respectful.

Mr. JACKS complained of having been misrepresented as to his giving up his opinions because they were unpopular. He never doubted of the innocence of the Princess, but he did not wish to throw any imputation on the Prince. On the face of the evidence there appeared no proof that the Prince was at all at the bottom of it. He wished that the saddle should be put on the right horse, and that the City of London should not have the appearance of implying any charge of guilt against the first Magistrate of the country. It was only with this view he had proposed the amendment, and he should not withdraw it.

The LORD MAYOR thought it necessary to declare, that in the manner in which he had judged proper to go up with the Address, he had not acted in consequence of any communications with others. He had acted in conformity to the sacred oath which he had taken, when he entered into office,

“that he would, with the best of his endeavours, support the peace and good order of the City.” He had, therefore, not conceived himself justified in bringing the procession through the streets where there were great assemblages of people, who might (for aught he then knew) be riotously inclined. He must say, however, that he had afterwards seen, that there was no riotous disposition on the part of the people assembled, and that he never saw a multitude more peaceable or orderly than those whom he saw assembled in the Park.

Mr. ALDERMAN WOOD declared, that it never was his intention, or that of the friends with whom he acted, either there, or in the Common-Hall, to offer any insult to the Prince Regent. He could not, however, see that there was any necessity for the Lord Mayor turning off the Livery at Tyburn, (*a laugh,*) as he had done. He himself, on his return, passed by Carlton-house, but no insult was there offered to the Prince. He hoped that the Address would be presented in the most respectful manner.

The question being then put, the Amendment was rejected by a very great majority; and the original proposition, for an Address, was carried nearly unanimously, there being only one hand held up against it.—A Committee was then appointed to prepare such Address.

COMMON HALL.

A Common Hall was held yesterday.

The LORD MAYOR stated, that the Hall was assembled to receive the Report of the Address to the Princess of Wales, and the Answer of her Royal Highness. He had not himself thought it necessary to convene a Special Hall for this purpose, as the Address and Answer had appeared in all the public papers, but he had yielded to the expostulation of a worthy Alderman. If it were necessary to call them from their homes and business, he had no objection to call a Common Hall or Common Council every day.—The Report was then read; towards the end of which it was stated, that the Address and Answer not appearing in the London Gazette, the Remembrancer wrote to the Publisher on the subject, who returned for answer, that he was not authorized to make such insertions, unless they were transmitted to him through the Office of the Secretary for the Home Department.—(*Hisses.*) The Remembrancer then wrote to Lord Sidmouth, stating what

had passed, and hoping the Address, &c. would have an early insertion. To this Lord Sidmouth answered, that in the exercise of his discretion, in his official Situation, he did not think it proper to make the required insertions.—(*Hisses.*)

A letter from Mr. WHITBREAD was then read, expressing his grateful acknowledgment of their vote of Thanks; after which, the LORD MAYOR came forward, thanked them for their attendance, and said the Hall was now dissolved. (*Cries of No! No!*)

MR. ALDERMAN WOOD came forward to speak, but the Lord Mayor left the Hall amid loud hisses.—Great confusion prevailed, but Mr. Alderman J. J. Smith coming in, there was a shout for him to take the Chair.

MR. WATTHAM addressed the Meeting. He said they were not altogether in a new situation: they had, on former occasions, been deserted by their Chief Magistrate, and the practice had been for some Alderman to take the Chair. In Mr. Wilkes's time, something similar had happened: an Alderman, after the Lord Mayor left the Hall, presided merely as Chairman of the Livery.

MR. ALDERMAN SMITH said he had scruples in his mind, which had not been removed by what had fallen from his worthy friend. The present was a meeting, consisting of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Livery; this had been dissolved by the Lord Mayor, which he lamented; but still he was afraid, under such circumstances, he could not legally take the Chair. His legal friends advised him against it.

MR. ALDERMAN WOOD then proposed that as it was now merely a meeting of the Livery, Sir William Rawlins should take the Chair, which he did immediately.

MR. ALDERMAN SMITH said he had no objection to attend, and address them merely as a Liveryman.—(He and Alderman Wood then pulled off their gowns.)

MR. ALDERMAN WOOD came forward. He said it had always been the practice to convene a Common-Hall to receive the answer to their Address. The Lord Mayor called the purpose of their meeting trivial, but his dissolving the Hall shewed that he attached some importance to it. It was right that the Hall should make some remarks on Lord Sidmouth's Letter. Addresses had hitherto been always printed in the *London Gazette*; he was afraid the office had been contaminated since its removal from Shoe-lane to the West end of the town (*a laugh*). It was evident, that the Mini-

sters must have some feelings against the Princess, or the Address would have appeared in the Gazette. He had wished to abstain from all remarks on the Regent and his Government; especially as he had no reason to believe, that the Lord Mayor, in turning them off at Tyburn (*a laugh*), had any instructions from head-quarters. He had made inquiries, but had not found any reason to think any influence had been exerted. Indeed, he could not be brought to think that such an Address could have been any way displeasing to the Husband of the injured Princess. He had, however, been informed, that the Lord Mayor had, within a few days, waited on Lord Sidmouth, and asked his advice, whether he should convene a Hall to-day. Lord Sidmouth told him, that he must be the best judge, but that he himself should advise against calling a Meeting; to which the Lord Mayor replied, that he had promised a Hall to some Gentlemen, and must call it, (*a laugh.*)

MR. WATTHAM then addressed the Livery. He said, it had not at first been his intention to pass a censure on the conduct of the Lord Mayor. A difference of opinion had prevailed, as to the propriety of the first Hall; but after the resolutions then made, there could be but one sentiment, that as much weight as possible ought to be given to the decision of the Livery of London. He therefore went himself in the procession, and even regarded it as a fortunate circumstance, that the Address had been carried. Considering the conduct of the Lord Mayor and Lord Sidmouth, they seemed to him to have acted under an erroneous impression, that the Prince could be displeased at the discovery of the foul conspiracy against his own wife: that her triumphant rescue from atrocious calumny would be ungrateful to the feelings of a husband, (*Huzzas.*) His own opinion was far different; he had no doubt that the Prince Regent must be delighted at the triumph of one so dear to him by birth, as well as marriage, (*Loud applause.*) How, then, had Lord Sidmouth dared, by his conduct, to countenance an opinion, that the Address would be displeasing to his Royal Highness? (*Applause.*) As to the conduct of the Lord Mayor, why had he carried the Livery of London by a circuitous route? Why had he presumed to think that the triumph which the City were celebrating would give displeasure in any particular quarter? The Lord Mayor had yesterday excused himself by saying, that his oath compelled him to

keep the peace of the city. What! was it to preserve the peace of the City that the Livery of London were carried to St. Giles's? (*A laugh.*) He thought that a public procession should go through all the most crowded streets where the people were assembled to demonstrate their joy. It was not proper that the conduct of the Chief Magistrate should be passed over without disapprobation. He had dissolved the Hall, because he knew he deserved their censure. He had abandoned them, because he felt that he should meet with their execration instead of their thanks.—He then moved a Resolution, that the Lord Mayor, by the circuitous route taken in the procession, and by other conduct, had shewn disrespect to the Prince Regent, by countenancing an opinion, that the triumph of the Princess would be offensive to his feelings; and that his conduct this day, in dissolving the Hall, rendered him unworthy of the confidence of his fellow-citizens. He could not sit down, without expressing his disapprobation of the non-attendance of the Legal Advisers of the City, on occasions when their opinions might be wanted.

Mr. THOMPSON said, it had been the object in all their proceedings to keep his Royal Highness the Prince Regent out of the question; but it seemed that Ministers, by their conduct, and the Lord Mayor by his, were determined to implicate his Royal Highness, as far as they could.

The Resolution of Censure was then put and carried with one dissentient voice, and was ordered to be published in the papers.

Mr. WAITHMAN then moved the Thanks of the Meeting to Sir W. Rawlins.—The Thanks of the Meeting were then voted to Sir W. RAWLINS, who returned thanks, and the Meeting dispersed.

Mr. Hunt, the late Candidate for Bristol, presented the following Address from the Freemen, Burgesses, and Inhabitants of that City, to Her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, at Montague House, Blackheath, by appointment, at two o'clock yesterday:

"To Her Royal Highness Caroline, Princess of Wales.

"The Dutiful and Loyal Address of a numerous and respectable Public Meeting of the Freemen, Burgesses, and Inhabitants of the City of Bristol, held on the Public Exchange, the 22d day of March, 1813.

*"May it please your Royal Highness,
"We, the Freemen, Burgesses, and In-*

habitants of the ancient City of Bristol, in public meeting assembled, beg leave to approach your Royal Highness, not in the language of unmeaning adulation, which would be as disgusting to the dignified mind of your Royal Highness to accept, as it would be degrading and disgraceful in us as Englishmen to offer; but we beg to be permitted, in the language of truth and sincerity, humbly, though zealously and firmly, to assure your Royal Highness that we are actuated solely with the love of justice, when we declare that we entertain the most profound respect and veneration for the Character, as well as the most invincible attachment for the Person, of your Royal Highness.—We should inflict the greatest torture upon our feelings if we were to neglect upon this occasion to congratulate your Royal Highness, in terms the most unequivocal, upon the developement of that Conspiracy against your Royal Highness, which has terminated in the most glaring exposure of the wicked intentions of your suborned Accusers, the discomfiture of your abandoned and perjured Traducers, and, at the same time, the most unbounded acquittal of your Royal Highness in the eyes and hearts of every unprejudiced person in the universe. But it would be impossible to govern our feelings if we were to endeavour to express our abhorrence in terms adequate to the resentment we entertain for those who were the promoters and instigators of the false, detestable, and groundless accusations against your Character, for the base, cowardly, and cruel purpose of bringing your Illustrious Person to an untimely and ignominious death.—We were delighted with that conscientious rectitude of soul which inspired your Royal Highness with the virtuous courage to demand of the House of Commons, that 'you may be treated as innocent, or proved to be guilty.' But we are far more delighted with the result, which has proved to the whole world that the Character of your Royal Highness was impregnable to the deadly and poisonous shafts of the most malignant and cowardly Slander.—We have only to add, that by this severe trial we are convinced that your Royal Highness has secured the love, the veneration, and the esteem of every manly and feeling heart in the Empire; long may your Royal Highness live to receive their willing homage; long may you enjoy the uninterrupted society of your Illustrious Daughter; and that you may always succeed in frustrating the machinations of all your Enemies, is the

sincere and ardent prayer of your faithful, dutiful, and loyal Fellow-Subjects, the Freeman, Burgesses, and Inhabitants of the ancient City of Bristol.

Signed on behalf of the Meeting,
HENRY HUNT."

To which Her Royal Highness returned the following Answer :

"I return my best thanks to the Freeman, Burgesses, and Inhabitants of the City of Bristol, who have been pleased to send me this handsome testimony of their approbation of my conduct, and their congratulations on the failure of that conspiracy which was wickedly contrived by perjured and suborned Traducers against my Life and Honour."

OFFICIAL PAPERS.

FRANCE.

CONSERVATIVE SENATE.

(Continued from page 640.)

the corps as soon as they shall have received the preliminary instructions.—The cohorts formed by the first call on this Ban have already proved what we may promise ourselves from the new call proposed.—We do not dissimulate how painful this appeal must be to the last classes; but what French Citizen does not feel it preferable to make a present effort, to avoid making greater ones, and from which the same results could not be expected?—Exclusive of this, the calls, and their fixed times, should be determined by arrets of the Council, and these executive measures shall be taken in the most proper manner to prevent all injustice and difficulty.—You well know, Gentlemen, the spirit of foresight which always guides his Majesty's designs, and thus to prevent every kind of danger and even of inquietude, he has deemed it necessary to organize an Army of Reserve, which encamped on our frontiers, will, at the same time, watch for their defence, and maintain order among our Allies.—Title IV. renders disposable the 90,000 men of the Conscription of 1814, who had been destined for the defence of our western and southern frontiers; they will form the Army of Reserve on the eastern frontiers, where they will fill this new destination.—To the honour and courage of the National Guard, the Emperor confides the defence of the six great ports of the military marine; it is to the National Guards

that he confides the care of repulsing any attack of our enemies on the coasts of the Empire.—You have not forgotten, Gentlemen, with what ardour the inhabitants of our coasts marched against the expedition directed to the port of Antwerp.—But it is necessary to direct this zeal, and what happened in 1809, has shewn how important it is to organize the service of the National Guard, in such parts of the Empire where it may be deemed necessary.—Those departments which are especially called upon to concur in the defence of the ports, are designated in Title IV.—The National Guard shall be organized in the departments, if it shall be found needful, and the companies of grenadiers and chasseurs completed in such a manner as to present a force of from 15 to 30,000 men, in every circle, effective, present, and always disposable.—It is from the bosom of the Senate, Gentlemen, that his Majesty will select the Generals whom he will charge to preside over the organization of these companies, and to take the command of them. In giving the citizens such chiefs to guide them in those sentiments of honour as have so many claims on the general esteem, it was his Majesty's wish to encourage the confidence of the National Guards; to render their obedience more easy, and to secure to them such regard and esteem as may be consistent with the duties of the service.—Not more than from 1,500 to 3,000 men from each circle will be called into activity, and these will be placed at those points where their services may be deemed necessary, and will be relieved every three months, in order that they may not be too long detained from their occupations and business.—The contingent of every circle shall be in readiness to march to such points as may be attacked; but will not be parted from their families, excepting in such cases, and then only for the time the danger may exist.—This contingent reduced to the lowest number of 15,000 men for each circle, will give 90,000 men, to which, when we join 20,000 Garden Gotes, 60,000 of the marine troops, 20,000 workmen employed in the great ports; the local national guard, about 40,000 men in the depots of the land army, who are within reach of the coast, and lastly 6,000 men of the Gens d'Armes distributed in the same arrondissement, the defence of our coasts will be found to be secured by upwards of 250,000 men, independent of the reserve of grenadiers and chasseurs, who are not entered in the first contingent, and

which will besides amount to upwards of 120,000 men more.—It is nevertheless by means of this measure, which does not call out more than a thousandth part of the population of the six *arrondissements*, and merely for a temporary service, that the 90,000 men of the conscription of 1814 have been rendered disposable.—The actual situation of Europe, the necessity our enemies are under of dividing their forces in Sicily, in Portugal, and in Canada, banishes every idea of our coast being attacked, but however improbable an attack may seem to be, it is sufficient that it is not impossible, to induce his Majesty, in his great wisdom, not to hesitate in applying the measures which have been proposed to you.

—By giving your sanction, Gentlemen, to them, you ensure the defence of our coasts and our ports, and thus the Empire will have an army of 40,000 men on the Elbe, one of 200,000 in Spain, and 200,000 partly on the Rhine, partly in the 32d military division, and in Italy.—And it is in the view of such forces that our enemies conceive the ridiculous idea of dismembering the empire, and to allow our departments to be given as indemnities, in their political calculations. This struggle is the last. Europe will take a definitive situation, and the events of the winter of 1813 will at least have been of advantage to France, by causing her to know her friends and her foes, the extent of her own means, the devotion of the people, and their attachment to the Imperial dynasty.

[This project, after having been referred to a special commission, was adopted and decreed by the Senate, in the sittings of the 3d of April.]

Count Boulay followed Count Defermon, and thus developed the motives of the 2d projet of the *Senatus Consultum*. After going over all the recent events in the North, he thus proceeded:—

Such, Gentlemen, was the condition of those countries, when the misfortunes which a rigorous and premature season occasioned the Grand Army, reanimated among our enemies those hopes which our victories had disconcerted.—All kind of intrigues have been listened to. A new coalition is formed in the North; and Russia, believing that she could shew her hatred with impunity, has set the world the example of an odious perfidy.—The coalesced, in their transactions, have ceded Norway to Sweden, and promised our Hanseatic possessions to Denmark, as an indemnification.—The Danish Government has rejected an arrange-

ment, which, by despoiling it of an important part of her States, offers her nothing in return but a chimerical hope, and the certainty of an eternal war with the Empire. A wise and enlightened Prince has not forgotten the outrages of England, he has felt his true interest, and remained faithful to us.—Nevertheless the enemy has approached our Hanseatic departments, and has there sown the seeds of trouble and revolt. Could he have blended to such a point as to persuade them that he could have withdrawn them from the obedience they owe to his Majesty?—How, because a tempest which prudence could not foresee, has dispersed a part of our victorious army, our enemies flatter themselves that they may, at their pleasure, dispose of our territories according to their ambition! They believed that they can dictate the law to us, and draw us into a disgraceful peace.

—Without doubt it would soon become necessary to burn our fleets, destroy our docks, and reduce our navy to thirty vessels, as they have dared to propose to us.—Deprived of our Colonies, and the advantages of a maritime commerce, we should furthermore renounce our continental power, and suffer our manufactures and our national industry to perish, and become in every respect the servile tributaries of England! No, no, the nation is of the same sentiments with her Sovereign; full of confidence in the firmness of his character, and the resources of his genius, she will never suffer the least attempt to be made against the dignity of his Crown; she will deplore that it may require all his energy to repulse such vain pretensions.—She has already made known her noble sentiments, and we shall see her persevere in them with unshaken constancy.—You, Gentlemen, who are the principal organs of this generous people, you will shew yourselves its worthy interpreters by sanctioning the measures proposed to you. What we are especially charged to present to you is, as we said at the commencement, in the cases provided for by our constitution. Since the enemy has defiled the territory of the Hanseatic Departments, since he has excited these disorders and seditions, and that he has there raised culpable hopes, it is evident that the empire of the constitutional and common law, the exercise of which presupposes a regular and peaceable state of affairs, should be there suspended, and make way for whatever extraordinary measures may be commanded by circumstances. This suspension is, however, only for three

months; every thing leads us to believe that it will not require more than that time to bring these departments again under perfect submission; and we have no doubt that we shall see all the good citizens, all the enlightened people of those countries concur of themselves to the successes of the measures which his Majesty will take to restore there the government of order and law.

[This project, after having been referred to a special Commission, was adopted, and decreed by the Senate in the sitting of 3d April.]

PRUSSIA.

The King of Prussia's Address.

TO MY ARMY.

Often have you expressed your wishes of fighting for the liberty and independence of your country. The moment for doing it is now arrived. He is no member of the nation by whom this is not felt. Youth and men voluntarily fly to arms. What in them is free will, is to you who belong to the standing army a call. From you, ordained to defend the native country, she is entitled to demand what is offered by the others. —See! What numbers forsake every thing they hold most dear, to venture their lives with you in their country's cause: you will, therefore, doubly feel your sacred duty. —May all of you, on the day of battle, or in time of trouble, keep in mind moderation and due discipline. Let individual ambition, be it either in the highest or the lowest of the army, sink before that of all. He that feels for his country, does not think of self. May the envious meet contempt, when the general welfare only is considered. Every thing else must now give way to this. Victory proceeds from God! Shew yourselves worthy of this high protection, by obedience, and fulfilling your duties. Let courage, constancy, loyalty, and good discipline be your renown. Follow the example of your forefathers; be worthy of them, and remember your posterity! —A sure reward will fall on him who distinguishes himself; deep disgrace and punishment on him who forgets his duty. —Your King will always be with you, and with him the Crown Prince and the Princes of his house. They will fight along with you. They and the whole nation will combat with you, and at our side a valiant race come to our assistance, and to the assistance of all Germany; a people that by glorious deeds have secured their

independence. They relied on their Sovereign, their leaders, their cause, their own strength, and God was with them. So will it be with you; for we also fight the great fight for the independence of our country! —Confidence in God, courage and perseverance be our word.

(Signed) FREDERICK WILLIAM.

Berlin, March 23.

His Majesty the King has made an offensive and defensive treaty with his Russian Majesty the Emperor Alexander.

TO THE PUBLIC.

It is unnecessary to render an account to my good people of Germany of the motives for the war which is now commencing—they are evident to impartial Europe. —We bent under the superior power of France—that peace, which deprived me of half my subjects, procured us no blessings; it, on the contrary, hurt us more than war itself. The heart of our country was impoverished. The principal fortresses were occupied by the enemy; agriculture was neglected as well as the industry of our cities, which had risen to a very high degree. Liberty of trade being interrupted naturally clouds all the sources of ease and property. By the most exact observance of the stipulated treaties, I hoped to obtain an alleviation for my People—and, at last, convince the French Emperor that it was his own interest to leave Prussia independent; but my intentions, my exertions to obtain so desirable an object, proved fruitless. Nothing but haughtiness and treachery were the result! We discovered, but rather late, that the Emperor's conventions were more ruinous to us than his open wars. The moment is now arrived in which no illusion respecting our condition can remain. Brandenburg, Prussians, Silesians, Pomeranians, Lithuanians! you know what you have suffered during the last seven years—you know what a miserable fate awaits you, if we do not honourably finish the now commencing contest. Remember former times! Remember the illustrious Elector the Great FREDERICK! Remember the benefits for which our ancestors contended under their direction, the liberty of conscience, honour, independence, trade, industry, and knowledge. Bear in mind the great example of our allies the Russians. Think of the Spaniards and Portuguese; small nations have even gone to battle for similar benefits, against a more powerful enemy, and obtain-

ed victory.—Remember the Swiss and the Netherlands!

(Signed) FREDERICK WILLIAM.

Breslau, March 17, 1813.

Berlin, March 13.—The 11th of March was the day appointed for the public entry of his Excellency Count Wittgenstein. The procession began about ten in the morning. His Royal Highness Prince Henry of Prussia rode by the side of his Excellency the General of Cavalry, Count Wittgenstein, attended by a great number of Russian and Prussian guards, a regiment of dragoons, two regiments of infantry, and several batteries of artillery, of twelve pieces each: in the whole 48 pieces of artillery, with 96 powder waggons, martial music playing the whole time, and the spectators waving their hats and handkerchiefs, with a continual huzza! in honour of the Emperor Alexander, which was answered by the Russians, with shouts of "Long live Frederick William."—In the afternoon Prince Henry of Prussia gave a dinner to Prince Wittgenstein, Prince Reppin, General and Military Governor of this capital, and a great number of other Russian guards and officers. His Excellency afterwards went to the Opera, and at night the whole city was voluntarily illuminated.—The next day his Excellency caused the following acknowledgment to be inserted in the public Gazettes of this city:

"By the enthusiasm with which the inhabitants of Berlin have received the Imperial Russian troops; by the affection and high respect which they have on this occasion expressed for his Majesty the Emperor my Master; by the esteem and gratitude with which they have treated the troops, whom they consider as their deliverers from an insupportable yoke, I feel myself required to express the warmest thankfulness in the name of my Sovereign, to the inhabitants of the capital of the Prussian Monarchy, for these sentiments; I shall not fail to state them to his Majesty the Emperor, and I doubt not that they will make the same impression upon him as they have made upon myself.

"Count WITTGENSTEIN, General of Cavalry."

The Correspondent contains addresses from the Russian General Baron Tittenborn to the inhabitants of the left bank of the river Elbe, and to the inhabitants of the city of Lubeck, exhorting them to take up arms in this sacred war, telling them they know the fate of the Grand French Army, which has been entirely destroyed on the plains of Russia, and assuring them that powerful armies are hastening to their support. There is also a notification signed by the same Baron (Tittenborn), for the meeting of a volunteer corps in Hamburg, which is to bear the name of the Hanseatic Legion, and form a part of the Army of the North of Germany.

Berlin, March 18.—By his Majesty's special direction the undersigned Commission has published the following order of the day, relative to Gen. Von York:

"After having been fully convinced of the justification of Gen. Von York, relative to the convention concluded with the Russian Gen. Debitsch, and by the judgment of the Commission appointed to inquire into this transaction, consisting of Lieut. Von Diezicke, and Major-Generals Von Scholer and Von Sanitz, that General Von York was entirely free from blame, with respect to that convention, which was occasioned by the delayed march of the tenth corps d'armee from its position before Riga, by the total dispersion of that corps, and by the advantageous conditions offered him by the Convention, I hereby make known the same to the army, with the addition, that I not only confirm General Von York in the command of the corps intrusted to him, but also in proof of my satisfaction and perfect confidence in him, have given to him the chief command of the troops under Major Von Bulow.

Breslau, March 11. FRED. WILLIAM.

Berlin, March 16.—Royal High Commission of Government,

GOTZ,
KIRCHHEISEN, and
SHUEKMANN.

Proclamation of the Saxon Commissioners.

The Commission of Government appointed by his Majesty the King of Saxony to—
(To be continued.)

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

MR. CREEVEY'S CASE.—This is a case of considerable interest, and, indeed, of great public importance. The charge against this gentleman was that of *Libel* on a Mr. KIRKPATRICK, an *Inspector of Taxes* at Liverpool, or in that neighbourhood. —This man prosecuted Mr. Creevey by *criminal process*, and, by a Special Jury; the latter was found guilty at the last assizes at Lancaster. —I shall first insert the report of the Trial, as I find it in the news-papers; and, having done that, I shall offer to my readers a few remarks on the subject. —“Mr. PARK, the Attorney General for the county, stated, that this was a prosecution against Mr. Creevey, a Member of Parliament, for having published in the *Liverpool Mercury*, a most scandalous and defamatory libel, highly injurious to the character of a Gentleman of the name of Kirkpatrick, filling the important office of Inspector General of Taxes. He did not mean to deny the Hon. Member's right to state what he pleased in the House of Commons—the exercise of that privilege, however it might affect the feelings of individuals, could not be called in question; but he contended, that if a Member of the House of Commons afterwards sent to the editor of a news-paper his own report of his speech, he was answerable if it contained libellous matter just the same as for the publication of a libel of any other description. The learned Counsel then stated, that the libel purported to be the report of the Honourable Member's speech made upon the occasion of presenting a petition to the House of Commons against the East India Company's monopoly. He seemed to have gone wholly out of his way in order to vilify the prosecutor, for he represented the distresses of the people of Liverpool as having been aggravated by his appointment to the office of Inspector General of Taxes—he designated the office of Mr. Kirkpatrick as that of a common informer, and insinuated that he received

“a large annuity for undertaking to screw up persons' assessments to the extent of his own imagination. The learned Counsel added, that the libel went on to insult the memory of the late Mr. Perceval, by asserting, that he had given Mr. Kirkpatrick this appointment, merely in consequence of his having been his client. The learned Counsel then referred to the case of the King against Lord Abingdon, to shew that the publication of a libel against an individual was not to be justified by the circumstance of its being a report of a speech made in Parliament. He concluded by expressing his conviction, that the verdict would confirm the doctrine for which he contended. —The publication from Mr. Creevey's manuscript having been clearly proved, Mr. BROUGHAM first submitted to his Lordship, upon the authority of the case of the King v. Wright, that he was not called upon to address the Jury. He insisted generally that a Member of Parliament could not be held accountable for publishing a true report of what passed in Parliament. —The Judge over ruled this point, and the learned Gentleman then addressed the Jury. He said, that Mr. Creevey had been urged by many Members of both Houses, justly alarmed at this prosecution, to insist upon his privilege, but the learned Judge having decided against him, he should now proceed to the other ground of his defence. He then in a very eloquent and ingenious speech contended; that there was nothing libellous in the publication—that matters reflecting in a much higher degree upon the characters of individuals, had been published as the speeches of Mr. Burke, Mr. Pitt, Mr. Windham, and other eminent parliamentary characters. He inferred the injurious operation of imposing any restraint upon the publication of reports of what passed in Parliament; and on this ground principally trusted his client would be acquitted. —Sir SIMON LE BLANC stated his clear opinion that it was no extenuation of a libel to say that it was the report of a speech in

"Parliament. The publication in question was one which tended to vilify the prosecutor, who was in the execution of a public trust; and he was therefore bound to say, it was a libel answering the description given of it in the indictment.—The Jury were of the same opinion, and without a moment's hesitation, pronounced a verdict of GUILTY."

—Mr. BROUGHAM said, he wished to tender a Bill of Exceptions, but he was informed by the learned Judge he could not do so in a criminal prosecution; and besides that, he should have tendered it before he had taken the chance of the verdict being in his favour.—Now, whether there was any thing really libellous in the publication, is a question which I shall not undertake to determine. Indeed I never read the *Speech*, that I know of, as it stood in the parliamentary Report, and certainly I never read the *publication* in question. The point, therefore, whether the publication was, or was not, libellous, I shall leave wholly untouched; and shall meddle only with the *doctrine*, which is set up in this particular case.—Mr. CREEVEY having made a *speech* in parliament respecting this Kirkpatrick, who, it seems, was formerly an Attorney, and who was made by Perceval an Inspector General of Taxes, he afterwards caused that speech to be put into print, and to be published in the *Liverpool Mercury*.—Here, said Kirkpatrick, I have him! Here he is upon a level with other writers and other publishers; and, accordingly, he commenced that criminal prosecution, the result of which we have seen above.—It is, we observe, contended, that Mr. CREEVEY was exempted from the ordinary operation of the law, his publication being no more than a correct account of what he said in the House of Commons; and Mr. Brougham pleads the *privilege* of his client, upon the ground of the decision of the Court of King's Bench in the case of *Wright*. But, with submission, this was not a case at all in point. *Wright* was prosecuted for publishing a report, not of a *speech*, but of a *Committee*. It was an official document; it was a paper put on record. It contained matter very injurious to the character, and might tend to endanger even the life of the party complaining. It was a document which *ought not to have been published*; and, in my opinion, such publications may be amongst the most cruel of libels. But, be this as it may, the case was very different indeed from the case before us, and afforded no pre-

cedent whereon to plead an exemption.—In an article, which I have seen in the *Statesman*, it is argued, that, according to the *Bill of Rights*, no member is to be called to account out of the House for what he says in the House; and, it being admitted, that Mr. Creevey published no more than he said, the conclusion is, that the Bill of Rights protects him in the publishing as well as in the speaking.—But, surely, this cannot be seriously held! The Bill of Rights refers only to what passes in the House itself, and has by no means in contemplation the publishing of what passes, either by the members themselves, or by any body else.—Indeed, it is perfectly notorious, that the publishing of the reports of debates at all is in violation of the Orders of the House. People do it; but they may be punished for it; the act is a breach of privilege; and, to suppose, that the members can with impunity violate the privilege of their own House would be strange indeed.—If the editor of the *Liverpool Mercury*, or I, or any other proprietor, or editor, of a news-paper, had printed the speech of Mr. Creevey, we, of course, should have been punishable as libellers; supposing the speech to be libellous; because, if we had said that it was not a thing of our making, but a speech uttered in parliament, that would have been alleged as an addition to our offence, seeing that to publish any such speech is what is called a breach of privilege. And, why is a member to be permitted to publish his own speech? What reason is there for it? In this particular case, indeed, it is said, that Mr. Creevey published his *real speech*, in order to correct the errors which had gone forth in the report which others had published of that speech. But, we must bear in mind, that the doctrine applies to *all* speeches made in parliament; and, if once adopted, might be brought to bear upon any occasion whatever.—The truth is, that what is here contended for is, a *privilege* in a member of parliament to publish, with impunity, just what he pleases against any individual in the world; for, his privilege, in the first place, protects him while he is saying what he pleases, and then, at any time afterwards, comes this new privilege of publishing all that he has ever said in the way of speech, though, at the time of the publication, he may be, as Mr. Creevey was, out of parliament.—Can the *Bill of Rights* have had such a terrible privilege as this in contemplation? If so, it was, indeed, most aptly denominated a

Bill of Wrongs.—The reader will bear in mind, that we are speaking of the doctrine in its *general operation*, and not endeavouring to show the evil of having used the press upon this particular occasion.—It has been thought, and often said, that the liberty which members of parliament have to say whatever they please, in their places, of any body, is only to be tolerated on account of the good which, in other respects, results from that liberty; for, it does seem somewhat hard, that a man should be attacked, that he should have all sorts of evil said of him, that he should be falsely accused of all sorts of crimes, that he should be *wholly without any remedy*, and that his assailant should have the power to punish him as a breaker of privilege, if he dares, in print, to attempt to repel the assault.

—Suppose, for instance, a member for some borough, seated in virtue of well-known means, and having strong revenge to gratify against me, were to assert, in a speech in his place, that I was a thief; that he knew me to be a thief; that I stole from him a bag of money only six months ago.

—I could not punish him for this; I could not call him to legal account for it; and, if I were even to publish a *contradiction of his assertion*, he and the House might, if they chose, send me to jail for a *breach of their privileges*.—Thus, I think, this privilege of a member has a pretty good latitude without stretching it any farther; but, if it be extended to the use of the *press*; if the man, who has falsely accused me of theft in his speech, had also the privilege, at any future time, and as often as he pleased, to write, and print, and publish the same falsehood, merely because it had once been uttered by him in the way of speech; if this extension were to take place, what a scourge must the Houses of Parliament soon become! There would be in the kingdom nearly a thousand *licensed libellers*. Aye, several thousands, for this doctrine would screen every one who had ever been a member, if he confined himself to the publication of what he had ever uttered in the House. No man's, no woman's character would be safe. A peer or a member of the other House, in order to gratify his own hatred, or that of any relation, of a wife, or of a mistress, might assail, in the most unequivocal terms, the character of any person, or any family, and that, too, through the channel of the press; a privilege too terrible to be thought of without horror.—

The objection, therefore, of Mr. Brougham,

seems to me to be quite untenable. A member of parliament is, as far as relates to his *speech* in the House, protected by the Bill of Rights; but, if he steps out of it, and, in the character of author, printer, publisher, or proprietor, repeats what he has said in his speech, he puts himself upon a level, in the eye of the law, with all other persons in those capacities. If I, for instance, were a member of parliament (and the thing would be less wonderful than many that we see); if I were a member of parliament, would Mr. Brougham say, that I should have a right to publish in my Register of the Saturday any attacks upon the Judges, or upon any body else, that I might choose to make in speeches during the week? I could, I dare say, if I had my full swing, lay it on pretty thick; and will Mr. Brougham seriously contend, that my *privilege* as a member would protect me as author and proprietor of a newspaper? If so, what would there be to serve as a fence to that amiable conjunction called Church and State? All that Mr. PAINE has said in his *Age of Reason*; all that VOLTAIRE had said with more ability before him; all this might appear in print, in defiance of the Attorney General, and our poor Old Mother, the Church, would be left to the arguments and proofs of the Clergy, wholly unassisted by the arm of the law; for, if I were so disposed, I could, and so could any man, contrive to work all the anti-christian notions, all the ridicule which has been thrown on the Christian faith; all this I could easily contrive to work into a couple or three speeches during the progress of the Curate's Bill, or, indeed, almost any other Bill, if I had not a mind to make a motion for the express purpose. And, is Mr. Brougham prepared to say, as a lawyer, that I should afterwards be protected in the publishing of such ridicule? —If a member of parliament be not himself the proprietor of a newspaper, it is easy enough for him, if he be rich, to hire columns for whatever he has a mind to say; and then, if Mr. Brougham's doctrine be sound, arises this curious absurdity, that, while the printer and proprietor of the paper would be liable to punishment for giving currency to a member's libels, he himself, as *writer*, would not be liable to punishment.—Then take this case and view it along with that before supposed, and you see, that a man is liable to be punished for publishing a speech in one paper, while he who published it in another paper would not be liable to be punished.—A

member might be printer as well as proprietor of a paper. There the publication would not be punishable; while, in the paper of his next door neighbour, it might send three or four people to perish in the stench of a jail.—Besides, as if the absurdities of the doctrine were without end, who is to *prove* that the printed speech is the *same* as the speech uttered in parliament? The libellous quality of any publication is generally to be found in certain particular expressions; and *who*, I say, is to *prove* upon oath, that the speech published is precisely the same as the speech spoken; and, without such proof, what would even the privilege contended for avail the defendant?—But, I abhor the idea of such a privilege, which, as I have, I think, clearly shown, would give to many hundreds of persons the *right* of libelling whomsoever they pleased; the *right* of defaming; the *right* of blasting the reputation of; the *right* of totally ruining all those against whom they might entertain a spite.—No, Mr. Brougham, peers and the worthy gentlemen who represent boroughs have, in my humble idea of the matter, quite privileges enough already. I do not wish to see those privileges extended. They can now *speak* what they please of any body with impunity, and if they could also *write* and *publish* what they pleased with the like impunity, who but themselves could bear to exist in the country.—Before I conclude, I must again observe, that I ineddle not with the merits of this case; and, I cannot refrain from adding an expression of my firm belief, that Mr. CREEVEY is amongst the last of those, whom I should be afraid to trust with the privilege contended for by his advocate; seeing that he is a man remarkable for candour and manliness. But, he cannot have the privilege without its being possessed by *others*. It is a privilege which no man ought to possess. Indeed, the idea of such a privilege in any man is an insult to common sense.

“GERMAN PATRIOTS.”—These two words joined together naturally excite some degree of curiosity, and the proceedings now on foot under this title are, in their way, the most curious of the kind.—A Meeting has, it seems, taken place, in London, for the purpose of raising money by subscription for the aid and support of the “German Patriots;” that is to say, the people in those parts of Germany, where an inclination to resist and drive out the

French has discovered itself.—At this Meeting the *Duke of Sussex* was, it seems, in the Chair, and, before I make any remarks on it, I shall insert the most material part of the speech of His Royal Highness upon the occasion.—It was as follows:—“For eighteen years I have, with much attention, marked the effects of the French Revolution. I have, reasoning from analogy, anticipated still more fatal effects than those which had already taken place, every day’s experience shewing that my views were not fallacious; and I have even maintained, that if the violent and wide spreading plague by which we were assailed were not resisted with proportionate violence, *universal destruction* must be the inevitable result.—(Applause.)—We are not indeed met to sit in judgment on past events, but a reference to them does not seem out of place, as tending to draw the attention to that great teacher, which may impel us to counsels calculated to promote a successful termination of that great contest in which we have been so long engaged, in which we are still unfortunately engaged, but from which we have now *better prospect than ever of extricating ourselves with advantage and honour*.—(Applauses.)—Perhaps nothing can be more mortifying than a contrast of what Germany was at the commencement of the French Revolution, and what she has since been. At the former period mighty in arms, and elate in hope, she menaced that power which has since overrun her soil, and *enslaved her sons*—Austria and Prussia, and all her other powerful States, in combination for the avowed purpose of quelling the insolence of French democracy: *nothing was contemplated but the complete dismemberment or annihilation of that nation*. Since then, but I forbear to enter minutely into the afflicting detail, suffice it to say, that by a singular revolution of human affairs, Germany has fallen beneath the yoke of that Power, whose squadrons had passed her best protected lines, at the approach of whose squadrons her capital had trembled; since that calamitous period, *no opportunity has been hitherto afforded her of shaking off the degrading yoke*, and regaining that character of high renown, which I am proud to say, has always been the attribute of the German nation. At length the opportunity has occurred, thanks to the exertions by which the

“ tide of conquest has at length been resisted on the Continent ; thanks more particularly to the gallantry of the Russian people, and to the wise and magnanimous individual who now directs their energies. Humane and moderate as he is spirited and politic, he has by his manifestoes endeavoured to arouse every German to combat in a cause which he has guaranteed his own ; he has called on him, as a friend and brother, to assist in stemming the flood that had nearly overwhelmed his native land, and in driving within their proper precincts the haughty people whose tumultuous passions had created it. I trust the German is not to be found who is dead to such a summons—a summons by which he is called on to combat for the sacred purpose of obtaining all that can be dear to a people—security for their *properties*, their *lives*, and, far dearer than either of these, their *liberty* and their *honour*. (*Loud applause.*) To facilitate the exertions of a people struggling in such a cause, is the object of the present Meeting—to supply such means of repelling unjust aggression, as the misfortunes and too long protracted oppression of those who are chiefly interested in repelling it, have put it out of their power to obtain by any effort of their own. In justice to the Government I have to observe, that they have not manifested any reluctance to give their assistance for the furtherance of the objects which we are now met to promote ; but it was impossible they should foresee the events which have called for more ample support than they can possibly furnish on the spur of the occasion. When I see the persons composing the Government inclined to perform their duty, I am always anxious not to withhold from them such meed as my approbation can convey. (*Applause.*) I must now observe, that I wish the views of the present Meeting to embrace as extensive a field as is possible. Undoubtedly there are very forcible reasons why I myself should be actuated by feelings more directed to a certain point. I am a Member of the House of Hanover, I am a Prince of the German Empire, and it may be naturally supposed that I am particularly anxious to resist with effect that power : resistance to which I warmly counselled in the great Assembly of the German Princes, which took place in the year 1792 ; resistance which I have ever since continued to think ought

“ to have been increased in proportion to the power and violence of the enemy ; but I repeat, I wish the principle of the Meeting to be as general as possible. I wish it to be so general that every society of merchants in Spain, Portugal, or any other country where the French conquest may possibly check the wholesome operations of commerce, should feel that they are interested in adopting it—should feel that they are bound to imbibe that spirit by which we are now about to prove to our German brethren, that though separated by the ocean, our hearts throb and our blood boils in common with theirs, when we think of the tyranny to which they have been subjected.”——If I differ very materially in opinion with His Royal Highness, I do not fail to give him full credit for the most benevolent intentions ; and, I particularly applaud the candour of his acknowledgment, that the first League against the French had for its object “ *the complete dismemberment, or annihilation, of that nation ;*” an acknowledgment, which, that I know of, has never before been distinctly made by any one who ever approved of the war against the French Democracy.——It is not a little curious to observe, how completely our objects have changed, since the outset of the war in 1793. We were then afraid of nothing but the wild spirit of Democracy. We then cried “ war, war against republicans and levellers ;” the terms liberty, sovereign people, citizen, and patriot, were used by us as terms of reproach. But, we are now become abhorers of tyranny, slavery, despotism. We have now got over to the liberty side of the dispute ; and are subscribing away as heartily against the *Emperor of France* as we formerly did against the *Jacobins* and *Sans-culottes* of France.——His Royal Highness says, that he apprehended “ *universal destruction*” from the principles of the French revolution.——I should be happy to be informed what is His Royal Highness’s notion of “ *universal destruction*.” It is a phrase of very large meaning. But, at the least, it must mean nothing short of the killing of *all* the people and the destroying of all other animals and all property in Europe. And why, let me be permitted to ask ; why make use of phrases so very hyperbolic ? The French revolution had its full swing ; it was never arrested in its progress by any external power. And, did it prove so very *destroying* ? The truth is, that,

though attended with frightful crimes and with dreadful misery for a while, it destroyed very little of what was good. But, the people, in all countries, are, for the far greater part, led away by *sounds*. If they were not, we should never have seen the people of England subscribing their pound notes in order to purchase their preservation against the “*devouring lava*,” as Pitt called it, of the French revolution. If they had taken time to reflect, they would, in but a few hours, have been well convinced, that the French Democrats could not *destroy* them if they would, and that they would not if they could; and that, when they heard the words “*universal destruction*” applied to the object of the efforts of the French Democrats, they ought to understand it in a very limited sense indeed, it being, upon any other scale, utterly impossible.—But, if the Royal Duke was so alarmed at the “*widespread plague of Democracy*,” one would think, that he must entertain feelings of gratitude towards Buonaparté, who has so completely put down the democratic spirit and principles. We are a difficult people to please. As long as the French talked about liberty and patriotism, we used those words in the way of ridicule and reproach. Now they have dropped the use of them, we have taken it up, and talk as boldly about liberty as our ancestors used to do, who never dreamt of what we now see and feel.—But, I am yet to learn, what we now mean by the word *patriot*; by the term “*German Patriots*.” A patriot is a man, who ardently loves his country, and is not confined to those who are attached to any particular set of rulers. I should, for my part, be very slow to give the name of patriot to a man in Germany merely because he had enlisted under the banners of Russia, or any other banners opposed to France. I must first be convinced, that he has taken the side which he thinks favourable to the cause of *freedom*; I mean the freedom of the people; for, it is very likely, that, in some cases, a country may be conquered, and the people become not at all the less free on that account. I know not what sort of changes the French have made in the government of the conquered parts of Germany; and, therefore, I am unable to decide upon the degree of merit in those who have now risen against them; but, I cannot but know very well, that all these *German Patriots*, whom we have now discovered, are the result of the conquest of their

country by the French. What they were then doing it is not for me to say; but, I am very much afraid, that we may be in too great haste to confide in men, who have once, without firing hardly a shot, laid down their arms to that very same enemy who is now marching against them.—The conquered part of Germany contains a population equal to that of France. To what, then, are we to attribute its having been so easily conquered? The Royal Duke brings back our minds to the period when the combined armies were driven out of France; to that period when, he tells us, the French capital trembled at their approach. In this his Royal Highness is only deceived. The French capital never trembled. The combined armies were driven out of France by the people. It was one heart and one arm of 26 millions of people that drove them out of France. But, be this as it may, how could that one defeat of the allies cause the conquest of Germany, and her subjection from that day to this? Suppose the French to have sent forth a million of men, Germany had her millions to oppose to them; and, if the German nation are naturally brave, as I do not deny they are, must there not have been something besides mere physical force to work the conquest of Germany? How, then, can it be said, that, from 1793 until this day, “*no opportunity has been afforded to Germany to shake off the degrading yoke*?” There have always been about 30 millions of people in this same Germany, including the “*Patriots*” now in motion; what, then, I should like to know, have all these people and all these patriots been doing and thinking about for so long a period? Is not this the plain truth: that these patriots have been put into activity, if not created, by the appearance of a Russian army amongst them and by the retreat of the French armies? And, if this be the case, ought we not to be cautious how we put any great confidence in the exertions of these same “*patriots*?”—When His Royal Highness talks about the French *enslaving the sons of Germany*, he surely does not well weigh the weight of his words. His zeal surely carries him on beyond the proper bounds. He will excuse me, who never before heard much of German liberty, in these latter ages, if I do not see how it is possible for the French army, or any other but a native army, to *enslave* 30 millions of people. It is easy to talk of subjecting such a nation to tyranny; but not so very easy to shew how the thing can, by any possibility, be done. Against



their will such a nation was never yet enslaved by an invading army. The thing is impossible, especially when we consider, that Germany had an army equal in number to that of France. For these reasons may hopes from the exertions of the "German Patriots" are far less sanguine than those of his Royal Highness appear to be.—As to the opinion, that our prospect of extricating ourselves from the war with advantage and honour, is "now better than ever," I am obliged to differ very widely from his Royal Highness. There have been several periods, when the prospect was much better, in my humble opinion, than it is now. The end of this campaign will tell us what is to be the fate of the North of Germany; but, of what consequence is that part of Europe, compared with Holland, Naples, and all Italy?—The battle will now, perhaps, be better fought than before; but, if victory decide against us, we shall be plunged into despair. The same enthusiasm does not, perhaps, accompany the French armies now that formerly accompanied them; but, on the other side, what enthusiasm can there be? "Security for their properties and lives," the Duke of Sussex says will now animate the Germans; but, why now more than heretofore? These again are mere words. Neither property nor lives were in danger under the French. It was impossible; generally speaking, that they should be; for, if that had been the case, the conquered countries could not have been held a day. It is the interest of a conqueror to make the people contented under his sway. Indeed, he is, if the country be extensive, compelled to do it. There will be some malecontents; because, in cases of conquest, property and power do, always, in some degree, change hands; but, the mass of the people must, in all such cases, be conciliated; and this is the true reason why, until now, we have heard nothing of the "German Patriots." To keep in subjection a whole people; a nation of many millions; to hold such a people in subjection by the mere military force of a foreign power is impossible. It cannot be done. If a whole people, including the native army, feel their properties and lives in constant hazard, is it to be believed, that they will wait for another foreign army before they attempt to throw off the yoke? The fact, I dare say, is, that the persons, who were interested in the existence of the old governments of Germany, and who, of course, wished for their re-establishment, have, upon the appearance

of a Russian army amongst them, openly shown themselves. But, those who have acted from this motive, will, in all likelihood, become inactive from a similar motive; and, the French will, I dare say, be hailed, if they beat the Russians, with as much apparent joy as the Russians have recently been received.—However, there is not, as far as I can see, any harm in these subscriptions. They are far preferable to new taxes to raise money for the "German Patriots." This is, indeed, the proper way of raising money for the Northern War. People give what they like, and there is this great advantage in this mode of raising the ways and means, that the amount of the sum raised is the true measure of the national feeling in favour of the cause.

AMERICAN WAR.—The continual disgrace of the American arms in Canada would be intolerable in the States, were it not so far outweighed by the success of their navy. Upon this latter subject I have received many communications, containing complaints against the Admiralty. I must confess, that I do not see the reasonableness of these complaints. No man has pointed out how the Admiralty could have prevented what has happened. That they could not, in a few months, build ships of the precise dimensions of the American ships is certain. They could only send out such ships as they had; and, that the cause of our defeats has not been the want of hands on board, the capture of the Java fully proves.—It has been asserted, in the most positive terms, that two-thirds of the seamen of the American ships of war, and especially of the Constitution, consist of British seamen. There is no such fact stated officially, and I am glad of it; for, to me, it would be a melancholy thing to reflect, that so many hundreds of our countrymen had joined the enemy at the risk, if taken, of being hung up, cut down before dead, having their bowels ripped out while yet alive, having their heads chopped off, and their four quarters cut from their smoking bodies. To suppose that many hundreds of our countrymen have joined the enemy with the terrors of such a punishment before them is something so shocking, that I wonder how any one can coolly entertain it; what, then, must be our wonder at hearing that there are people to assert the fact, and that, too, in print! For my part, though I feel the disgrace of our navy as strongly as any one can, I prefer giving to the enemy superior skill, and even superior courage, to the as-

cribing of his success to the treason of so many hundreds of my own countrymen.

—To *one* of the three causes, however, his success *must* be ascribed; for, as to the difference in the *weight of metal*, it is not sufficient to account for such uniform and signal success on the part of the Americans. They are excellent seamen. Probably the very best in the world. Their ships are few in number. Their men are select; they are all able and *fresh*; and they are urged on by every motive that has a powerful effect in producing a disregard of life. Their officers are chosen for their great merit alone. The government, in its selection, is hampered by no interests, no consideration other than that of rendering the ships efficient; and thus, there is no sort of drawback to the native courage of the crews.

—It is stated, that the American government have begun the construction of 26 more frigates, and that the several States have made offers of 74 gun ships, one each; so that, if this unhappy contest be prolonged, there is, I think, a fair chance of our seeing a very formidable naval enemy in the new world. This is what I expressed my fears of in my first and second letters to the Prince Regent upon the subject of this war. The longer the war continues the more certain is the realizing of my fears on this score. The navy of America *must* increase with the war; and, if it arrive at a tolerable force, we shall then begin to repent of our folly. I know, that this is very unpopular language. The country has taken up the idea, that the Americans, *without any provocation*, have basely joined the French in the war against us. The newspapers have propagated this notion, and it is in vain to endeavour to remove it. Time and experience, disgrace and suffering must open the people's eyes.—I shall, however, always say, that the Whigs and Mr. Brougham have had a principal hand in producing this war with America. Mr. Brougham had his Orders in Council to demolish. It was for him to make them *every thing*, especially when he had, by his great industry and eloquence, succeeded. Therefore, when told, by Mr. Rose, that the repeal of the Orders would not prevent war, he, full of his achievement, pledged himself to support a war against America if the repeal did not satisfy her.—He did this, and so did Mr. Ponsonby, with my caution before their eyes, I had told them before, that the repeal would not do without the giving up the *impressment*. And, we are now at war for this latter, and for that

alone. So that, in fact, Mr. Brougham, certainly without intending it, did harm to those manufacturers, whose cause he so zealously and so ably espoused.—The Morning Chronicle had, the other day, a paragraph in words similar to these:—"The *National Intelligencer* (the American government paper,) has long extracts from COBBETT'S REGISTER, which it cites with great applause, instead of that coarse abuse which it formerly heaped upon the same publication."—My mind has been put to the torture to guess at the real object of this observation. I do not see any thing *wrong* in this American paper having changed its manner and tone and sentiments with regard to articles of my humble production. I see no sin in it. And, as to myself, what can I wish for more than to see approved of in America my *sincere* and zealous efforts to *preserve peace between the two countries*? The whole of my endeavours, as connected with the subject of the American dispute, have had this simple object, and could not have any other object; and, though my endeavours have proved unsuccessful, I see no reason why the Morning Chronicle should grudge me a small pittance of praise.—If my advice had been followed, British naval prowess would still have been without a rival. The names of Hull, and Decatur, and Bainbridge would still have been unknown. I did not wish to see this navy raised up, and I endeavoured to prevent the occasion for it. If the Morning Chronicle had done the same, it might have had its share of the praise of the National Intelligencer.

WM. COBBETT.

Bolley, 6th May, 1813.

PRINCESS OF WALES.

WESTMINSTER ADDRESS AND ANSWER.

"To Her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales.

"We, the Inhabitant Householdors of the City and Liberties of Westminster, legally assembled, beg leave to approach your Royal Highness with an affectionate Address.

"We participate with our fellow-subjects (the Citizens of London) in sentiments of undiminished esteem for your Royal Highness, and of just indignation at the foul conspiracy, which, it is now apparent, has been long carrying on against your Royal Highness's honour and life. We admire the patience, forbearance, and

resignation, with which your Royal Highness has submitted, for so long a time, to neglect and reproach as humiliating as undeserved, even to the very verge of acquiescence in calumnies the most foul, scandalous, and false. Your Royal Highness was compelled at length to vindicate your own honour, involving that of your Royal Daughter, our future Sovereign. And we congratulate your Royal Highness on the magnanimity and wisdom which prompted you to demand, in the face of the Nation, from the two Houses of Parliament, that justice to which the most humble is entitled, "either to be proved guilty or treated as innocent."

"We are firmly of opinion that those who advised the separation of a beloved and affectionate daughter from such a mother, had any thing in view rather than the good of the illustrious object of your Royal Highness's warmest and best affections, or of the country over which she is destined to rule.

"But we are unable to express our grief and astonishment, at the cruelty, injustice, and insolence, with which your Royal Highness's Appeal was withheld from ———, or at the cold and reluctant reception it met with from a ——— Majority of the House of Commons; and we assure your Royal Highness, that upon this, as upon most other occasions, the sentiments of that ——— Majority are no ways in conformity with those of the people; and we flatter ourselves your Royal Highness will not, from so inadequate a criterion, estimate the feelings of a loyal and generous nation. We ardently hope the treatment your Royal Highness has received will deeply imprint on the mind of every thinking man, this great, this indisputable truth—that without an honest House of Commons, justice can no more be ensured to the highest than to the lowest individual in the land.

"We assure your Royal Highness, that regard for our Country, as well as for that deference we bear your Royal Highness, will make us ready at all times to give your Royal Highness proof of our attachment and devotion, and of our anxious solicitude for your welfare, happiness, and honour.

"(Signed) ARTHUR MORRIS, High Bailiff."

Answer of Her Royal Highness.

"I return you my sincere thanks for the regard towards me so kindly expressed in this Address. Upon this as on other im-

portant occasions, the sentiments of Westminster are in unison with those of the whole country.

"Permit me to add, that there can be no doubt that the refusal of Parliament to entertain the question, only originated in a conviction that my innocence stood above all suspicion, and an apprehension that Parliamentary interference might delay the restoration to my daughter's society, so universally desired."

COMMON COUNCIL OF LONDON ADDRESS AND ANSWER.

The Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council, presented their Congratulatory Address to the Princess of Wales, upon Her Royal Highness's complete and happy triumph over the late foul and atrocious conspiracy against her life and honour. They left Guildhall a little before twelve o'clock, and proceeded through Fleet-street, the Strand, Pall-mall, St. James's-street, and Piccadilly, to Kensington Palace. In Pall-mall the populace gave several cheers when they came opposite Carlton-house. The Lord Mayor, Recorder, Sheriffs, Town Clerk, City Remembrancer, Chamberlain, and Law Officers, attended. We also noticed the following Aldermen:—Ald. Combe, Thomas Smith, John Joseph Smith, Downville, Wood, Goodbehere, Heygate, and an unusually large attendance of the Members of the Common Council. Mr. Waithman, the Mover of the Address, accompanied Mr. Alderman Thomas Smith. The procession arrived at Kensington a little before two. The Address was read by Mr. Recorder. The Princess delivered her answer with great dignity and feeling. The Lord Mayor, Recorder, and Aldermen, kissed hands, after which Mr. Waithman was introduced, when Her Royal Highness, in a clear and distinct manner, so as to be audible to all present said, "I am very glad to see you; I feel highly grateful for the interest you have taken in my honour and happiness; I am sure, neither I nor my daughter will ever forget it." All the Members of the Court had the honour of kissing her Royal Highness's hand. Her Royal Highness afterwards conversed with Mr. Alderman Wood, Mr. Alderman Heygate, Mr. Waithman, and Mr. Favell; she observed, "that she felt very much agitated at first; but I hope you will make great allowance for my situation, and my not speaking the language perfectly." The procession re-

turned in the same manner. The day was very unfavourable, owing to the rain and the dirtiness of the streets; but, notwithstanding, the streets were crowded, and a large concourse of people had assembled in Hyde Park and Kensington. The whole was conducted with the greatest order and regularity.—Her Royal Highness took the same route in travelling as on the former occasion. She left Montague-house about half past ten o'clock, in her travelling carriage, attended by Lady Charlotte Lindsay and Lady Charlotte Campbell, and proceeded by cross roads over Battersea Bridge, and arrived at Kensington Palace at half past eleven.—The procession arrived at the Palace at ten minutes past one.—The same regulations were observed as when the Address of the Livery was presented. The Lord Mayor was shewn into the anti Drawing-room, and the others remained in the grand Drawing-room till they had all left their carriages,—which being done, it was announced to the Princess, when she entered the grand Dining-room from a back Anti-room, attended by Mr. St. Leger, her Vice-Chamberlain, Ladies Charlotte Lindsay, Charlotte Campbell, and Ann Hamilton, her Ladies in waiting, and Miss Garth, her bed-chamber woman. Her Royal Highness took her station on the right side of the upper end of the room. The Lord Mayor, &c. were then admitted into the room, when they bowed respectfully. When the Recorder had read the Address, he gave it to the Lord Mayor. His Lordship presented it to the Princess, and she handed it to her Vice-Chamberlain.—After the Corporation had retired, her Royal Highness went to the windows of the dining and drawing-rooms, and at the balcony on the first floor, and was received with great applause by the populace assembled on the grass plat. Her Royal Highness had a select party to dinner at three o'clock, and at half past six set off on her return to Blackheath.

"To her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales.

"The Loyal and Dutiful Address of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the City of London, in Common Council assembled.

"May it please your Royal Highness,

"We, his Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the City of London, in Common Council assembled, deeply interested in whatever concerns the honour and happiness of your Royal Highness, and the

Illustrious Family with whom you are so intimately allied, approach your Royal Highness, to offer our sincere congratulations on the signal and decisive triumph your Royal Highness has recently obtained.

"We have witnessed with horror and indignation the odious and wicked conspiracy which, by malice the most inveterate, has for so many years been directed against your life and honour; and we beg to assure your Royal Highness, that while we hold in the utmost abhorrence acts so base and atrocious, we cannot sufficiently express our admiration of the dignified forbearance and magnanimity which your Royal Highness has manifested under a persecution of such duration, and aggravated by circumstances so trying and afflicting.

"During the whole of this most arduous conflict, we have never ceased to regard the dangerous situation of your Royal Highness with feelings of the most lively sympathy, and we have beheld in the fortitude and firmness of your Royal Highness, conviction the most decisive of the unblemished rectitude of your conduct, which not only dared, but courted the most rigid investigation; and greatly as we lament that your Royal Highness should have been compelled, by any combination of events, to claim to be considered as innocent, or proved to be guilty, yet we feel with your Royal Highness that the period had at length arrived when forbearance would have ceased to have been a virtue.

"We cannot, therefore, sufficiently applaud the wisdom and firmness displayed by your Royal Highness in demanding, for the more public vindication of your own honour, that of your illustrious consort, and the safety, peace, and happiness of these realms, an open inquiry into the base charges of your Calumniators, or an unqualified admission of your innocence.

"We sincerely offer to your Royal Highness our heartfelt congratulations on your complete and happy triumph over so dark and detestable a conspiracy, supported as it was by subornation and perjury; and we are most grateful to your Royal Highness for the proofs we have received in so firmly defending your own honour, of the anxiety you feel for the welfare and happiness of these kingdoms—this conduct affords to us the surest pledge of the blessings we may expect from your Royal Highness, when it shall please Providence to place your Royal Highness, with your Royal Consort, on the British Throne; and we most ardently hope, that the painful recol-

lection of your past sufferings may be lost in the pleasing enjoyment of an unrestricted intercourse with your Illustrious Daughter, the Princess Charlotte, and that she, without the same painful occasion to exercise them, may inherit all the virtues of her Royal Mother, and afford us the consoling hope, that taught to venerate the free principles of the British Constitution as the best protection for innocence and security against oppression, she may, should the period ever arrive when she may be called to preside over the destinies of this Empire, uphold and maintain our liberties, and reign in the hearts of a free, happy, and united people.

"Signed, by Order of Court,

"HENRY WOODTHORPE."

Answer of Her Royal Highness.

"I receive with the greatest satisfaction the congratulations of the City of London; no branch of the House of Brunswick can ever forget to whose exertions chiefly it owes the Throne of those realms, and I have now peculiar reason to know the value of the Constitution which those exertions purchased, because I have found it a sure protection when I had no other defence.

"The extraordinary situation in which I was placed compelled me to come forward in behalf of my honour and my life.

"I have been rewarded not only by the universal acknowledgment of my innocence, but by testimonies of affection from a loyal and high-spirited people, which I shall gratefully remember as long as I live.

"At the present moment I am rather disposed to dwell upon this pleasing circumstance, than upon any recollection of a less agreeable kind. The trials, however, which I have undergone will, I am confident, produce one good effect—they will confirm in my Daughter's mind that attachment to the Constitution which she already cherished, and impress her more and more with the conviction, that no station can be secure except in a free country: it is both the interest and the most sacred duty of an English Monarch to watch over the liberties of the people."

OFFICIAL PAPERS.

PRUSSIA.

Proclamation of the Saxon Commissioners.
(Continued from page 672.)

gulate the affairs of the kingdom, recommend to their fellow-citizens an orderly

and peaceable demeanor in this new and afflicting aspect of public affairs. They assure their countrymen the merit of their present and past obedience is not unknown to their beloved Monarch, who, though overwhelmed with cares and sickness, will shortly be in a situation to give them fresh proofs of his paternal regard. The Commission have been honoured by accounts from the Sovereign, dated Amberg, the 18th of March. His Majesty was then proceeding to Ratisbon. All loyal Saxons may rely on this intelligence. *The Monarch will return.* In the meanwhile they recommend submission to the course of events. Circumstances may render it necessary for the French General to withdraw his troops from the city, to meet the foe at other points; in which case the Russians may be received and provided with quarters and refreshments. It cannot be deemed criminal to yield, when resistance would be destruction. The Commission exhort their fellow-countrymen not to suffer themselves to be seduced from their allegiance. So foul an act would justly efface the merit of all their sacrifices during the last ten years.

Dresden, March 28, 1813.

GERMANY.

Proclamation of General St. Cyr to the Inhabitants of the New Departments.

INHABITANTS!—I learn with the deepest regret, that evil disposed men, agents of the enemy, have mingled among all classes of your population, and seduced many to break that oath of allegiance which they had taken to Napoleon the Great, on the union of these departments with the Empire of France. Chimerical and absurd as the hopes are which these men have held out, they appear to have had but too much success. In frantic terms they have exhorted you to seize the opportunity of breaking your chains; and confide implicitly to the promises of avowed enemies for the realization of a happiness, which can alone be conferred and secured to you by the great Monarch who now sways the sceptre of France. Reflect by whom these promises have been made; by a nation of barbarians, whose army, beaten in every encounter, was preserved from annihilation, and its kingdom from conquest and destruction, solely by the premature rigour of a season for which we were unprovided. They have followed our steps into Ger-

many; and have every where endeavoured to sow the seeds of disunion. Dreading a renewal of the war in Russia, they seek allies in Germany, who will assuredly become their victims, and be abandoned, on the first movement of the armies which are now organizing throughout the provinces of France. Recal to mind the acts of those who now entice you to rebellion. Remember in what manner they have abandoned you on former occasions, and ask yourselves what support they are likely to afford you. The vanguard of the Russian army has only crossed the Elbe to plunder and destroy, and has retired on the approach of our troops. The forces of that power have advanced with a temerity which will not escape chastisement. The first battle will be the signal for the garrisons of the fortresses they have left in their rear, to sally out and cut off their retreat. The first defeat will be to them annihilation; too happy if the remains of their armies are permitted to return by capitulation. Prussia has been compelled to unite with the enemy. Her conduct merits as much pity as contempt. But she will be the first to abandon the alliance she has formed. From England do you expect succours? Alas! what nation ever confided in her friendship that escaped ruin. Banished from the Continent, the woes of the nations that inhabit it are regarded by her with exultation!—Inhabitants! Return to your homes, resume your occupations, and be assured, the armies that are now hastening from the interior will quickly drive the Russians into their own country.

(Signed) CARA ST. CYR, General, &c.
Otterberg, April 2, 1813.

Russian Address to the Germans.

While the victorious warriors of Russia, accompanied by those of His Majesty the King of Prussia, his ally, appear in Germany, His Majesty the Emperor of Russia, and His Majesty the King of Prussia, announce to the Princes and nations of Germany, the return of liberty and independence. They only come with an intention of aiding them to reconquer those inalienable benefits of nations, and of affording powerful protection, and lasting security, to the regeneration of a venerable Empire.—These two armies, trusting in God, and full of courage, advance, hoping that every German, without distinction, will join them, &c.—The Confederation of the Rhine, that deceitful fet-

ter with which the general Disturber bound Germany, after dismembering her, and even obscuring her ancient name, can no longer be tolerated, as it is the effect of foreign constraint and of foreign influence. It must be dissolved.—Their Majesties will only give protection while the German Princes and nations are engaged in completing the grand work.—Let France, who is beauteous and strong through herself, occupy herself, in future, in promoting her internal welfare! No foreign power intends disturbing it—no hostile power shall be sent against her rightful frontiers. But be it known to France, that the other powers are solicitous of conquering lasting tranquillity for their subjects, and that they will not lay down their arms, until the foundation of the independence of every European state has been established and secured.—In the name of their Majesties the Emperor of Russia and King of Prussia.

Prince KUTOUSOFF SMOLENSK,
Field Marshal and Commander in Chief of the Allied Army.
Head-quarters, Kalisch, 13th (25th) March, 1813.

FRANCE.

IMPERIAL DECREE.

Palace of the Thuilleries, March 23, 1813.

Napoleon, Emperor of the French, &c. We have decreed and do decree as follows:

—ART. 1. The Concordat, signed at Fontainebleau, which regulates the affairs of the Church, and which was, on the 13th of February, 1813, published as the law of the State, is obligatory upon our Archbishops, Bishops, and Chapters, who shall be bound to conform to it.—2. As soon as we shall have nominated a vacant Bishoprick, and communicated such nomination to the Holy Father, in the forms prescribed by the Concordat, our Minister of Worship shall send an account of such nomination to the Metropolitan, and if the nomination be a Metropolitan, to the oldest Bishop of the Ecclesiastical Province.—3. The persons whom we shall have nominated, shall appear before the Metropolitan, who will make the prescribed inquiries, and address the result of them to the Holy Father.—4. If the person nominated should be under any ecclesiastical exclusion, the Metropolitan will immediately inform us of it; and in the case where no reason for ecclesiastical ex-

clusion exists, if the appointment is not made by the Pope, within six months from the notification of our nomination, according to the 4th Article of the Concordat, the Metropolitan, assisted by the Bishops of the Ecclesiastical province, shall be obliged to give the said appointment.—

5. Our Imperial Courts shall take cognizance of all the affairs known under the name of appeals, as abuses, as well as of those which may result from the non-execution of the laws of the Concordat.—

6. Our Grand Judge shall present a project for a law, to be discussed in our council, to determine the proceedings and penalties applicable in these matters.—7.

Our Ministers of France and the Kingdom of Italy are charged with the execution of the present decree, which shall be inserted in the Bulletin of the Laws.

(Signed) By the Emperor, NAPOLEON.

(Signed) By the Minister

Secretary of State,

COUNT DARU.

AMERICAN WAR.

Downing-street, April 22, 1813.

A Dispatch, of which the following is a copy, was this day received by the Earl Bathurst, one of His Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, from Lieutenant-Gen. Sir George Prevost, Bart. Governor General and Commander in Chief of the Forces in North America.

Quebec, Feb. 8, 1813.

My Lord,—I have the honour to congratulate your Lordship upon the signal success which has again attended His Majesty's arms in Upper Canada.—Brigadier-General Winchester, with a division of the forces of the United States, consisting of upwards of one thousand men, being the right wing of Major-General Harrison's army, thrown in advance, marching to the attack of Detroit, was completely defeated on the 22d January last, by Colonel Proctor, commanding in the Michigan territory, with a force which he had hastily collected upon the approach of the enemy, consisting of a small detachment of the 10th Royal Veteran Battalion, three companies of the 41st regiment, a party of the Royal Newfoundland Fencibles, the sailors belonging to the Queen Charlotte, and one hundred and fifty of the Essex militia, not exceeding five hundred regulars and militia, and about six hundred Indians; the result of the action has been the surrender of Brigadier-General Winchester, with five hundred of-

ficers, non-commissioned officers, and privates of the American army, and with a loss on their part of nearly the like number in killed and wounded. For the details of this affair, which reflects the highest credit on Colonel Proctor, for the promptitude, gallantry, and decision which he has manifested upon this occasion, I beg leave to refer your Lordship to his letter to Major-General Sheaffe, herewith transmitted.—

I have also the honour of transmitting to your Lordship returns of the killed and wounded on our part, and of the prisoners taken from the enemy, the latter of which, your Lordship will not fail to observe, more than exceeded the whole of the regular and militia force which Colonel Proctor had to oppose to them. Major-General Harrison, with the main body of his army, consisting of about two thousand men, was reported to be four or five days march distant from Brigadier-General Winchester's division, advancing in the direction of Detroit.

—I think it not improbable that, upon hearing of the disaster of this division and the loss of the supplies, he may commence his retreat; but should he persevere in his endeavours to penetrate further into the Michigan territory, I feel the fullest confidence in the skill and bravery of Col. Proctor and the troops under his command, for an effectual resistance to every attempt of the enemy in that quarter.—A small detachment from the royal artillery, at Fort George, with the light infantry company of the 41st regiment, have marched to reinforce Detroit; they are to be replaced on the Niagara frontier by troops now in motion from Montreal.—I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) GEORGE PREVOST.

To the Right Hon. Earl Bathurst, &c. &c.

Sandwich, Jan. 25, 1813.

Sir,—In my last dispatch I acquainted you that the enemy was in the Michigan territory, marching upon Detroit, and that I therefore deemed it necessary that he should be attacked without delay, with all and every description of force within my reach. Early in the morning of the 19th, I was informed of his being in possession of Frenchtown, on the river Raisin, 26 miles from Detroit, after experiencing every resistance that Major Reynolds, of the Essex militia, had it in his power to make, with a three-pounder, well served and directed by Bombardier Kitson, of the royal artillery, and the militia, three of whom he had well trained to the use of it. The re-

treat of the gun was covered by a brave band of Indians, who made the enemy pay dear for what he obtained. This party, composed of militia and Indians, with the gun, fell back eighteen miles to Brown's Town, the settlement of the brave Wyandots, where I directed my force to assemble. On the 21st instant, I advanced twelve miles to Swan Creek, from whence we marched to the enemy, and attacked him at break of day on the 22d instant; and after suffering, for our numbers, a considerable loss, the enemy's force posted in houses and enclosures, and which, from dread of falling into the hands of the Indians, they most obstinately defended, at length surrendered at discretion; the other part of their force, in attempting to retreat by the way they came, were, I believe, all, or with very few exceptions, killed by the Indians. Brigadier-General Winchester was taken in the pursuit by the Wyandot Chief Roundhead, who afterwards surrendered him to me.—You will perceive that I have lost no time; indeed it was necessary to be prompt in my movements, as the enemy would have been joined by Major-General Harrison in a few days. The troops, the marines, and the militia, displayed great bravery, and behaved uncommonly well. Where so much zeal and spirit were manifested, it would be unjust to attempt to particularise any; I cannot, however, refrain from mentioning Lieut.-Colonel St. George, who received four wounds in a gallant attempt to occupy a building which was favourably situated for annoying the enemy; together with Ensign Kerr, of the Newfoundland regiment, who, I fear, is very dangerously wounded. The zeal and courage of the Indian department were never more conspicuous than on this occasion, and the Indian warriors fought with their usual bravery. I am much indebted to the different departments, the troops having been well and timely supplied with every requisite the district could afford.—I have fortunately not been deprived of the services of Lieut. Troughton, of the Royal Artillery, and acting in the Quarter-master General's department, although he was wounded, to whose zealous and unwearied exertions I am so greatly indebted, as well as to the whole of the Royal Artillery, for their conduct in this affair.—I enclose a list of the killed and wounded, and cannot but lament that there are so many of both, but of the latter I am happy to say a large proportion will return to their duty, and most of them in a short time; I also enclose

a return of the arms and ammunition which have been taken, as well as of the prisoners, whom you will perceive to be equal to my utmost force, exclusive of the Indians.—It is reported that a party, consisting of 100 men, bringing 500 hogs for General Winchester's force, has been completely cut off by the Indians, and the convoy taken.—Lieut. M'Lean, my acting Brigade-Major, whose gallantry and exertions were conspicuous on the 22d instant, is the bearer of this dispatch, and will be able to afford you every information respecting our situation.—I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) HENRY PROCTOR, Col.-Com.
To Major-Gen. Sheaffe, &c. Fort George.

Admiralty-Office, April 20, 1813.

Letters, of which the following are Copies and Extracts, have been transmitted to this Office by Rear-Admiral Dixon, addressed to John Wilson Croker, Esq. by Lieut. Chads, late First Lieutenant of His Majesty's ship Java.

United States frigate Constitution, off St. Salvador,

December 31, 1812.

Sir,—It is with deep regret that I write to you, for the information of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that His Majesty's ship is no more, after sustaining an action on the 29th instant, for several hours, with the American frigate Constitution, which resulted in the capture and ultimate destruction of His Majesty's ship. Captain Lambert being dangerously wounded in the height of the action, the melancholy task of writing the detail devolves on me.—On the morning of the 29th instant, at eight A. A. off St. Salvador (coast of Brazil), the wind at N. E. we perceived a strange sail; made all sail in chase, and soon made her out to be a large frigate; at noon prepared for action, the chase not answering our private signals, and tacking towards us under easy sail; when about four miles distant she made a signal, and immediately tacked and made all sail away upon the wind. We soon found we had the advantage of her in sailing, and came up with her fast, when she hoisted American colours; she then bore about three points on our lee bow. At fifty minutes past one P. M. the enemy shortened sail, upon which we bore down upon her; at ten minutes past two, when about half a mile distant, she opened her fire, giving us her larboard broadside, which was not returned till we were close on her weather bow. Both ships now manœuvred to ob-

tain advantageous positions, our opponent evidently avoiding close action, and firing high to disable our masts, in which he succeeded too well, having shot away the head of our bowsprit with the jib-boom, and our running rigging so much cut as to prevent our preserving the weather-gage.

—At five minutes past three, finding the enemy's raking fire extremely heavy, Capt. Lambert ordered the ship to be laid on board, in which we should have succeeded, had not our fore-mast been shot away at this moment, the remains of our bowsprit passing over his taffrail; shortly after this the maintop mast went, leaving the ship totally unmanageable, with most of our starboard guns rendered useless from the wreck lying over them.—At half-past three our gallant Captain received a dangerous wound in the breast, and was carried below; from this time we could not fire more than two or three guns until a quarter-past four, when our mizen-mast was shot away; the ship then fell off a little, and brought many of our starboard guns to bear: the enemy's rigging was so much cut, that he could not now avoid shooting a-head, which brought us fairly broadside and broadside. Our main-yard now went in the slings, both ships continued engaged in this manner till thirty-five minutes past four, we frequently on fire, in consequence of the wreck lying on the side engaged. Our opponent now made sail a-head out of gun-shot, where he remained an hour repairing his damages, leaving us an unmanageable wreck, with only the mainmast left, and that tottering. Every exertion was made by us during this interval to place the ship in a state to renew the action. We succeeded in clearing the wreck of our masts from our guns, a sail was set on the stumps of the fore-mast and bowsprit, the weather-half of the main-yard remaining aloft, the main-tack was got forward in the hope of getting the ship before the wind, our helm being still perfect; the effort unfortunately proved ineffectual, from the main-mast falling over the side, from the heavy rolling of the ship, which nearly covered the whole of our starboard guns. We still waited the attack of the enemy, he now standing towards us for that purpose; on his coming nearly within hail of us, and from his manœuvre perceiving he intended a position a-head, where he could rake us without a possibility of our returning a shot, I then consulted the officers, who agreed with myself that our having a great part of our crew killed

and wounded, our bowsprit and three masts gone, several guns useless, we should not be justified in wasting the lives of more of those remaining, who I hope their Lordships and the Country will think have bravely defended His Majesty's ship; under these circumstances, however reluctantly, at fifty minutes past five, our colours were lowered from the stump of the mizen-mast, and we were taken possession of, a little after six, by the American frigate *Constitution*, commanded by Commodore Bainbridge, who, immediately after ascertaining the state of the ship, resolved on burning her, which we had the satisfaction of seeing done as soon as the wounded were removed. Annexed I send you a return of the killed and wounded, and it is with pain I perceive it so numerous; also a statement of the comparative force of the two ships, when I hope their Lordships will not think the British flag tarnished, although success has not attended us. It would be presumptuous in me to speak of Captain Lambert's merits, who, though still in danger from his wound, we still entertain the greatest hopes of his being restored to the service and his country.—

It is most gratifying to my feelings to notice the gallantry of every officer, seaman, and marine on board; in justice to the officers, I beg leave to mention them individually. I can never speak too highly of the able exertions of Lieutenants Herringham, and Buchanan, and also Mr. Robinson, Master, who was severely wounded, and Lieutenants Mercer and Davis, of the royal marines, the latter of whom was also severely wounded. To Captain John Marshall, R. N. who was a passenger, I am particularly obliged for his exertions and advice throughout the action. To Lieutenant Aplin, who was on the main deck, and Lieutenant Saunders, who commanded on the fore-castle, I also return my thanks, I cannot but notice the good conduct of the mates and midshipmen, many of whom are killed, and the greater part wounded. To Mr. T. C. Jones, Surgeon, and his assistants, every praise is due for their unwearied assiduity in the care of the wounded. Lieut.-General Hislop, Major Walker, and Captain Wood, of his staff, the latter of whom was severely wounded, were solicitous to assist and remain on the quarter-deck. I cannot conclude this letter without expressing my grateful acknowledgments, thus publicly, for the generous treatment Captain Lambert and his officers have experienced from

our gallant enemy, Commodore Bainbridge, and his officers.—I have the honour to be, &c.

HY. D. CHADS, First Lieutenant
of His Majesty's late ship Java.

P. S. The Constitution has also suffered severely, both in her rigging and men, having her fore and mizen-masts, maintop-mast, both maintopsail-yards, sparker-boom, gaff, and trysail-mast badly shot, and the greatest part of the standing rigging very much damaged, with ten men killed, the Commodore, Fifth Lieutenant, and forty-six men wounded, four of whom are since dead.

Force of the Two Ships.

JAVA.

28 long eighteen-pounders.
16 carronades, thirty-two-pounders.
2 long nine-pounders.

—
46 guns.

Weight of metal, 1,034 lb.

Ship's company and supernumeraries, 377.

CONSTITUTION.

32 long twenty-four-pounders.
22 carronades, thirty-two-pounders.
1 carronade, eighteen-pounder.

—
55 guns.

Weight of metal, 1,490 lb.

Crew, 480.

AMERICAN STATES.

Washington, March 4.

At twelve o'clock this day, James Madison, the President of the United States elect, having attended at the Capital for the purpose of taking the Oath of Office, delivered to the vast concourse of people assembled on the occasion, the following Speech:—

“About to add the solemnity of an oath to the obligations imposed by a second call to the station in which my country has here before placed me, I find in the presence of this respectable assembly, an opportunity of publicly repeating my profound sense of so distinguished a confidence, and of the responsibility united with it. The impressions on me are strengthened by such an evidence, that my faithful endeavours to discharge my arduous duties have been fa-

vourably estimated; and by a consideration on the momentous period at which the trust has been renewed.—From the weight and magnitude now belonging to it, I should be compelled to shrink, if I had less reliance on the support of an enlightened and generous people, and feel less deeply a conviction, that the war with a powerful nation, which forms so prominent a feature in our situation, is stamped with that justice which invites the smiles of Heaven on the means of conducting it to a successful termination.—May we not cherish this sentiment, without presumption, when we reflect on the characters by which this war is distinguished?—It was not declared on the part of the United States until it had been long made on them in reality, though not in name—until arguments and expostulations had been exhausted—until a positive declaration had been received that the wrongs provoking it would not be discontinued—nor until this appeal could no longer be delayed without breaking down the spirit of the nation, destroying all confidence in itself and in its political institutions; and either perpetuating a state of disgraceful suffering, or regaining, by more costly sacrifices and more severe struggles, our lost rank and respect among independent powers.—On the issue of the war are staked our national sovereignty on the high seas, and security of an important class of citizens, whose occupations give the proper value to those of every other class. Not to contend for such a stake, is to surrender our equality with other Powers on the element common to all, and to violate the sacred title which every member of the society has to its protection.—I need not call into view the unlawfulness of the practice, by which our mariners are forced, at the will of every cruising officer, from their own vessels into foreign ones, nor paint the outrages inseparable from it. The proofs are in the records of each successive administration of our government—and the cruel sufferings of that portion of the American people have found their way to every bosom not dead to the sympathies of human nature.—As the war was just in its origin, and necessary and noble in its objects; we can reflect with a proud satisfaction, that in car-

(To be continued.)

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

BERKSHIRE MEETING.—"SPIRIT OF THE BOOK."—This county, one of the very first in the kingdom to step forward in all cases where justice calls for the people's interference, met on Monday, the 4th instant, to address the Princess of Wales. —Mr. MONCK moved the Address, and was seconded by Mr. MAKANESS, who was followed by Mr. HALLETT.—These Berkshire men talk *too freely* for me to dare to insert their speeches. But, I have read, with great pleasure, all the excellent things they said about the parties, high and low, concerned in the transactions of which they spoke. —There was a Mr. REYNARD, who spoke against the Address, who was very neatly answered by Mr. H. MARSH. But, what I am anxious particularly to notice with regard to this Meeting, is, an observation of Mr. Reynard, relative to a publication, called the "SPIRIT OF THE BOOK." This gentleman is reported to have said, that that work contained matter against the Princess, which *had not yet been answered*.—That any person, pretending to speak at a public meeting, should have named such a publication, as containing any thing worthy of serious notice, is quite surprising; and it only shows to what shifts and tricks the enemies of the Princess are ready to resort.—The thing having been mentioned, however, and on such an occasion, I will, for the information of the Tax-payers of Berkshire, give the real history of this publication.—I saw it *in manuscript*: it was while I was in Newgate for two years, for having written about the flogging of English militiamen, at the town of Ely, in England, under the superintendence of German Troops, and about a year before I paid the Prince Regent a fine of a thousand pounds, for the same crime; while, I say, I was thus in Newgate, a young man, who said his name was HAYDN, came to me with the "*Spirit of the Book*," in manuscript, and told me that it was the writing of a person then in the King's Bench prison.—He told me, that, under feigned names, it was

the true account of the quarrels between the Prince and Princess of Wales.—He left it with me to read. I read it, and I found (for I had seen part of the real Book before) that, not only was it a mere *romance*, that it was, as to its intended meaning, a string of lies; but, that the author never could have seen the Book, or any part of it.—When, therefore, Mr. Haydn returned, I gave him his manuscript; told him it was all falsehood; told him that it was very unjust to publish such a thing; and advised him to have nothing to do with the matter.—The production was, however, published; and Mr. Haydn brought me a copy and gave it me.—He asked me to mention it in the Register. I told him, that I could not do any thing tending to give the work currency, because I knew it to be wholly false, and because I regarded it as containing matter calculated to do great injustice to the Princess of Wales.—He then asked me to be so good as to *write against it*! That I also refused, as being likely to aid in the circulation.—However, it wanted no aid of mine. *Cupidity*; the love of *diving* into such matters; and the manner of dressing up the story, sent it through all the circulating libraries in the kingdom. The sale was immense; and the profit, as I am told, *not less than three or four thousand pounds*. —This is the true history of the work, which Mr. REYNARD thought proper to refer to at the public Meeting of a county, as containing serious matter against the Princess of Wales.—What, after this, will not the enemies of the Princess *trump up*? Will they stop at any thing? I think it is not likely that they will; and, therefore, the public ought to be upon their guard against every thing which they say.—The Address, in Berkshire, was, it seems, carried with only two voices against it; but, as we are told in the Morning Chronicle, Mr. DUNN, one of the County Members, has refused to present it, on account of certain parts in it censuring the conduct of the *four Lords*, who held the Inquiry. If this be true, the people of Berkshire ought to bear it in mind. What

right has Mr. Dundas to refuse to comply with a vote of the whole county upon such a ground as that which is here alleged? The people of the county voted, that the Address, which they agreed to, should be carried up by the county Members; and, if those Members refuse, what pretty *representatives* they are! They seem to think, however, that they are not chosen by the people; they well know, that it is not the free popular voice that has placed them where they are; and, therefore, they disregard, very likely, that voice.—The Meeting included, as it ought, all persons in the county, *paying taxes*; and, surely, a man who pays taxes, ought to have something to say in the affairs of the country and the government.—Here, again, we see (and, indeed, it meets us every where) the want of a reform in the parliament. The statement about the conduct of Mr. Dundas may be untrue; but, if he has refused, the cause is, that he knows that he does not depend for his seat upon the *payers of the taxes*; but, in the first place, upon the dependants of Government; upon the aristocracy and the church; and, then, upon *their dependants*. If every man who pays taxes had had a vote in the county, Mr. Dundas would not have refused to present an Address of the people.—Mr. HALLETT made an observation that was very striking. It was this: that, when the Addresses were going on against the conduct of the *Duke of York*, the movers were accused of *faction* and *disloyal* motives; and, that, now that they are addressing the Princess upon her escape from the machinations of disloyal conspirators, they are still accused of *faction* and *disloyal* motives.—As he observed, these accusers are *very difficult to please*. The truth is, they depend on the Government for the whole, or part, of what they possess, and, they imagine, that Addresses for the Princess are as disagreeable to those in power as Addresses were against the *Duke of York*.—That they think this is manifest enough; but, the wonder is, *why* they should think so! Why they should imagine, that Addresses, expressing joy at the escape of the wife from a foul, and base, and infamous conspiracy, should be *displeasing to any one in power*. Why they should think this is the wonder; and yet, that they do think it, appears very clear to me; because I always see them ready to pour in Addresses, when those Addresses are manifestly pleasing to the Government.—There is one thing, in which, I think, the people have been a

little deficient; namely, in not having addressed the *Regent* upon the subject; of his Royal Consort's escape from so base and wicked an attempt against her honour and life.—His joy must be as much greater than any other man's, upon the occasion, as his honour was more at stake. Her acquittal; the complete proof of her innocence, and of the guilt of her infamous enemies: the shame, the disgrace, now affixed for ever on the heads of the "suborned and "perjured traitors," must give him, above all men, satisfaction. Indeed the whole of the Royal Family, and, amongst the female part, the *Queen*, that good old Lady, her aunt and mother-in-law, must feel her heart warmed at the wiping off of these aspersions on her family. I think, that Her Majesty also ought to be addressed; for, as I find from the Gazette, *she was* addressed upon the marriage of the Princess, and upon the birth of her child. Why not address the Queen now? I would, if I had any thing to do with Addresses. I do not like the idea of treating the Queen as if she were out of date. There can be no doubt; it would be disloyal to doubt, that Her Majesty must feel the most lively satisfaction upon the occasion; and, by all that's loyal, address her I would! The people must meet again. They have but half done their business. Indeed, though the Ministers have, perhaps, too much modesty to say it, they, I dare say, are offended to see no Addresses coming forward to the Queen and the Regent. This, now I rightly think of the matter, must be the cause why they appear so cold upon the occasion. Go at them, therefore, with Addresses to the Regent and the Queen, and I will engage, that they will discover a strong fellow-feeling in the work.—It is, perhaps, for this second series of Addresses that the *Clergy* are reserving themselves; and, I must confess, that I am impatient to see those gentlemen come out. They have seldom been behind hand, when the work of Addressing was going forward in favour of any one of the Royal Family; and, upon an occasion like this, where an innocent woman has escaped from a base combination against her, the Church, it appears to me, ought to have stood in the front. Why the Clergy have hung back I cannot imagine. I wish some one, at least, of them would give us the reasons for what appears so astonishing. But, at any rate, if they will not come out, let us bear the fact in mind.

THE TRINITY.—This seems an odd sort of topic for a *Political Register*; but, it belongs to politics as much as war does, it having become the subject of Acts of Parliament, and being now, if the newspapers tell us truth, about to become the subject of a new Act.——This Act will, if passed, make a much greater change in the religion of this country than has ever yet been made. It strikes at the root of *Christianity* itself. Now, mind, I say this as my deliberate opinion; and the *reasons*, on which I found this opinion, I will state fully, when I have inserted the report of the proceedings in the House of Commons.

——“MR. WM. SMITH said, he believed *no opposition* would be made to the motion he was about to submit to the House, and he therefore would not take up two minutes of their attention. The Act of King William, known by the name of the Toleration Act, denied to persons who disbelieved in the Trinity the benefit of toleration. An Act of the 19th of His present Majesty required only the general belief in the *doctrines of Christianity and the Scriptures*; but it so happened, that though by the Act of the 19th it was not necessary to subscribe the Articles of the Church of England, professing the belief in the Trinity, the Acts of the 9th and 10th of King William were not repealed. By these Acts, persons who in writing or conversation deny the existence of any of the persons of the Trinity, are disabled in law from holding any office, civil, ecclesiastical, or military, on conviction; and if a second time convicted, they are disabled to sue or prosecute in any action or information, or to be the guardian of any child, and *liable to be imprisoned for three years*. The only object of his Bill was to do away these penalties. He said the liberal Act which was passed last year was highly creditable to the liberality of the Ministers of this country, and the times in which we lived. The only question now for consideration was, whether those persons dissenting from the Church of England, should be still liable to the penalties of the Acts of King William. He therefore moved for leave to bring in a Bill for granting farther Relief to the different Persuasions of Christians in this Country, who disbelieved the *Doctrine of the Trinity*.——THE SPEAKER observed, that the regular course was to move first, that the motion should be submitted to a Committee of the whole House; which

“was accordingly done.——LORD CASHMERE said, he certainly *did not see any reason to object to the principle of the Bill*. When the Bill was before the House, he would then be enabled to see if there was any thing in the mode of granting the relief liable to objection.——The House went into a Committee, when leave was moved for and obtained, to bring in the Bill in question.”——Now, as the reader will understand, if this Act pass, any person may, with impunity, openly talk, prate, or preach, that *the Doctrine of the Trinity is a false Doctrine*.——What, then, is this Doctrine? Our Church tells us, that, unless we believe in it we *must* be damned; the belief of it is, our Church says, *absolutely necessary* to salvation; and, to allow people openly to say that it is a *false doctrine*, what is this but to allow people to do their utmost to procure and ensure our damnation; and, pray, what did Mr. Paine, or Mr. Eaton, or any body else ever do, or attempt to do, *more than this*?——But, I am before my story. What is the Doctrine of the Trinity?——Why, it is this. That GOD, the Maker of the Universe; the Creator and Sustainer of all things; did, through the instrumentality of the Holy Ghost, assuming the shape of a Dove, beget upon the body of a woman, his son Christ. That Christ, so begotten, was GOD; and that the Holy Ghost was GOD; and yet, that there were not, and are not *three Gods*, but only *one God*.——There are persons who deny this. They say, that they do not believe, that God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost, are *one God*; they deny that the two latter are Gods, and acknowledge only *as God*, God the Father.——Who is right and who wrong, I have not the presumption to say; but, this I say, that *both* are not right; that one of the two is wrong; and, I further say, that he who denies the *divinity* of Christ is *no Christian*; whence it follows, that, in my clear opinion, the proposed Act, if passed, would be a sanction to the open preaching against *Christianity*.——The *divinity* of Christ is the basis of Christianity. If he was not God; if he may be considered in any other light; if he may be regarded as *something less*; where is the boundary? Once let the people be told, that he was a *man*, and what becomes of the whole system? Take away the *law*, as it now stands, and see to what lengths men will go. Every one will give his opinion freely upon this point; the *incarnation*;

the *enunciation*; the whole thing will become a subject of *free discussion*, and then it will puzzle any one to devise the means of *criminating* any man, who shall write upon the Christian System. Remove this great prop, and, in my opinion, down comes the fabric.—The *morality* of the Gospel is nothing in support of *Christianity*, which stands upon *faith*; and, if you take away the *divinity* of Christ, where is ground for your faith? The *morality* taught by Christ was taught long before his birth. There was, as our Clergy show us every day, nothing new in the morality. It was the *super-natural* things that took place in Palestine that were new; it was the *miracles*, the *resurrection*, &c., and, if you take away the *divinity* of Christ, what becomes of all these? To suppose, that God had a *son*, after the manner of men, is something so monstrous, so low, so degrading, so absurd, so ridiculous, that it cannot live for a moment, except in a mind brutified by ignorance. And yet, this you must believe, if you believe that God and his Son are *two distinct persons*, and in nowise *united in essence*. What, then, is your belief, Mr. SMITH, or, rather, the belief of those in whose behalf the Bill is to pass into a law? That Christ was *not* the Son of God? Is this their belief? If it be, with what decency do they profess to believe the Scripture? With what decency do they call any one, and by way of reproach too, a *Deist*?—You say, that the Act of the 19th of the present King, requires ONLY “the general belief in the *Doctrines of Christianity* and the Scriptures? ONLY! Why, Sir, this Doctrine is the *all-in-all*. Without it there is no more in being a *Christian* than there is in being a *Pittite* or a *Foxite*, and, I should be very glad to see any one attempt to prove the contrary.—No, if this part is taken away, the whole fabric totters. An Act of Parliament will, in such case, allow people openly to say, that the great Creed of our Church is a falsehood. Our Church lays down one point of faith as indispensable in order to obtain salvation; and the proposed Act will permit any one to say, at the Church door, that no man need believe any such thing, for that the assertion is false, and that one of the most venerable of the Fathers of the Church was a retailer of falsehoods.—What, then, you will say, perhaps, are people to believe what they cannot believe? “*Cannot believe*,” pray what does that mean? The people, in whose behalf you bring forward the Bill,

are, it seems, quite willing to be bound to a *belief of the Scriptures*; they believe, they are content to be bound to believe, that God came down, in the cool of the day, and walked in the Garden of Eden; that he came down and talked to Moses in a Cloud; that the Red Sea opened and formed a sort of walls while the Israelites passed over; that the Sun and Moon stood still at the command of Joshua; that the walls of Jericho fell down at the sound of a trumpet; that five loaves and a few small fishes filled thousands of hungry people: all this, it seems, they are willing to believe as well as we Church people; and *why*, I should be glad to know, are they to be permitted openly to preach against the belief of Christ being God? Why do they not come, at once, and ask for leave to deny the *whole* as well as a *part*? They cannot *comprehend* how Christ can be God, by whom he was begotten. Oh, oh! And can they *comprehend* how the Devil came to take Christ up to the top of a high mountain, and to offer him all the kingdoms of the world? Can they *comprehend* how all the animals got into one single ark? Can they *comprehend* why Deborah and Barak sang the praises of Jael, who drove the nail through the head of Sisera, while he was asleep? No: they pretend not to *comprehend* these. They do, however, believe them as we Church people do: they do, like us, regard them as mystical; and, *why*, I again ask, cannot they accompany us through the whole of our faith?—Besides, what do they mean by being *forced* to believe this, or that? They are forced to *believe* nothing; they are only forbidden to *tell any body* that they do not believe so and so. That is all. If they will but hold their *tongues* and their *pens*, they may believe, or disbelieve just what they please. “*Tender Consciences*,” indeed! And how are their consciences hurt, how are they violated, by a law which forbids the telling of folks that the Doctrine of the Trinity, a Doctrine some hundreds of years old, and taught by all our Bishops and Clergy, is false? They are not, as under some tyrannical governments, compelled to make open declarations that they *do* believe according to the Church; they are only forbidden to say that they *do not* believe according to the Church; they may keep silence; that is their remedy; and I know not *why* they should be suffered to express their opinions about Christ, any more than I may not be suffered to express mine about the Regent, or his Judges, or his Ministers.

—Let them hold their *tongues* and their *pens*, and their faith is *absolutely without shackle*!—When Mr. EATON was tried, the Attorney-General, Gibbs, called for punishment upon the old man, because his book was calculated to endanger the souls of the people, by causing them to disbelieve the doctrines of Christianity. Now, of the Doctrines of Christianity the principal one is, that Christ is God; that there is God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost; and that these are not *three* but *one*. This, our Church says, we must believe, or we *cannot be saved*. What, then, having Mr. Eaton's prosecution and punishment in our eyes, are we to think of a proposition for passing a law to permit people openly to preach, that this Doctrine is false; that this faith, upon which the Church tells us our salvation absolutely depends, has no truth in it; and that we ought to believe no such thing?

—These are my reasons against the proposed Act. But, besides these, there are others. If the Unitarians are to have an Act passed to authorize them to preach against the Trinity, why should not the Deists have an Act passed to authorize them to preach against Revelation altogether. If one Sect is to be indulged in denying what they do not believe, why not another Sect in denying what they do not believe? If I am told, that it is right to ease the *Tender Conscience* of the Unitarian, I ask why the *Tender Conscience* of the Deist is not to be considered? I have no objection to an Act of Parliament to allow men to say and to write whatsoever they please upon the subject of religion; but, if such an Act is not to be passed, I really can see no reason for this favour to one particular Sect. If this Sect be indulged in preaching against the Trinity, another may ask for permission to preach against the Resurrection, and so on, till, really, our laws will have chipped the whole of the Scriptures away and all the doctrines growing out of them, or ingrafted upon them. An Act to permit men to say and publish what they please upon the subject of religion would be much less hostile to the Church, than would be an Act giving permission as to one particular doctrine; because in this latter, the parliament seem to give up that doctrine to be demolished; whereas, if the permission were *general*, it would seem to proceed merely from a wish to remove all restraint as to men's faith.—In short, I do not see why this particular sect should be indulged; and I am, on that ground as

well as others, opposed to the intended Act. Our Church says, that this doctrine is the basis of our faith; that to believe in the Trinity is absolutely necessary to our salvation; and, why, I ask, is a particular set of men to be allowed to endeavour openly to prevent us from entertaining this saving belief?—I am no *Doctor*. I do not understand Greek and Latin. But I understand how to count my fingers; and it requires little more to enable any one to discover, that, if one sect be allowed to preach against one part of the Church faith, every other sect ought to be allowed to preach against any part of that faith which they may happen to dislike.—I dare say, that an Unitarian Priest will tell me, NO. He will, I'll engage for him, say, that people ought to be permitted to deny the Godhead of Christ, but that they ought not to be permitted to deny the authenticity of any Chapter in Genesis or Numbers. No: such latter denial does not, probably, suit him. That might lead to consequences that he would not like. If those chapters were set aside, others might, and, at last, away might go the whole; there would then be *no want of an interpreter*, and his priesthood would be at an end. No, no: I am for no partial repeals. I am for a general Act, permitting every man to say or write what he pleases upon the subject of religion, or, I wish the whole thing to remain what it now is. —I wonder that the Clergy, so active as they are upon other occasions, where the interests of the Church are in question, should be so silent on this occasion. They cry out that the *Church is in danger*, when a few Roman Catholics want only to share in the good things under government; but, here, where the very bowels of the Church are aimed at, they say not a word! Is it, because they do not perceive that the Unitarians want to get at their temporalities? I do not know that they do; but, I dare say they would have no objection to come in for a small portion.

MR. CREEVEY.—The case of this gentleman was argued, last week, in the Court of King's Bench, upon a motion of Mr. Brougham for a new trial, upon the ground of misdirection on the part of Judge Le Blanc, who presided at the trial at Lancaster.—I have inserted the proceedings below. They are of very great importance. The Court decided against him; and, in my opinion, decided very fairly.—The only thing that Mr. Cree-

vey has to complain of, is, that he could not set up the *truth* in justification; but, in this respect, he is upon the same footing as the rest of us. I was not allowed to prove the truth of my publication; nor is any man who is prosecuted criminally. If I were to detect a man in the act of theft, real, vulgar, poor-man's theft, and were to state the fact in print, he might indict me for it; might prosecute me; and I must be convicted; for, if there were a witness to the fact, I should not be allowed to produce him to prove the truth of what I had said.—Therefore, Mr. Creevey's case is not singular. He has the same law for him as we all have; and, Mr. Brougham would have done much better to complain on this score; to make a general complaint against the law, than to stand upon any particular privilege.

“GERMAN PATRIOTS.”—The subscription, I see, goes on for these people; and a correspondent begs me to *think better of them*. I do not think ill of the people of Germany. There are no bad people naturally. When they are bad, they are made bad by their governments. But, what I do think, is, that there will be no *population* found in Germany disposed to resist Buonaparté. This is what I think, and I have heard no reasons in opposition to my opinion. If it be merely a war of soldier against soldier, my firm persuasion is, that the French will triumph. However, it is useless to deal in conjectures and opinions. The *proof* is at no great distance.

CATHOLIC QUESTION.—Upon this subject a Bill is now before the House of Commons, the second reading of which stood for Tuesday last, when Sir JOHN COX HIPPISLEY moved to put off the matter by referring to a Committee an inquiry into the existing laws against the Catholics.—This, I must confess, greatly astonished me, who always regarded this gentleman as the great champion of the Catholic cause, but who, it seems, has now discovered them to be a very dangerous body; or, at least, to entertain notions very dangerous to the Church and State.—His motion was lost by a great majority; but, I do not believe, that the Bill will, at this time, become a law for all that.—It is, as I said before, a question of *temporal interests*; and, it is not likely, that those, who are in possession of good things, will admit others to share with them, if they

can help it.—The dry matter is this: shall the Catholics have a share of the seats in parliament, and of the high offices in the State, in the army, and in the navy, or shall they not; or, in other words, shall they come into a full share, with the Protestants, of the *public money*.—Twist and turn the thing as you please; talk about superstition, bigotry, liberty of conscience, or what you like; but, at last, this is the plain, dry question. And, I do not think that the Protestants, who are now in the possession of these good things, will, if they can avoid it, permit these new and *furnishing* candidates to come in and share with them.—If I thought that the Bill was likely to pass, I should use my best endeavours to prevent its passing; because I think it is a Bill, calculated to make the Catholic Clergy the *tools of the government*, and to a much greater extent than the Church Clergy can be expected to be.—The Abstract, which I here insert, will shew, in a moment, that this is the case.—“This Bill enables Roman Catholics to sit in either House of Parliament; and to hold all civil and military offices, upon their taking and making a certain Declaration and Oath, instead of the Oaths of Allegiance, Abjuration, and Supremacy, and the Declarations against Transubstantiation and the Invocation of Saints, required by the present laws, except the offices of Lord High Chancellor, Lord Keeper or Lord Commissioner of the Great Seal of Great Britain, or of Lord Lieutenant or Lord Deputy, or Chief Governor or Governors of Ireland. Roman Catholics are also to continue disqualified to hold or to present to any office, benefice, place or dignity, belonging to the Established Church, or the Church of Scotland, or to any Ecclesiastical Court of Judicature, or to any of the Universities of this realm, or to the Colleges of Eton, Westminster, or Winchester, or to any public School of Royal or Ecclesiastical foundation within this realm, otherwise than as they are by the law, as now existing, qualified to hold, or presented to the same.—No Roman Catholic shall present to any Protestant advowson; if any ecclesiastical patronage be attached to any office to which a Roman Catholic is appointed, the patronage shall be executed by such Protestant Privy Councillor as His Majesty may appoint. Roman Catholic Clergymen shall take an oath, purporting that they will not recommend, sanc-

tion, or concur in the appointment or consecration of any Bishop, of whose loyalty they are not well informed. Persons discharging spiritual functions without taking this oath, will be guilty of a misdemeanour.—None but a natural-born subject; having been resident in the kingdom five years immediately previous to consecration, shall exercise the functions of Bishop.—These are the heads to Mr. Grattan's Bill, to which Mr. Canning has proposed several supplementary clauses to the following purport:—That every Roman Catholic Bishop to be hereafter appointed shall obtain a certificate from five English Catholic Peers, named in the bill, as to his loyalty; and any Bishop officiating without this certificate, may be sent out of the kingdom. That all bulls or briefs received from Rome, shall be immediately communicated to Commissioners appointed by the bill, namely, five Catholic Peers, the Roman Catholic Bishop of the London district, the Lord Chancellor, and one of the Secretaries of State, being a Protestant, excepting such bulls as relate to the spiritual concerns of individuals, which must be certified upon oath to be purely of such a nature.—The penalty of not complying with that provision, is, that they are liable to be sent out of the kingdom.—The Commissioners to be sworn to secrecy.—There is a similar provision for Ireland.—The Commissioners to certify for the loyalty of Bishops to be five Irish Catholic Peers. The Commissioners for the inspection of bulls to be the same five Peers, the Roman Catholic Arch-bishops of Dublin and Armagh, the Lord Chancellor, and Secretary of State, or one of the Privy Council, being a Protestant.—In the event of the death or absence from the kingdom of any of the five Catholic Peers in either of the kingdoms, a substitute to be appointed by His Majesty from among the remaining Catholic Peers; or, if there should not be a sufficient number of Catholic Peers, any Roman Catholic Gentleman, possessing a landed estate of £1,000 a year may be appointed.—The following is the new oath:—‘I, A. B. do hereby declare, that I do profess the Roman Catholic Religion; and I do sincerely promise and swear that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to His Majesty King George the Third, and him will defend to the utmost of my power against all

conspiracies and attempts whatever, that shall be made against his person, crown, or dignity; and I will do my utmost endeavour to disclose and make known to His Majesty, his heirs, and successors, all treasons and traitorous conspiracies which may be formed against him or them; and I do faithfully promise to maintain, support, and defend, to the utmost of my power, the succession to the Crown (which succession, by an Act entitled, ‘An Act for the further limitation of the Crown, and the better securing the rights and liberties of the subject,’ is, and stands limited to the Princess Sophia, Electress and Duchess Dowager of Hanover, and the heirs of her body being Protestants); hereby utterly renouncing and abjuring any obedience or allegiance unto any other person claiming or pretending a right to the Crown of this Realm. I do declare, that I do not believe that the Pope of Rome, or any other foreign Prince, Prelate, State, or Potentate, hath, or ought to have, any temporal or civil jurisdiction, power, superiority, or pre-eminence, directly or indirectly, within this Realm: I do further declare, that it is not an article of my faith, and that I do renounce, reject, and abjure the opinion, that Princes excommunicated by the Pope or Council, or by the Pope and Council, or by any authority of the See of Rome, or by any authority whatsoever, may be deposed or murdered by their subjects, or any person whatsoever. I do swear that I will defend, to the utmost of my power, the settlement and arrangement of property within this realm, as established by the laws. I do swear that I do abjure, condemn, and detest, as unchristian and impious, the principle, that it is lawful to destroy or any ways injure any person whatsoever, for or under the pretence of such person being an Heretic. I do declare solemnly before God, that I believe that no act, in itself unjust or immoral, can ever be justified or excused, by, or under the pretence or colour that it was done, either for the good of the Church, or in obedience to any Ecclesiastical Power whatsoever. I do also declare, that it is not an article of the Roman Catholic Faith, neither am I thereby required to believe or profess, that the Pope is infallible, or that I am bound to obey any order, in its own nature immoral, though the Pope or any Ecclesiastical Power should make or

"direct such order: but, on the contrary, I hold, that it would be sinful in me to pay any respect or obedience thereto. I further declare, that I do not believe that any sin whatsoever committed by me, can be forgiven at the will of any Pope, or of any Priest, or any person or persons whatsoever; but that sincere sorrow for past sins, a firm and sincere resolution to avoid future guilt, and to atone to God, are previous and indispensable requisites to establish a well-founded expectation of forgiveness, and that any person, who received absolution without the previous requisites, so far from obtaining thereby any remission of his sins, incurs the additional guilt of violating a Sacrament. I do reject and detest, as an unchristian and impious principle, that faith is not to be kept with Heretics or Infidels: I do hereby disclaim, disavow, and solemnly abjure any intention to subvert the present Church Establishment, for the purpose of substituting a Roman Catholic Establishment in its stead. I do solemnly swear that I will not use any privilege, power, or influence, which I do now, or may hereafter possess, to overthrow or disturb the present Church Establishments of the United Kingdom; and that I never will, by any conspiracy, contrivance, or device whatsoever, abet others in any attempt to overthrow or disturb the same. And that I will make known to his Majesty, his heirs and successors, all attempts, plots, or conspiracies whether at home or abroad, which shall come to my knowledge, for effecting either of these purposes. I do solemnly, in the presence of God, profess, testify, and declare, that I do swear this Oath, and make this Declaration, and every part thereof, in the plain and ordinary sense of the words, without any evasion, equivocation, or mental reservation whatever, and without any dispensation, already granted by the Pope, or any authority of the See of Rome, or any person whatever, and without thinking that I am, or can be acquitted before God or man, or absolved of this Declaration, or any part thereof, although the Pope or any other person or authority whatsoever shall dispense with or annul the same, or declare that it was null and void from the beginning.—So help me God."—As to their *swearing*; I do not care a straw for that; but, I do not like the power of punishing those Clergymen, who may concur in appointing any Bishop,

"of whose *loyalty* they are not well informed." This word *loyalty* is of so equivocal a meaning; it is a word which allows of such latitude of interpretation, that I would not trust any ministry with the power of interpreting it.—Ask any sincere placeman what *loyalty* means, and he will tell you, that, amongst other things, it means an acquiescence in his living upon the public. Ask what it means amongst the hordes of Contractors and Jobbers, and they will exclaim, that you must be a fool not to see that it means an approbation of their mode of making money. Put the same question to all those who are interested in the prolongation of the war; and they will, to a man, tell you, that it is disloyalty to talk about peace with France; and their mothers, wives, sons, daughters, grandfathers, grandmothers, uncles, aunts, and cousins, to the fourteenth generation, will say the same.—A word of such latitude should never have been introduced into an Act of Parliament. *Loyalty* will, in fact, be a devotion to the ruling faction of the day; and, of course, if this bill were to pass, the ready way to become a Catholic Bishop would be to become a sine-serving politician.—Besides, why should this quality of *loyalty* be more insisted upon than the quality of *patriotism*? Mr. GRATTAN, the supposed author of this Bill, has heretofore shone as a *patriot*; and, why should now greater care be taken of the throne than of the *people's rights*. For my part, I can see no reason for this. I see greater reason to object to the Bill on this account than on any other. It is said to give securities to the Protestant Church; it is said to give securities to the *throne*; but, where are its securities to the *people's rights*? Where is the security, that, for the sake of interest, the Catholic Church will not join a corrupt faction against the freedom of the people? When the Act of Settlement was passed; that Act which sent down the crown in the Protestant succession, it was called an Act for "*better securing the liberties of the people*," which had been thought to be endangered by the Romish doctrines as applied to politics; but, in this Bill, not a word seems to be said about the liberties of the people; it is the *Crown* and the *Church*, which are to be secured; and, so that they be but secured, it would seem to have been thought of no consequence what becomes of the *people's rights*.—In short, what advantage are we to derive from Catholics being allowed to become Judges,

Generals, Admirals, and Members of Parliament? I do not say, that they ought to be excluded from these situations, but, what good will the nation, or even the great mass of the Catholics, derive from such a change? Very little, I believe; and, if the Catholic clergy are to be made *more dependent* than those of the church, I am sure the change will be an evil. I always was of opinion, that this measure *alone* would do Ireland no good; I have always understood that the great body of the Irish Catholics viewed it with indifference, if not with contempt; and I do not believe, that any Irish gentleman, well-informed upon the subject, will assert the contrary. —“*Boon!*” what *boon* is it to the two or three millions of potatoe-planters and linen weavers, who have no more chance of a seat in parliament than they have of a belly-full of meat once a day? We have been told, that this bill will bring forth the population of Ireland to fight our battles; why, if we were to believe all that we have heard, it is the Irish and Scotch that do *now* fight all our battles, or, at least, win all our victories. What can they do *more* for us in this way? We “*o’ tha Sooth,*” have long stood with our fingers in our mouths, and seen all the laurels taken off twig by twig, by our “*sister kingdoms.*” I shall never forget the acclamations, the uproar of boasting, in the House of Commons, upon the news of General Graham’s *victory*, which the Spaniards, by-the-by, spoke rather queerly of. The Scotch claimed the honour on account of the *commander*, and the Irish on account of the *men*; and there sat the 426 English members as if struck dumb. Mr. Sheridan told them how the wondrous Commander, while lying upon the ground in Spain, sketched out cottages for his tenantry at home. But, the barely thinking of that scene makes one sick. —The point I aim at is this: if the “*true Irish heroes,*” as GENERAL MATHEWS called them, upon the occasion here referred to, fight our battles *now*; if Ireland, as others tell us, *feeds us now*; why make any change at all? Can she do *more* than fight our battles and feed us? —The truth is, that the soldiers and sailors from the three kingdoms, are, I believe, all equally brave; and that they are, when not impressed, all induced to go into the service, with the *hope of getting more victuals and better clothing*, or of escaping something which they dread *more than they dread the service*. These are the causes which send men into the naval and military service;

and it is an insult to common sense to suppose, that men, influenced by such motives, should find an additional motive in this Catholic Bill; to suppose, that a man, who, in these kingdoms, is at all likely to enter as a common soldier or a common sailor, should be the more disposed to do it, because a law has been passed, which *removes the obstacle to his becoming a field-officer*, of which he has, indeed, perhaps, a better chance than he has of being enrolled in the Calendar of Saints, but of which the chance is so very small as never to enter, even in a dream, into his mind; to suppose this, is something so very wild, that one cannot help being astonished at its being seriously mentioned by men of sense. —But, do not those, who affect to hold this opinion, contradict themselves? They never fail to remind us, or, rather, to assert, that the far greater part of our sailors and soldiers are Irishmen. Now, if this be the case, how comes it that it is so? It is always taken for *granted*, as Doctor Duigenan once shrewdly observed, that all these Irish soldiers and sailors are *Catholics*. If this be true, it seems, then, that the protestants, against whose becoming Marshals and Commanders in Chief there is *no prohibition*, are *less* eager to enter the service than the Catholics, who are, by law prohibited from experiencing such advancement. How will the advocates for the Bill account for this! —Oh! it is a sad mockery of poor, hungry, half-naked fellows, to ascribe to them any such ridiculous motives. They act from the plain, undisguised motive of making their lives better; of getting rid of evils which they feel press upon them; and having become soldiers and sailors, they generally behave valiantly and faithfully. In gratitude for the services of Catholics, it may be just to indulge them in their religious opinions; but, I abominate the talk about their being induced to become soldiers or sailors by a Bill, which, if it becomes a law, may cause a score or two of the sons of Catholic Noblemen and Gentlemen to obtain elevated rank in the navy or the army. —The great objection to the building of the measure upon reasons like this, is, that it will produce disappointment. The people of Ireland want *more* than this Bill will give them. They feel the *tithes*, and not the prohibition to become Field-m Marshals. I dare say, that, out of a million, you would not find one, who would not sell his reversion to a *Staff* for a pottle of potatoes. The measure proposed by Mr. Parnell about

tithe, would have done some good; but all the men of sense from Ireland, whom I have conversed with upon the subject, are of opinion, that a total change, as to Church property, is necessary in that country. Perhaps they, too, deceive themselves; for, when once a whole population, or the great mass of it, is become miserable, it is very hard to say what remedy can be applied.

—To know the state of Ireland we need not go thither; we need not go to be witness of the man and his inmate, the pig, going to the same source for their dinner, the one helping himself with his paws and the other with his snout. We need not go thither; all we have to do is to observe, that, let what will happen to agitate the public mind, not a movement is seen in Ireland. Upon any of the occasions, within these ten years, when Addresses, or Petitions, for redress of any grievance, have poured in from the different parts of England; who has heard a word from any part of Ireland? It is manifest that there is no *public mind*. It is manifest, that, with a climate and soil better than those of the greater part of England; and with a population naturally robust, brave, acute, eloquent, and generous; that with all these, Ireland is rendered comparatively nothing. And, will she be restored by a Bill which may put half a dozen lawyers' heads into big wigs, and clap two shoulder-knots upon the shoulders of a hundred or two of officers who can now wear but one? Will a measure like this re-animate the mind of Ireland; who, while all the rest of the world is in noisy life, "like Lerhe sleeps beneath the storm?"—"Tranquillity!" We are told, that this Bill will effect the "*tranquillity*" of Ireland." Really, to hear some people talk, one would imagine; that, in their view of the matter, *death* was the most desirable of all things. Why, the people are tranquil enough in Turkey and Algiers. Formerly men talked of the *freedom* of a nation; they cited its bustle and agitation as signs of its spirit of liberty. But, now-a-days, tranquillity seems to be the only thing that we ought to look after; except, indeed, in France, where we most anxiously seek for commotions and insurrections.—But, if *tranquillity* be the object, Colonel Dillon's plan is certainly far preferable to this plan of Mr. Grattan. Ireland, as I have above observed, seems to enjoy tranquillity as perfect as can well be enjoyed on this side of the grave; but, if it were otherwise, how is the change to be effected by this Bill? Some five or six

score of lawyers, who see in this Bill the chance of elevation, may, perhaps, be silenced, and, Mr. Grattan may, indeed, ask me, if it be doing nothing to shut their mouths. Why, yes; it is something, I confess; but, we are not talking of getting rid of mere noise and froth. We are talking about keeping a people quiet; or, in other words, preventing insurrection and rebellion. And, in what way is this Bill to produce any such effect in Ireland? Those who are to be benefited by the Bill, are the very persons who must naturally be indisposed to insurrection and rebellion.—Colonel Dillon's plan was of a kind better suited to the wished-for effect. That gentleman, who is also a Member of Parliament, proposed, in a work addressed to the Prince Regent, to keep Ireland tranquil by the means of inland fortresses, with regular works, well mounted with cannon? That was his plan, and a much more sensible plan it was than that of Mr. Grattan. He proposed to employ the people in raising the works, and then to man the works with a part of them, to keep the rest in order.—What does all this scheming prove? Only that Ireland is in a most wretched state; and that she is to be relieved effectually only by some measure, which shall produce a great change in the condition of the people; and, assuredly, no such change will be, or can be, produced by the Bill in question.

WM. CORBETT.

Bolton, 13th May, 1813.

* * I think proper to inform my readers, that the Sixth Anniversary of the Election of Sir Francis Burdett for the City of Westminster, will be held at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, on Monday, the 24th instant, upon which occasion Sir Francis Burdett will be in the chair.

MR. CREEVEY'S CASE.

COURT OF KING'S BENCH, FRIDAY, 7th MAY.

The King v. Creevey.

MR. BROUGHAM, in the case of the King, on the prosecution of Kirkpatrick v. Creevey, moved for a rule to shew cause why the verdict of Guilty should not be set aside, and a new trial granted; on the ground of misdirection on the part of the Learned Judge. In making this motion, he should first state the proceedings which had taken place on the trial, and should then go on to notice the objection which he had then

unged, on the Learned Judge who tried the case, and now meant to enforce on the Court for their consideration.

LORD ELLENBOROUGH asked, was the defendant in Court?

MR. BROUGHAM said, he was.—The offence charged against the defendant was a supposed libel in a publication, purporting to be a speech, or report of a speech, made by the defendant in the Commons House of Parliament, of which he was a Member. An indictment having been preferred against him for this offence, at the Quarter Sessions, the same was removed by *certiorari* into this Court, and was afterwards sent down to be tried at the last Assizes for Lancaster. At the trial he had moved to have it put off, on account of the absence of a material witness, Mr. Bennet, a Member of the House of Commons, who was present when the speech supposed to contain libellous matter was read, and who would have proved that the publication in question contained the substance of that speech. He was saved the necessity of urging this point, however, his Learned Friend, Mr. Park, the Attorney-General for the Duchy of Lancaster, having agreed to admit that the publication contained a fair report of the substance of the speech made by the defendant in Parliament. This point being settled the trial proceeded, when Mr. Smith, Printer of the *Liverpool Mercury*, proved the publication, and that he had received it in a letter enclosed in an envelope from the defendant, desiring him to publish it, the publication in question being part of a speech which the defendant had delivered in the House of Commons, on the State of the Trade of Liverpool, and on the East India Company's Charter. On his cross-examination, this witness admitted, that, though he had lost the envelope, he recollected its contents;—that the defendant then complained that he had seen misstatements of his speech in that and in other papers, and was anxious to give the enclosed as a more correct account of what he had actually said. This was all the evidence of any importance adduced on the trial; and, on its being closed, he, (Mr. Brougham) submitted to the Learned Judge, who tried the indictment, (Mr. Justice Le Blanc,) that enough had been proved to go to the Jury, inasmuch as it was not libellous matter; and, 2dly, whatever was the nature of the publication, that enough had been proved to shew that it was a justifiable publication under the circumstances of the case. The Learned Judge was of a contrary opinion,

relying on the case of the *King v. Lord Abingdon*. He (Mr. Brougham), on the other hand, relied on the case of the *King v. Wright*, which occurred about three or four years afterwards. That, the Learned Judge observed, was an application for a criminal information, and that a great distinction was held by the Court between criminal informations and common indictments, the former being granted only as an extraordinary remedy. In answer to this, he (Mr. Brougham) remarked, that the ground stated by the Learned Judge was not that on which the information in that case had been refused, but, that it had been refused on its merits, all their Lordships having stated that there was no ground to send the matter for trial, it not being an offence punishable at all. It was not, they all agreed, a matter of judicial inquiry, inasmuch as it was a true account of what happened in Parliament. The Learned Judge then distinguished from a case like the present, the cases of characters given of servants, on the ground, that there confidence was reposed. He (Mr. Brougham) contended that that distinction could not apply, as that was only one of the modes or means, and that there were others which equally afforded a justification in support of which doctrine he referred to the case of *Weatherston and Hawkins, First Term Reports*, where Lord Mansfield and Mr. Justice Buller laid it down that the occasion on which words were used might amount to a justification of these words; and that, to every libel there might be a justification from the occasion.

MR. JUSTICE BAILEY said, there the party was not a volunteer, but owed it to the public.

MR. BROUGHAM said, he put it on this principle that there was nothing in the occasion on which the speech was made which implied malice. He (Mr. Brougham), his objections being over-ruled, then went to the Jury; and the Learned Judge, in summing up, repeated in substance, what he had already done, desiring the Jury first to be satisfied as to the fact of publication, and then to say if it was not a libel, or publication of a defamatory tendency. The Learned Judge, however, did not afterwards leave the manner of the publication entirely out of consideration. He informed the Jury, that though a Member of Parliament could not be called to account for what he spoke in the Houses of Parliament, yet, when the speech appeared in the Papers, it became a question whether it was mali-

cious or not. As to the point urged on behalf of the defendant, that he did not even know the party supposing himself aggrieved, that was of little consequence, the only fact for the consideration of the Jury was, if the publication was libellous. In his Lordship's opinion it was defamatory, and the law inferred malice from the mischievous tendency of the publication. The Jury accordingly found the Defendant Guilty.

MR. BROUGHAM, however, now contended; that this was a publication made in such circumstances as to prevent even the possibility of inferring malice. The defendant was a Member of Parliament, and as such not responsible for what he said in the House of which he was a Member. He was the representative, not of the body by whom he was sent into Parliament alone, but of the whole community: he not only owed it to them to account for his conduct in Parliament, but it was his incumbent duty so to do: and, if that duty could be rendered more incumbent, in any one instance than in another, it must be in this very instance which had occurred on the present occasion, namely, where his conduct in Parliament had been misrepresented; in which case it became his duty to justify himself, and to set his conduct right in the eyes of the community. He should proceed, however, in the first place, to consider the case of the King and Lord Abingdon, as the Learned Judge who tried the case had made it the ground for over-ruling the preliminary objection taken on the trial. It appeared, in that case, that Lord Abingdon having employed Mr. Salmon as his attorney, took occasion in the course of introducing into Parliament a Bill to correct improper practices in Attorneys, to introduce a string of defamatory matter against Mr. Salmon; and that he afterwards had the same defamatory matter published at his own expense in different newspapers. When the case came to be tried his Lordship appeared in Court himself without any Counsel, the information having also been granted without opposition. Lord Kenyon in charging the Jury, in that case, observed, that a Member of Parliament had a right to make speeches in Parliament, without being subject to any control; yet, that he was not to make any such speech the vehicle of slander. In this doctrine he, (Mr. B.) perfectly agreed.

MR. JUSTICE BAILEY asked, then was he to understand that the present publication was not libellous?

MR. BROUGHAM said, the speech had not been made the vehicle of slander.

MR. JUSTICE BAILEY observed, if it conveyed reflections against the character of the prosecutor it had been made the vehicle of slander.

MR. BROUGHAM contended, if the defendant had an interest in publishing the paper in question, for other purposes, it could not be said to be the vehicle of slander against the prosecutor, though he was incidentally defamed in it, or his character attacked. If the defendant had published the speech in question for other purposes, or with other views, he was not liable for what might arise incidentally from the publication. Lord Kenyon also there laid it down that the mind must be in fault. Here there were no circumstances that went to infer malice. A few years after this case of Lord Abingdon's came the case of the King v. Wright. A Criminal Information was there moved for on the part of Mr. John Horne Tooke, against a Mr. Wright, a bookseller, for publishing a Report of a Committee of the House of Commons, attributing to Mr. Horne Tooke charges of a treasonable or seditious nature, after he had been tried and acquitted of high treason. The Rule was granted in the first instance, and was afterwards very fully argued. It was not denied that the publication contained an accurate copy of the Report of the Committee of the House of Commons; and Lord Kenyon was there for discharging the Rule, on the ground that the publication was an accurate Report of what had passed in Parliament. The case would be found in Eighth Term Reports, p. 206; and Lord Kenyon was there made to lay it down that it would be impossible for the Court to admit that any proceeding in either of the two Houses of Parliament could be of a libellous nature. Mr. Justice Grose concurred generally in the same opinion; and Mr. Justice Lawrence referred to other cases, and entered into the matter more at large. He put the proceedings in Parliament, and in the Courts of Law on the same footing. He referred to the case of Currie and Walter, 1st. Bosanquet and Puller, p. 525, in which it was held that an accurate report of a proceeding at law was not a libel, but, on the contrary, was of advantage to the public, and to the ends of justice. Such, also, that Learned Judge conceived was the case with an accurate report of a proceeding in Parliament. Such publication was of advantage to the public, and even to the Legislative Bodies, and they would be deprived of that advantage if publications of their proceedings were to be prevented. The Learned Counsel, as

he had taken the liberty to do on the trial, must now again submit that it was impossible to distinguish the case now alluded to from the present. The one publication was justifiable because it had taken place in Parliament, and because it was accurate and true. For the same reasons, he submitted, so was the other. In these respects both publications were alike. What was the proceeding in Wright's case? It was an accurate publication of a Report of a Committee of the House of Commons. What was the present proceeding? It was a speech made by a Member of the House of Commons; in a House duly constituted; made by him in discharge of his Parliamentary duty; and to which the House were bound to listen. The act consisted in the Member's making the speech, and in the House listening to it. Here it did not happen to be either a Report or a Petition which was laid before the House, and which they might have disposed of as they thought proper; but it was a statement made by a Member in the course of observations made by him in discharge of his Parliamentary duty, he having an incontestible right to make them. The House heard what he had to say. The proceeding was final, and was determined, after the Member, in discharge of his duty, had made the speech, and the House had listened to it. If the House had so inclined, they might have dealt even penally with him for making the speech. They might have called him to order; they might have stopped him; and, if that had not been enough, they might have committed him for having so spoken. In that "highest, most honourable and absolute Court of Justice," he might have been committed for exceeding his duty, as a Counsel might in this Court. As in the Court of Common Pleas, in the case of Currie and Walter, and in this Court in the case of the King and Wright; so, in the House of Commons, if the Member had abused his privilege of speech, and made it a vehicle for abuse and slander, as in Lord Abingdon's case, it would, to use the language of Lord Ellenborough in the case of *Burdett v. Abbott*, not be decent to suppose that the House would suffer its privileges to be abused with impunity. To argue that the House would suffer a man to be defamed in a speech to which they listened, without censure or disapprobation, would be to suppose that the House itself would become a party to such abuse. Mr. Justice Lawrence, the Learned Counsel con-

ceived, must have had in view the judicial character of the House, when he expressed himself as he did in the case of the King v. Wright. It was clearly pointed out in Coke, in his first Institute, where he says, "Parliament is the highest and most honourable and absolute Court of Justice in England."—"It is called Parliament because every Member of that Court should sincerely and discreetly *parler la ment*, for the general good of the Common Wealch;"—And such must also have been the view entertained by his Lordship on this subject, in the case of *Burdett v. Abbott*. It was on that ground that the House had the power of commitment. He begged here to be allowed to state, that there were 30 or 40 Resolutions of the House of Commons against strangers publishing debates, and not one Resolution on that subject relating to Members, or in which they are censured for so doing. The case of Wright was exactly against those 30 or 40 Resolutions, the Reports which he was prosecuted for publishing, have only been ordered to be printed for the use of the Members.

LORD ELLENBOROUGH said, he understood all Parliamentary papers were ordered to be printed for the use of the Members; none of them for the information of the community.

MR. BROUGHAM agreed that this was so; but Mr. Wright had not published the report in question for the accommodation of the Members, but of the Public. The question was, whether he was at all protected in publishing it; and on that question all those 30 or 40 resolutions against strangers might have been thrown in his teeth; but the decision went to this, that the contempt could only be taken cognizance of in Parliament, and punished there. He farther submitted, that there was here enough in the occasion of making the publication to justify it, and to have warranted the Learned Judge in sending it more strongly to the Jury, as rebutting and excluding the presumption of malice. The present was of the same description with the case of Delaney and Jones, where a public advertisement having been inserted, charging a person with suspicion of the crime of bigamy, it was held to be a justification that the defendant had an interest in making the inquiry. Here the publication was not made with a view to investigation, but still on an occasion equally capable of having good faith assigned as the cause of it, namely, that of explaining the defendant's conduct to his constituents.

LORD ELLENBOROUGH said, it would not bear an argument, that with a view to stand well with his constituents, a Member of Parliament might publish what he pleased. That was an innovation on the law of the land, which, he hoped, would never be tolerated.

MR. BROUGHAM said, that was not his argument, which only went to this, that a Member of the House of Commons might publish what he spoke in that House. Again referring to the case of the King and Wright, he submitted that the defendant was entitled to a new trial in this case.

LORD ELLENBOROUGH saw no foundation whatever for granting the present Rule. If any doubt had belonged to the case, his Lordship should have been of opinion that it ought to be fully discussed, in order to its being finally put to rest. But as there was nothing in the argument which had been addressed to them, except in the extravagant construction given to the opinion of Lord Kenyon, that that Court could not admit a proceeding in either House of Parliament to be a libel, he was of opinion that the Rule ought at once to be refused. The present, however, did not range itself under the head of a proceeding in Parliament. But if a Member chose to state in the House of Commons what he thought fit subject of debate, that is afterwards published, and he chuses, because he esteems it more or less correct, to re-publish it himself, and it is found to contain defamatory matter against individuals, is he to be authorized to do so, because he may have spoken it in the House of Commons? Because he has not met with reprobation in that House, has he a right to address the same improper and defamatory matter as an *Oratio ad populum*? Where was such a doctrine to be met with in our Law Books, or even in any Book of Theories on the subject of Libels? It was an accident, or rather a misfortune, of the present day, to have such a proposition started, and to have it bandied about in every news-paper. The case of Currie and Walter was not now before the Court. When such a case should arise, he should hesitate much before he went the full length of the doctrine laid down in it. As to the occasion of the present publication, whether it was libellous and malicious, those had been left to the Jury. To bring the present case within that of Lake and King, which related to the printing of a Petition before the House of Commons, it would be necessary to see the Order of the House, as Members to

print their speeches. There was not here the least colour for granting a new trial, and it would be wrong to excite doubts where none remained.

MR. JUSTICE GROSE was of the same opinion; he was not disposed to find fault with the direction of the Judge, or with what the Jury had done.

MR. JUSTICE BAILEY should have been happy to have the case further gone into, if there was any doubt on the subject, which he was decidedly of opinion there was not. A Member had a right to speak boldly and freely what he chose in the Houses of Parliament, without being subject to be called to account; but he was not entitled, out of his place in Parliament, more than any other man, to state what was injurious to any individual. Such was even laid down in the case of Lake and King, in which it was held to be justifiable only because it was a proceeding in Parliament. But it had never been pretended that it was in the course of Parliamentary proceeding for a Member to let himself down so low as to communicate his speech to a printer for publication. If he were misrepresented, he could set himself right in his place, but he could not be suffered himself to publish defamatory matter against any man. He could not agree that every thing that passed in that Court, if accurately stated, might be legally published. If, for instance, a prosecution for blasphemy were to be brought, would a publication of every thing which occurred in the course of such an investigation be tolerated, thereby giving greater publicity to what ought never to have seen the light? Or could every speech of Counsel, commenting upon the evidence of witnesses, which even the person making it would be sorry to see make a deep and lasting impression, be supposed to be a fit or justifiable subject for publication? He was of opinion they could not. The present, he was satisfied, was a case in which the occasion did not justify the publication.

MR. JUSTICE LE BLANC remained of the same mind he had been in on the trial.

MR. BROUGHAM observed, in answer to an observation of Lord Ellenborough's, that he had relied on the law as laid down by Mr. Justice Lawrence, in the case of the King and Wright, in which he referred to the case of Currie and Walter, rather than on the case of Currie and Walter itself.

The rule was refused.

MR. CREEVEY was in Court himself during the whole of the proceedings, accompa-

nied by Mr. Western, General Ferguson, and the Hon. Henry Grey Bennett.

OFFICIAL PAPERS.

AMERICAN STATES.

(Continued from page 704.)

ying it on, no principle of justice or honour, no usage of civilized nations, no precept of courtesy or humanity have been infringed. The war has been waged on our part, with scrupulous regard to all these obligations, and in a spirit of liberality which was never surpassed. — How little has been the effect of this example on the conduct of the enemy. They have retained as prisoners of war citizens of the United States, not liable to be so considered under the usages of war. — They have refused to consider as prisoners of war, and threatened to punish as traitors and deserters, persons emigrating without restraint to the United States; incorporated by naturalization into our political family, and fighting under the authority of their adopted country, in open and honourable war, for the maintenance of its rights and safety. Such is the avowed purpose of a government, which is in the practice of naturalizing, by thousands, citizens of other countries, and not only of permitting, but compelling them to fight its battles against their native country. — They have not, it is true, taken into their own hands the halberd and the knife, devoted to indiscriminate massacre; but they have let loose the savages armed with these cruel instruments; have allured them into their service, and carried them to battle by their sides, eager to glut their savage thirst with the blood of the vanquished, and to finish the work of torture and death on maimed and defenceless captives. And, what was never before seen, British Commanders have extorted victory over the unconquerable valour of our troops, by presenting to the sympathy of their chief awaiting massacre from their savage associates. — And now we find them in further contempt of the modes of honourable warfare supplying the place of a conquering force, by attempts to disorganize our political society, to dismember our confederated Republic. Happily, like others, those will recoil on the authors: but they mark the degenerate councils from which they emanate: and if they did not belong to a

série of unexampled inconsistencies, might excite the greater wonder, as proceeding from a Government which founded the very war in which it has been so long engaged, on a charge against the disorganizing and insurrectional policy of its adversary. — To render the justice of the war on our part the more conspicuous, the reluctance to commence it was followed by the earliest and strongest manifestations of a disposition to arrest its progress. The sword was scarcely out of the scabbard before the enemy was apprized of the reasonable terms on which it would be re-sheathed. Still more precise advances were repeated, and have been received in a spirit forbidding every reliance not placed in the military resources of the nation. — These resources are amply sufficient to bring the war to an honourable issue. Our nation is, in number, more than half that of the British Isles. It is composed of a brave, a free, a virtuous, and an intelligent people. Our country abounds in the necessaries, the arts, and comforts of life. A general prosperity is visible in the public countenance. The means employed by the British Cabinet to undermine it, have recoiled on themselves; have given to our national faculties a more rapid development; and, draining or diverting the precious metals from British circulation and British vaults, have poured them into those of the United States. It is a propitious consideration, that an unavoidable war should have found this seasonable facility for the contributions required to support it. When the public voice called for war, all knew, and still know, that without them it could not be carried on through the period which it might last; and the patriotism, the good sense, and the manly spirit of our fellow-citizens, are pledges for the cheerfulness with which they will bear each his share of the common burden. To render the war short, and its success sure, animated and systematic exertions alone are necessary; and the success of our arms now, may long preserve our country from the necessity of another resort to them. Already have the gallant exploits of our naval heroes proved to the world our inherent capacity to maintain our rights on one element. If the reputation of our arms has been thrown under clouds on the other, presaging flashes of heroic enterprise assure us, that nothing is wanting to correspondent triumphs there also, but the discipline and habits which are in daily progress."

New York, March 4, 1813.

NOTICE TO BRITISH SUBJECTS.

Marshal's Office of the United States of America for the District of New York, at the City of New York, March 4, 1813.

By virtue of the power vested in me, and special instructions from the proper authority, all Alien Enemies, engaged in commerce, and residing and being within forty miles of tide-water, or the margins of the Hudson and East Rivers, and Long Island Sound, in the district of New York, and particularly those in the City of New York, are hereby required forthwith to retire beyond that distance from tide-water, and the margins of the Hudson and East River and the Sound. Passports for their departure will be given at the Marshal's Office, and the places of their residence therein designated. Persons of the above description, who refuse or neglect to comply with this requisition, will be immediately taken into custody.—And all alien enemies, not engaged in commerce, and residing and being within 40 miles of tide-water, or the margins of the Hudson East Rivers, and the Sound, in said district, are required immediately to apply to the Marshal for permission to remain where they are, which permission will be granted when it satisfactorily appears that their intentions towards the United States are friendly, and that the indulgence and hospitality which have been extended to them have not been abused or misapplied.—Also, Alien enemies, of every occupation or profession, who have arrived in the city of New York, from a foreign place, since the declaration of war, are required, without delay, to retire into the interior of the country, beyond the distance above-mentioned. If the different requisitions required by this notice are not unconditionally complied with, vigorous measures will be taken against all those to whom it has reference.

PETER CURTINIUS,
Marshal of the District of New York.

NORTHERN WAR.

Head-quarters, Zubst, April 7, 1813.
I hasten humbly to inform your Excel-

lency of the happy occurrences of the 5th April, with the intent of relieving the good citizens of Berlin from the dread and fear they entertained of possibly again seeing the enemy within their walls.—General Von Borstell, with his detached corps, had already advanced as far as Wahletz, for the purpose of surrounding Magdeburg on the right bank of the Elbe; but, on the 2d of April, being attacked by a superior force, he, according to his previous instructions, retreated back to Nedlitz, but covered the roads to Burg and Gommern by Cossacks.—On the 5th of April the enemy obliged General Von Borstell to fall back to Gertna (on the road to Gortzke), and forced the Cossacks past Lutzkau and towards Burg.—As I had received certain information that the Viceroy of Italy commanded this expedition in person, with a corps d'armee of four divisions, about 22 or 24,000 men strong, among which were 3,000 cavalry, 40 pieces of artillery, not only causing the country round Magdeburg to be plundered (on the right bank of the Elbe), but likewise, not knowing that my corps was so near him, intended making an attempt upon Berlin; I determined on attacking him with my whole strength, to drive him back with my whole force.—For this purpose, on the 4th April, I concentrated the force of General Von York, near Zarest, that of Lieutenant-General Von Berg, at three German miles from thence, in the village of Lietzo, and fixed my headquarters at Zorest. I directed General Von Borstell, and likewise General Von Bulow, who had, so early as the 4th April, arrived at Ziesa, to push as far forward as the enemy would permit; but that they should on the 5th, when they would be informed by a cannonade of my having commenced an attack, fall on the enemy with the greatest impetuosity.—On the 5th, in the morning, Lieutenant-General Von York's corps advanced to Leitzkau, and that of Lieutenant-General Von Berg to Ladeburg.—Lieutenant-General Von Borstell had advanced towards Makun, and Lieutenant-General Von Bulow to Hohenzias. At two o'clock in the afternoon, Lieutenant General Von York was obliged to send a van-guard towards Gammern, and Lieutenant-General Von Berg to do the same to this place.
(To be continued.)

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

NORTHERN WAR.—BATTLE OF LUTZEN.

—This battle is the *most fatal* that has taken place since the beginning of this twenty years' war. It has not been the most bloody; it has not ended in the most signal triumph of the French; it has not spread so much havoc and so much disgrace amongst the enemy; but, still it is the most fatal; because the result was *less expected* than a defeat ever was, upon any former occasion.—I have been, for nearly four months, a most mortified spectator of the delusion practised upon this "*most thinking nation*," who have been made to believe, as firmly as they believe in their existence, that the Emperor Napoleon was *down for ever*; that it was impossible for him again to collect an army in sufficient force to dare to face the allies in the North; that, in short, he was about to experience the fate of a rebel and an usurper; and that, in a few months, we might expect to hear of his having suffered an ignominious death.—I endeavoured to put the public on their guard against being the dupe of these delusions; but, I must confess, that, even amongst persons usually rational in their way of calculating, I found very few indeed to coincide with me in opinion.—It was manifest, I thought, that the whole question turned upon the success that Napoleon would meet with in raising an army in France. That he appears to have done; and, having again an army of Frenchmen, all other things he will obtain.—I do not see what is now to arrest his progress, unless, indeed, the people of Germany can be roused against him; and, I must, from what has passed, greatly doubt of that. There are now the same motives to opposing him that there were before, and I cannot see why they should now be more efficacious than they formerly were. *A people*, and only a *people*, can, in my opinion, effectually resist his power; and, until I see a *people* hearty in the cause, I shall continue to believe, that he will ultimately succeed.—And now what do those persons think, who have been running

about after "*THE COSSACK*," and after his spear; that identical spear, fourteen feet long, with which he killed thirty Frenchmen in an hour, and which, as we were told, the Cossack brought up from Yarmouth or Harwich, sticking out of the window of the post-chaise? And the "*DON COSSACK*," too? Where is he? —Oh! what a wise, what a "*thinking nation*!" —These destroyers of our enemy may now hasten back again; for there appears to be business enough for them to perform.—And, how unfortunate that the *Duke of Cumberland* did not set off a little sooner! If he had been present at the battle of Lutzen, the result might have been different. However, he is on his way, and, in all probability, we shall soon hear of the effect of his presence with the armies of the allies.—One thing I must stipulate for beforehand with my readers, and that is, that if His Royal Highness does *not* beat Buonaparté, he shall not, for all that, be supposed to be inferior to him either in skill or courage; but, then, I am afraid, that we shall have to allow, that there is a superiority in the French troops; for, unless we allow this, I do not see how we shall be able to deny, in case of Buonaparté's beating the allies with the Duke along with them, that the Duke is not inferior to him either in skill or in courage.—The Morning Chronicle, whose business it is to work the Ministers out of their places, and to put in its own party, takes this occasion of *blaming the Ministers*, though it is not very easy to perceive what they can have done to cause the Russians and Prussians to be beaten by the French; or, what they could have done to *prevent* what has happened.—The *offer of terms of peace* might, indeed, have had some effect on the minds of men on the Continent; but, can any one say, that the *Whig Party* have shown any desire to see such offers made? Where is the record of any *motion*, any *speech* even, to that effect? Nay, have they not abetted the Ministers in all their warlike projects, and even gone beyond them in expressions of exultation at what they all appear to have deemed the *fall* of

Napoleon?—But, besides this, will Mr. Perry undertake to show, that, in the present internal state of this country, peace with France is *possible*? If she be left in possession of Holland, I defy the Ministers, under the *present system*, to reduce by peace the expenses of the country; and, if the taxes cannot be reduced, peace would only have the effect of sending out of the country many of those who now smart under the taxes.—Are the Whigs ready to give us a reform of the parliament? If they are not, to talk about peace is a mere mockery.—The hiring of prints are, as usual, making great efforts to cause the public to believe, that Napoleon has, upon this occasion, gained *no victory*. He has advanced 50 miles; however, according to their own acknowledgment. But, this thinking people have long been in the habit of regarding his advances as no proof at all of triumph; while those of his enemies are decided proofs of triumph.—It is useless, however, to make these observations for about the thousandth time. They do, perhaps, but little good. The public ear is filled with the falsehoods of the hired press; and suffering alone can make way for a belief of the truth.—What is most worthy of remark upon this occasion is, that the people of France seem to partake, as much as ever, in the feelings of the Emperor. That is the main point; for, after all, France herself, that fruitful source of military talent and military courage, is what he must depend upon. When the French people resolved, that the Rhine and the Alps should be the boundary of their territory, how soon they extended their sway to the Rhine and the Alps! It is the *genius and taste of the people of France*, which do every thing. It is not on brute force that Napoleon depends. It is on the skill of his officers; their genius for war; their quick-sightedness; their ability in turning every circumstance to their advantage; and the great mass of like ability, though in a different way, amongst the ranks of his army.—Then, he has the vast advantage of being disembarassed by *aristocratical and oligarchical interests*. No family influence prevails with him. He is not, by any such shackles, confined to a few, out of whom to select his officers. He has a whole army; he has all France, to choose out of. All the youth of France are brought, as it were, one after another, before him, for the purpose of giving him an opportunity to select the best persons to command in his army. He has, too, after experience, the ability to as-

sist him, is the only recommendation to elevation in his service.—It is, therefore, no wonder that he succeeds, and less wonder that he is admired by his army and by the people, seeing that he can have no temptation to promote an unworthy person.—The *Courier* and *Times* newspapers, especially the latter, has, for many months past, amused their readers with accounts of *insurrections in France*. We now know, that these were falsehoods hatched by themselves, or by others for them, who had their views to answer. Indeed, all men of any political information knew, at the time, that they were falsehoods; but, the mass of the people believed the accounts; and, as the accounts have never been contradicted, they do still believe them. The people in this country, in general, think that Napoleon is hated in France as much as they hate him. If you were to tell them the contrary, they would either not attend to you, or think that you were ignorant of what you were talking about. They believe, almost to a man, that Napoleon is held, in France, in deadly abhorrence; that he is obliged to resort to all sorts of precautions to prevent himself from being assassinated; that he has spies in every hole and corner; that no man dares open his lips without danger to his life; that there are soldiers every where to shoot at the people, and that these soldiers, having been forced into the service, hate him even more than the rest of the nation do; that France is filled with Bastilles; that any man may be clapped into prison, or shot, or hanged, at a minute's warning, without any trial; that there are no laws in France except military laws; that there are no courts of justice; and, in short, that the people are the most wretched slaves, the most miserable, starving, bare-boned creatures that imagination can trace.—And, why do the “thinking people” believe all this? Because there are a hundred or two of news-papers to tell it them, once every day, or, at least, once every week, all the year round. Burke said: “let a man tell you his story once a-day for a year, and, at the end of the year he is your master.”—The Country-papers are, for the most part, the mere echoes of the hired prints in London. They are, in general, even more dependent. They depend for existence on their advertisements. These follow the politics. The magistrates, the Clergy, the Sheriffs, the Tax-Commissioners, the Navy and Transport Boards, the Barrack-office, the War-office, and the numerous other sources of adver-

tisements, all dependent on the Ministry of the day, draw almost the whole of the Country-papers into the Government vortex. So that, if the editors were, as some of them are, well-informed men, the interests of the concern must be attended to; and thus are the Country people, who read only the weekly abstract of the London papers, kept in as complete ignorance of the truth, as far as relates to Napoleon and his subjects, as are the people of Otaheite. In short, it is impossible to form an idea of ignorance more complete.—It is thus that they are always found on the side of those who are for war with Buonaparté. They are made to believe, that he is a mere devil in human shape; and, that it is his serious intention to come here with an army to murder all the people. They believe, that he is a sort of wholesale murderer; that he delights in the shedding of human blood; that he has butchered thousands with his own hands; and, looking upon him in this light, how is it to be expected, that they can ever think of peace with him?—If you were to tell them about the codes of laws that he has formed and put in force; about his institution of schools for the education of the children of labourers and mechanics; about his vast improvements in roads and canals; about the flourishing state of agriculture since his exaltation; about his unbounded encouragement of the arts and sciences; about his infinite pains to enrich the public libraries and seminaries of learning; about all, or any of, his acts of this kind, they would, if they believed you, let your statement in at one ear and out at the other.—Their minds are choked up. They cannot, and they will not see in him any thing but a ferocious, a bloody tyrant, hated even more in France than he is in England.—If you were to ask them how it happens, that, if he be so universally hated in France, he can leave France for so long a time as he does without risking his throne; if you ask them how he can take away so many soldiers, if his government at home depend wholly on soldiers; if you were to ask them how he trusts himself with an army, composed entirely of conscripts, whom he has forced, in chains, as we are told, to form themselves into regiments; if you were to ask them, how he could force them, if all his soldiers hated him; if you were to ask them, how he comes to find, in those men who so hate him, and whom he has collected by the means of chains; if you were to ask them, how he comes to

find, in such men, soldiers ready to risk their lives for him, soldiers to beat his enemies: if you were to put these questions to the good thinking country people in England, they would first stare at you; they would then grin; and they would, if they gave you any answer at all, say that *Bony was a scoundrel*, and that they hoped that the Russians would finish him. While the more cunning and wicked part of them would call you a *friend of Buonaparté*.—This is the answer you would get. You would get no other; and on they would go again to call him a butcher and a robber, and speak of him as wishing to get hither to rob and murder us.—Were it not for the base press of this country, the people never could have been so deceived as they have been and still are. Nine out of ten of them never read the *official accounts* from France. They read only the abstract of the editor; and this he knows very well, otherwise he would not venture to make that abstract, as he generally does, and say just the contrary of what the accounts contain. He knows, that men of sense and information will express their wonder at his impudence, and their contempt for his venality; but, he also knows, they are a very small minority; that his endeavours will generally succeed; that he has the fears and the hopes of the herd with him; and, which is the main thing, the falsehood is profitable to him; more so than the truth would be.—When one considers, therefore, the means that are made use of, one ceases to wonder at the delusion which prevails at the end of twenty years. One ceases to wonder, that the same nation, who were so long persuaded, that they could not preserve their property or their religion while France was a Republic, are now persuaded that the danger is not less imminent when France is become again a Monarchy. One ceases to wonder, that the same nation, who cried out against liberty and patriotism while the French cried out for them, should now think it wise and just to carry on a war for what they are made to believe are liberty and patriotism.—The whole lies in these few words: the people of this country feel most grievously the burdens they have to bear; but, the press makes them believe, that, unless Napoleon can be overset, they will have to suffer more than they now suffer.—So long as this belief can be upheld, the majority of the people will be for the war; and, it will be upheld until their suffering shall be so great as to

shake this tenet of their political faith. —If Napoleon succeed in reaching Petersburg, which I think not impossible, it would make an impression on the merchants and manufacturers; but, very little upon the farmers, whose corn would sell the higher, and who would still see the war carried on with pleasure. There are *some few* of them, who calculate upon better principles; but not many; and the majority would still cry, *war!* —It seems to me, that the burning of Moscow and the consequent retreat of the French armies will have been the cause of adding some years to the length of the war upon the Continent; but, I do not think, that either that or any events now to come, upon the Continent, can have any effect at all as to the producing of peace with us. My opinion is, that, unless we have a *reform at home*, we cannot remain at peace while Napoleon retains any power at all; that we must *reform*, or *overset him*, or that we cannot have peace.

AMERICAN WAR.—This war, as appears by advices from America, has been further marked by our success by land and our failure by sea. I will not call it disgrace, or defeat; but, an American Sloop of War has now defeated an English Sloop of War for the second time. So that, owing to some cause or other, the American Navy, upon equal terms, really seems to have gained the superiority.—In the mean while, however, it is stated, that, through the means of the *mediation of Russia*, an opening for a negotiation for peace is likely to take place. But, from the language of our vile news-papers, the editors of which appear to hate the Americans for no other cause than that they are not slaves, little hope seems to exist of a happy result. The article, to which I allude, was in the following words:—“Captain Bedford, as we stated yesterday, has brought the official notification of an offer on the part of Russia to mediate between this country and America. *We hope it will be refused*; indeed we are sure it will. We have the highest respect for the Russian Government, the warmest admiration of its prowess, but we have a love for our naval pre-eminence that cannot bear to have it even touched by a foreign hand. Russia too can hardly be supposed to be very adverse to the principles of the armed neutrality, and that idea alone would be sufficient to make us decline the offer. But without

“discussing that point we must make our stand upon this—*never to commit our naval rights to the mediation of any power*. This is the flag we must nail to the national mast, and go down rather than strike it.—Before the war commenced, concession might have been proper; we always thought it unwise. But *the hour of concession and of compromise is passed*; America has rushed unnecessarily and unnaturally into war, and she must be made to feel the effects of her folly and injustice. Peace must be the consequence of *punishment*, and retraction of her insolent demands must *precede* negotiation. The thunder of our cannon must first strike terror into the American shores, and Great Britain must be seen and felt in all the majesty of her might, from Boston to Savannah, from the Lakes of Canada to the Mouths of the Mississippi.—And before this article goes forth to the world, her cannon have been heard and her power felt. The clamorous demagogues of America, the turbulent democrats, the noisy advocates for war with us, the pretended patriots of America and the real *partisans* of France, assume now another tone. Their papers no longer speak the language of boast and menace. *Fear* pervades their towns on the sea coast—*Alarm* prevails in all quarters. They are more intent upon removing their property than in making head against the danger: and though they boasted that they would support Government with all their means and resources, with their treasures and their blood, the Government cannot, in the first year of the war, raise a loan of Four Millions sterling! These are the immediate consequences of a war entered into to gratify the passions of hatred and envy of England, and to propitiate France.”—And, this is the language of *peace*, is it? It would seem, that writers like this feared nothing so much as an end to that war, which has already brought more disgrace upon the British Navy, than all the wars in which we were ever before engaged. It would really seem, that these men were paid to endeavour to cause an American Navy to be created. What other object they can have in view, in thus goading the Americans on to hostility and hatred, I cannot conceive.—I am sure, that the *Times* news-paper, by its senseless abuse of Mr. Madison and the Congress, and its insolent and contemptuous language towards the American peo-

ple, did much in producing this fatal war. Paine has said, that it is the *last feather* that breaks the horse's back; and, would it be any wonder, if this base print, by that insolence, those taunting menaces, in which it dealt a few months before the war was declared, was the *last feather* upon the occasion?—It spoke of the Americans and their navy in a strain of contempt not to be endured. It told them, that their boasted *Navy* should be towed into Halifax in a month from the date of their declaration of war. It said, that it hated *other* enemies of England; but that Mr. Madison and his nation were unworthy of any thing but contempt.—It was impossible for any nation to put up with this. Libels the most atrocious were published against Mr. Madison and all his brother officers in the government. The Naval Officers of America were spoken of as if they were dogs.—In that country *the people* have something to say as to public affairs; and, is it any wonder, that such publications should produce an effect amongst them, who read every thing, and who well understand what they read?—The President, we find, has instantly, and with great avidity, accepted the mediation of Russia. He is a very plain man. Wears, or used to wear, a grey coat, and his no-powdered hair very smooth. He had no big wig, nor any gowns, or any other fine thing upon him. But, he seems to know very well what he is about.—Indeed, all he has to know, is, what *the people wish*, and that he knows by their votes. He knows, that they hate war, as the great and fruitful parent of taxation and arbitrary power; and that, to please them, he must avail himself of every thing that offers even a chance of putting an end to the war upon just and honourable terms.—But, as you see, our hirelings exclaim against the acceptance of any mediation; even the mediation of Russia, who has committed her very fleet to our hands. For once, let us hope, that these men do not speak the language of the government. If we refuse the mediation of our own ally in the war; if we refuse the mediation of that power, who, we say, is about to deliver Europe and us from all the fears about Buonaparté, what will that power, what will the world say of our cause?—We are not, it seems, “to commit our *naval rights* to the mediation of any power.” But, this is not proposed. The Americans do not dispute any thing heretofore acknowledged by them, or contended for by us, as a *right*.

—The thing we contend for is, the practice of *impressing persons* on board neutral ships on the *high seas*. This the Americans deny to be a *right*; they say, that it never was before practised, or contended for, or claimed, by any belligerent nation; they say, that, by no writer on public law; by no principle ever laid down by any such writer; by no recognition of any power; by no practice, by no assertion of ours, is this act to be justified. In short, they say, that it has neither law, precedent, nor reason for its basis.—If they assert, in this respect, what is not true, why not *prove* it? Why not cite us the book, the treaty, the public document, the principle, the precedent, upon which we ground this practice? No one attempts to do this; and, until it be done, what impudence is it to say that we possess such a right?—Agreeably to all the principles of jurisprudence, when a man claims a right to do that which is, on the face of the thing, a trespass upon another man, he must first *prove* his right. There may be in John a right to pass across the field of James; but, having now, for the first time, begun to exercise this right, it is incumbent upon him to *prove* it in the way of defence against an action of trespass; and, if he cannot prove it; if he can show neither written deeds nor bring evidence of precedent or custom, he suffers as a trespasser. Apply this to the case before us, and will any one say, that, in order to justify a war for such a practice, we ought not to produce something in *proof* of our right?—I am for giving up no *naval right* of England; and, if any one will show me any *treaty*, any *declaration* of any power, and *recognition*, any *maxim* of any writer upon public law, or, any *custom* or *precedent*, of any power in the whole world, to justify our impressment of persons on board of neutral ships on the high seas, I will say, that our last shot ought to be fired, rather than cease our practice of impressment.—Can I say more? Can I go further? Will justice or reason allow me to go further than this? The Americans will say, that I go much too far; but I am quite Englishman enough to go this length.—Further, however, I will not go, call me what the hirelings will.—Is it not a little too much in this writer to talk about *concessions* as demanded by America? She asks (I repeat it for about the hundredth time) for no *concessions*. She says we are trespassing upon her, and we, without any attempt to *prove* that we are not trespassing, accuse her of

demanding concessions, because she asks us to *cease what she deems a trespass*.—I really, upon no point ever observed these prints more base and impudent than they are upon this. It is so plain a case. America complains of a most injurious trespass; we call it the exercise of a *right*; she replies, *prove your right*; and we rejoin by accusing her of *demanding concessions*.—However, she is now, it seems, to be *punished*.—That word will go backwards down the throat of those who have made use of it.—“*Punishment*” is to *precede* any peace with her. Poor, foolish wretch, who has written, or dictated, this paragraph! She is to be *punished* and she is to *retract*, before we negotiate a peace with her!—I beg the reader to bear this threat in his mind. Whether he does or not, it will not be soon forgotten in America, where, we may be well assured, that the bombarding, or burning, of a few towns, will have no other effect than that of rendering the contest more bitter, and of completing the commercial separation of the two countries. Perhaps amongst the things, the most wished for by the bitterest enemies of England in America, is the burning of a sea-port or two. The loss would be trifling in comparison with the advantage to those who wish to cut the two countries asunder for ever.—“*Fear!*” “*Alarm!*” What alarm are they in? Those who know them, know how small a sacrifice the knocking down a town would be. The country is a country of plenty. There is more food than the people want. It is not, as in Russia, where famine follows war. To be sure, the inhabitants of the towns which are in danger must experience alarm; but what has this to do with the whole country; and what *gain* will it be to us? We shall have expended some scores of thousands of pounds in the undertaking, and shall have enemies for ever of many who were not our enemies before.—In the mean while, whatever this writer may say about the *loans* in America, ships of war will be built; a navy will grow up; seamen will be formed in great numbers; and, let peace take place whenever it may, we shall have created a formidable rival on the ocean.—Nor are we to suppose, if the war continue, that a closer connexion will not take place *between America and France*. Hitherto the war, on our part, has not had that effect. The American government, as if to give the lie to our insolent writers, has formed no connexion

at all with France; but, is it likely, that, if the war continue, and the desire of revenge increase, some connexion will not be formed with France? With whom is America to ally herself but with our enemy who has ships in abundance, which she has not, and who only wants just those very sailors of which she has too many? This would give her a navy at once without a loan; or, which would be better for her, the *use of a navy* during war, without the encumbrance of it during peace.—Would these spiteful and silly writers like to see Decatur and Hull and Bainbridge on board of French ships of the line? Would they like to see a fleet of nine or ten sail, manned with the same sort of stuff that fired on the Java from the Constitution?—My opinion is, that, if the war continue another year, they will see this; and yet, they have the audacity, or the stupidity, to say, in print, that they hope the mediation of Russia will be rejected by our ministers!—It has always been my fear, and I long before the war expressed it, that it would produce a connexion of this kind with France; and, if such connexion has not already taken place, it has, perhaps, been owing solely to the fear of giving a handle to the English party in the States. If, however, we carry on a war of bombardment, that party will, in a short time, have no weight at all; and, the thirst for revenge will produce that, which, under the influence of less hostile passions, might still have remained an object of jealousy. To see a fleet, under the allied banners of France and America, would be to me a most fearful object. I am convinced it would present greater dangers to us than we have ever yet had to contemplate; and, therefore, I read with indignation and abhorrence all these endeavours of English writers to exasperate the people of America.—I have never believed, that the crews of the ships, by which our frigates have been beaten were British sailors; I have always believed them to have been native Americans, and I still believe it. But, if, as our hired writers have asserted, they were our own countrymen, what is to hinder the ships of *France* to be manned in the same way? The British sailors, who are now, if there be any, fighting against their own country in American ships, will, of course, be as ready to follow their commanders into French ships; and, if that were to be the case, this war for the practice of impressment would have answered a most serious

end indeed.—By a stroke of address not without a precedent in the history of our cabinet, we have got into a war with America upon the worst possible ground for us. We talk about the maintenance of our *maritime rights*; and this does very well with the people at large. "What!" say they, "America want to rob us of our *'maritime rights'*." But, what is this right? Suppose it, for argument's sake, to be a right, *what is it?* It is the right of *impressing* people in American ships on the High Seas. But, still to narrow it; it is the maritime right of *impressing*; and *impressing whom?* Why, *British Seamen?*—One would think, that this should have been the last ground on which to make, or meet, a war. It is utterly impossible to divest oneself of the idea which this conveys; and equally impossible not to perceive the effect which must be produced by it in the sailor's mind.—For, either our navy does contain considerable numbers of seamen who wish to seek and find shelter under the American flag, or it does not. If it does not, why go to war for this right of impressing them? If it does, how must these same seamen feel as to the cause in which they are engaged?—I fancy this is a dilemma that would hamper almost any of the partisans of the American war.—I have always been disposed to believe; notwithstanding the assertions to the contrary, that our seamen have not gone over to the Americans in any considerable number; but, if, unhappily, I am deceived, I am quite sure that this war will have a strong tendency to aggravate the evil.

PARLIAMENTARY REFORM.—"Mr. CANNING," says the parliamentary report of the 17th instant, "presented a Petition signed by 6,000 of the inhabitants of Liverpool, with the contents of which he said he did not agree, lamenting the grievances of the country, the protraction of the war, the decay and ruin of our manufactures, and ascribing these evils to the defective state of Parliamentary Representation, and proposing, as the most effectual remedy, the shortening the duration of Parliaments, the extension of the elective franchise, and the exclusion of placemen and pensioners from seats in that House. The Petition was read, and ordered to lie upon the table."—These petitions are, it seems, now coming in. It is in vain for the people to complain of taxes, of

war, or of any grievance, unless they call for a reform of the parliament. To the want of this, and not to any other cause, we owe *all* that we have to complain of and to lament. Every evil may be traced to this source, and while it continues to flow, every evil will exist.—To hear the Whigs talk about a *change of ministry* is disgusting. We have seen that tried, over and over again. We have had, within the last 13 years, all the great talkers in place; and what good have they done us? They do not appear so much as to have thought of any thing for our relief.—I must confess, that, when I hear of people complaining and whining under the burdens that are laid upon them, and yet say not a word about a removal of the cause, they are objects of my contempt rather than of my pity. They smart under the Property Tax, they writhe at the paying of a fine to the Local Militia; but, tell them, that the remedy is a reform of the parliament, and they but too often turn from you.—Let them smart then; let them writhe. If they will not ask for the only effectual and constitutional remedy, let them suffer in silence.—The old cheat of a change of ministry is, however, now become too stale to deceive any body. There is no man will now say, that he wishes for such a thing, unless he be to have a place or profit of some sort in consequence of it. The Whigs do now-and-then make a little effort to keep up the delusion, but the figure they cut only excites pity.—They are now by far the worst set of the two: They first betrayed the people, and then became their most bitter enemies.—They dread a reform of parliament much more, I believe, than their opponents; so that, now there is nothing called party which pretends to wish for a reform. The people are left to themselves, and their way to proceed is to present petitions. That is all they can do.—It is, at this time of day, quite useless to attempt to enter into the reasons for reform. They are all well known. They are felt by every man in the kingdom. The question is not, whether the measure *ought* to be adopted; but, solely what the people ought to do to bring about its adoption. Whether they ought to leave *events* to work the cure; or to endeavour, by their own constitutional exertions, to hasten it. I am for the latter, and, therefore, am glad to see so respectable a petition from Liverpool.

WM. GOBBETT.

Bolton, 19th May, 1818. by Google

OFFICIAL PAPERS.

NORTHERN WAR.

(Continued from page 736.)

The first van-guard came up with the enemy near Danegkow, and after a brisk cannonade forced them to quit that place, with a considerable loss; whereupon I caused the corps of Lieutenant-General Von York, and that of Lieutenant-General Von Berg to follow the van-guard, which were already engaged, and make a vigorous attack on the enemy.—Generals Von Borstell and Bulow did the same on their side, the first advancing to Echdenuck, the latter to Vehlitz, which places were in the enemy's possession, but who was dislodged from thence by the valour of our troops.—The resistance of the enemy, who had the advantage of the ground, was every where very obstinate; but, nevertheless, he was forced at all points to yield to the bravery of our troops, and it was only by the darkness coming on that an end was put to the engagement, and we were prevented from following up this glorious victory. I cannot sufficiently express to your Excellency my approbation of the Imperial Russian and Royal Prussian troops. The Lithuanian regiment of dragoons, and two squadrons of the Body regiment of Russians, cut an enemy's regiment of cavalry totally to pieces, or made prisoners or dispersed it. The same fate attended a second regiment of the enemy's cavalry, by the Grodno Hussars. The Tirailleurs of the brave Pomeranian battalion of grenadiers took a field-piece with horses from the enemy, and in the whole six powder waggons were taken, and we made 27 officers and 900 privates prisoners. The General of Division Grenier, and General Gründler were wounded. The enemy's loss certainly amounts to 2,000 in killed and wounded.—On our side one officer was killed, and seven wounded; we had 560 privates killed or wounded. The enemy did not take a single man of ours, to keep with him; one Cossack was made prisoner, but he made his escape, and even brought a horse along with him. On the 6th, towards noon, I again sent a detachment of infantry, cavalry, and artillery, in search of the enemy, who had drawn off from all points in the course of the night, but this proved in vain, as on his retreat to Magdeburgh he had quitted the defiles to Wahlitz and Alten Cluss, and had cut off all the bridges.—

I am at present engaged in causing entrenchments to be thrown up at Cluss, Konegsborn, and other points, in order to enable Lieutenant-General Von Bulow, with the greater security to blockade Magdeburgh on this side.

(Signed) F. D. AUVRAY,
Imperial Russian Maj.-Gen. and Chief
of the General Staff, in the name of
Count Wittgenstein.

Konigsberg, March 12.

Our paper contains the following

DECLARATION.

We, the undersigned Officers from the Royal Bavarian, Saxon, Westphalian, and Grand Ducal Frankfurt services, who have joined the German Legion, hold ourselves obliged, as men of honour, and with due respect, love, and confidence, publicly to lay before our Princes and native country, the motives which have induced us to take this step.—We are Germans. This single word includes every thing. For a series of years past, we could only sigh for our country, without being able to save her. At length the moment is arrived, when Germany can raise her depressed neck, when our hopes are more raised than ever of throwing off the slavish yoke of France. Victorious Russian armies pursue the enemy from river to river; the Prussian eagle strikes her mighty wings; numberless volunteers hasten to the Prussian standard; every where, even in those parts where the enemy still keeps his footing, a general spirit is rising, which promises to reconquer Germany's lost honour and liberty. Fathers themselves bring their sons—women their jewels; and even the poorest contribute their mite: and we, men of Germany, shall we remain unconcerned spectators? or even, perhaps, in a foreign service, assist in laying our native country again in chains?—Never, never!—Who-soever shall now fight against his brethren is in our eyes a traitor to his native country! Whosoever will not fight for her, neglects his most sacred duty! for we were German citizens before we were soldiers: we never could enter into a compact for shedding the blood of our brethren on our maternal soil, to quench the thirst of strangers with it; neither, truly, have our noble Princes intended it! they have been obliged to submit to superior power; they have been forced to tear their own entrails. We are, therefore, convinced that our recovered Princes will themselves approve the

step we have taken, although their tongues may as yet be chained; we are assured, that we are acting beforehand with their secret wishes as we arm ourselves for their independence; and should there be one amongst them who thinks otherwise, will posterity denominate him a German Prince?

—We do not live in times that can be measured by a common scale—we live in times of bitter, general distress, which knows no other law than that of firmly joining for speedy assistance. That, and that only, is now the law. Let every true German search his bosom, and ask himself if it be otherwise?—No personal necessity has brought us under the standards of the German Legion; we are led to it only by the sense of honour, and the love of our country. We will not fight with Frenchmen against Germans; but with Germans for Germans. Should there be German Princes, soldiers, or citizens, capable of denying such motives, we would still calmly fulfil our most sacred duty, appeal to posterity, and from her expect the crown of renown, due to the faithful sons of their country. Posterity will not ask in what service we were engaged, but for what cause we fought, whether for Germany and humanity, or for France and tyranny?

(Signed) V. Oelhafen, Wallstab, v. Boxberg, Hilenbrand, v. Glauhofen, v. Berge, Lehmann, v. Thomas, v. Hann, v. Hohenheichen. B. v. Waldmannsdorff, Neidhard, Schleiter, Trott, v. Beyer, Schneiders.

Königsberg, March 12, 1813.

Rostock, March 23.

His Serene Highness the Duke of Mecklenburgh has transmitted the following Ordinance to the Commandants of Rostock and Wismar:

“As we herewith recall all the hitherto existing Ordinances against maritime commerce, we direct the Commandant, Major Burlow, immediately on receipt of these patents, not only to take off such and all other embargoes, but likewise to discontinue the Military Bureau established for that purpose, and also to inform the merchants thereof of this measure, that they may know the commerce by sea is open, and free to all nations, such only excepted as are engaged in war with Russia.

(Signed) FREDERICK FRANCIS.

“Ludwigsluts, March 23, 1813.”

EDICT concerning the abolition of the so called Continental System, and the Du-

ties hereafter to be collected on Goods hereafter to be imported by sea.

“We Frederick William, by the Grace of God, King of Prussia, &c. &c.

“Having found cause to withdraw ourselves from the alliance with France, we likewise deem it necessary herewith to declare, that all restraints under which commerce, even in our States, has hitherto suffered in consequence of the so denominated Continental System; and the ships and goods of all friendly and neutral nations shall be freely permitted to enter in our harbours and territories without any exception or difference. All French goods, either produce or manufactures, are on the contrary herewith totally prohibited, not only for use, but likewise to pass through our territories, or those occupied by our armies.

—The so denominated Continental Impost is taken off, and exclusive of the consumption excise to be especially paid on foreign goods entered inwards by sea, for home consumption, there shall be levied the heretofore established moderate impost and transit duty, as it was previous to the establishment of the Continental impost in the year 1810, which duty shall be collected on the gross weight, but only continue so long as the increased expenses arising from the war carrying on for the liberation of Germany, shall render it necessary.

We give to our Privy Counsellor of State, and Chief of the Inward Customs Department, M. Von Heydebreck, full and uncontrolled power to make what further alterations he may see fit, in the whole of the forementioned impost, and to put them in a proper proportion; as likewise to reduce, or entirely take off, at his own judgment, the consumption excise on such articles, where the collecting the full consumption excise, together with the impost duty, would fall too heavy on the home consumption.—All our public officers whom this matter concerns have to pay due attention hereto.—Given at Breslaw the 20th March, 1813.

“(Signed) FREDERICK WILLIAM.
HARDENBERG.”

NORTHERN WAR.—The following papers have been published at Paris, under their respective dates.

MAY 7.—Her Majesty the Empress and Queen has received the following intelligence respecting the situation of the Army on the 1st of May.

The Emperor had removed his head-

quarters to Weissenfels; the Viceroy his to Mersebourg; General Maison had entered Halle; the Duke of Ragusa had his head-quarters at Naumberg; Count Bertrand was at Slohssen; the Duke of Reggio had his head-quarters at Jeule.—There was much rain on the 30th April. On the 1st May the weather was better.—Three bridges had been thrown across the Saale at Weissenfels; campaign works had been commenced at Naumberg, and three bridges thrown over the Saale.—Fifteen grenadiers of the 13th line being between Jena and Saalfeld, were surrounded by 95 Prussian hussars. The Commandant, who was a Colonel, advanced, saying, "Frenchmen, surrender."—The Serjeant killed him. The other grenadiers formed in a platoon, killed seven Prussians, and the hussars went off faster than they came.—The different parts of the old guard are collected at Weissenfels; the General of Division Roguet commands them. The Emperor visited all the advanced posts, notwithstanding the badness of the weather. His Majesty enjoys excellent health.—The first blow with the sabre which was given at the renewing of this campaign at Weimar, took off the ears of Major-General Blucher's son. It was by a Marechal des Loges, of the 10th Hussars, that this blow was given. The inhabitants of Weimar remark, that the first sabre blow given in the campaign of 1806 at Saalfeld, and which killed Prince Louis of Prussia, was given by a Marechal des Loges of this same regiment.

Her Majesty the Empress and Queen has received the following intelligence of the situation of the Army at 9 in the morning of the 2d May:—On the 1st May the Emperor mounted on horseback at 9 in the morning with the Prince of Moskwa. General Souham's division put itself in motion towards the fine plain which commences upon the heights of Wiessenfels, and extends to the Elbe. This division was formed in four squares, of four battalions each, each square of 500 toises from the other, and having four pieces of cannon. Behind the squares was placed General Laboissier's brigade of cavalry, under the orders of Count Valmy, who had just arrived. Gerard and Marchant's divisions came behind in echelons, and formed in the same manner as Souham's division. Marshal the Duke of Istria was on the right with all the cavalry of the guard.—At eleven o'clock, this disposition made, the Prince of Moskwa, in presence of a cloud of the enemy's cavalry,

which covered the plain, put himself in motion upon the defile of Poserna. He seized upon several villages without giving a blow. The enemy occupied upon the heights of the defile one of the finest positions that can be seen; he had 6 pieces of cannon, and pressed three lines of cavalry.—The first square passed the defile at the pas de charge, amidst cries of "Vive l'Empereur!" long continued throughout the lile. It seized upon the height. The four squares of Souham's division passed the defile. Two other divisions of cavalry then came to reinforce the enemy with 20 pieces of cannon. The cannonade became heavy. The enemy every where gave ground, Darnham's division marched upon Lutsin; Girard took the direction of the Pegau road. The Emperor wishing to reinforce the batteries of this last division, sent 12 pieces of the Guard, under the orders of his Aid-de-Camp, General Drouet, and this reinforcement performed prodigies. The ranks of the enemy's cavalry were overthrown by grape shot. At the same moment the Viceroy debouched from Mersebourg, with the 11th corps, commanded by the Duke of Tarente, and the 5th commanded by General Lauriston. General Lauriston's corps was on the left, upon the high road from Mersebourg to the Leipzig; that of the Duke of Tarente, where the Viceroy was, on the right. The Viceroy hearing the brisk cannonade which took place at Lutsin, made a movement to the right, and the Emperor almost at the same moment, at the village of Lutzin. Marchant's division, and in succession Brenier and Recard's divisions, passed the defile; but the business was settled when they entered in line; 15,000 cavalry were therefore driven from these places, by nearly the same number of infantry. It was General Winzingerode who commanded these three divisions; one of which was General Lanskoï's. The enemy displayed but one division of infantry. Become more prudent by the battle of Weissenfels, and astonished at the fine order and sang froid of our march, the enemy dared not approach any part of our infantry, and was crushed by our grape shot. Our loss amounted to 33 men killed, 55 wounded, one a chief of battalion. This loss may be considered as extremely trifling, in comparison to that of the enemy, who had 8 Colonels, 30 Officers, and 400 men killed or wounded, besides a great number of horses; but by one of those fatalities with which the history of war is full, the first cannon ball which was fired on this day, struck the

wrist of the Duke of Istria, pierced his groin, and killed him instantly. He had advanced 516 paces from the side of the Tirallieurs in order to reconnoitre the plain. This Marshal, who has a just title to be named brave and just, was equally commendable for his military coup d'œil, his great experience in managing cavalry, as by his civil qualities and his attachment to the Emperor. His death upon the field of honour is the more worthy of envy; it was so rapid, that it must have been without pain. There are few losses which could have more sensibly affected the Emperor's heart; the army and all France will partake of the grief his Majesty felt.—The Duke of Istria, since the first Italian campaigns,—that is, for sixteen years,—had always, in different ranks, commanded the Emperor's Guard, which followed him in all his campaigns and battles.—The sang froid, good will, and intrepidity of the young soldiers, astonished the veterans and all the officers. It is a proof of the saying, "That to souls well born, virtue does not wait a number of years." His Majesty had, on the night between the 1st and 2d of May, his head-quarters at Lutzin; the Viceroy at Markranstidt; the Prince of Moskwa his at Karga; and the Duke of Ragusa his at Poserna. General Bertrand was at Stohssen; the Duke of Reggio in march upon Naumbourg.—At Dantzic the garrison has obtained great advantages, and made so successful a sortie, that it took prisoners a corps of 3,000 Russians.—The garrison of Wittenberg also appears to have distinguished itself, and to have, in a sortie, caused considerable injury to the enemy.—A letter, in ciphers, which has this moment arrived from the garrison of Glogau, is conceived in these terms:

"All goes on well, the Russians have made several attempts upon this place; they have been always repulsed with much loss; 3 or 4,600 men blockade us, sometimes less, sometimes more. The trenches have been opened; during two days the fire from our batteries forced them to abandon their project.

"GENERAL LAPLANE."

"Glogau, 13 April, 1813."

Her Majesty the Empress and Queen Regent has received news from the Emperor from the field of battle, two leagues in advance of Lutzin, the 2d May, at ten o'clock in the evening, at the moment when the Emperor had thrown himself upon a bed to take a few hours' sleep.

The Emperor informs her Majesty that he has gained the most complete victory over the Russian and Prussian army, commanded by the Emperor Alexander and King of Prussia in person; that in this battle more than 150,000 cannon-balls had been fired; that the troops covered themselves with glory in it, and that, notwithstanding the immense inferiority of cavalry which the French army had, that good-will and courage inherent in Frenchmen, supplied every thing. The enemy was briskly pursued.—No Marshal, no person composing the Household of the Emperor, was killed or wounded.—The joy of these countries, at being delivered from the Cossacks, is indescribable. The inhabitants speak with contempt of all the proclamations and attempts which have been made to tempt them to insurrection.—The Russian and Prussian army was composed of the corps of the Prussian Generals York, Blücher, and Bulow, and those of the Russian Generals Wittgenstein, Winzingerode, Miloradowitsch, and Tormazow. The Russian and Prussian guards were likewise there. The Emperor of Russia, the King of Prussia, the Prince Royal of Prussia, and all the Princes of the Royal Household of Prussia were in the battle.—The combined Russian and Prussian army is estimated at from 150 to 200,000 men. All the Russian Cuirassiers were there, and suffered greatly.

Her Majesty the Empress Queen and Regent has received the following intelligence of the situation of the armies on the 4th of May, in the evening:

The Emperor's head-quarters were, on the evening of the 4th, at Borna; those of the Viceroy at Kolditz; those of General Count Bertrand at Frothburg; those of General Count Lauriston at Malbus; those of the Prince of Moskwa at Leipsick; and those of the Duke of Reggio at Zeitz.—The enemy is retiring on Dresden in the greatest disorder, and by every road.—All the villages in the road of the army, are found full of Russian and Prussian wounded.—The Major-General Prince of Neufchatel has given orders for the interment of the Prince of Mecklenburg Strelitz, on the morning of the 4th, at Pegau, and with all the honours due to his rank.—In the battle of the 2d, General Dumontier, who commands the division of the Young Guards, sustained the reputation which he had already acquired in the preceding campaigns. He bestows high praise on his division. The General of Division Brunier was wounded. The General of

Brigade Chemieubau and Grillot were wounded, and have suffered amputation. —By a calculation made of the number of cannon-shot fired in the battle, it is found to be less considerable than was at first believed—only 39,500 cannon-shot were fired. At the battle of Moskwa there were fired 50,000.

MAY 8.—*Her Majesty the Empress Queen and Regent has received the following intelligence from the army:*

The battles of Weissenfels and Lutzen were but the prelude of events of the highest importance. The Emperor Alexander and the King of Prussia, who had arrived at Dresden with their forces the latter end of April, learning that the French Army had debouched from the Thuringe, adopted the plan of giving battle in the plains of Lutzen, and put themselves in motion to occupy the position, but they were anticipated by the rapidity of the movements of the French Army. They, however, persisted in their projects, and resolved to attack the army, to drive it from the positions it had taken. The position of the French Army was on the 2d May, at nine in the morning, as follows:—The left of the army leaned upon the Elster; it was formed by the Viceroy, having under his orders the 5th and 11th corps. The centre was commanded by the Prince of Moskwa in the village of Kara. The Emperor, with the young and old guard, was at Lutzen; the Duke of Ragusa was at the defile of Poserna, and formed the right with his three divisions. General Bertrand, commanding the 4th corps, marched to proceed to this defile. The enemy debouched, and passed the Elster at the bridges of Zwenkaw, Pegou and Zuts. The Emperor, hoping to anticipate him in his movement, and thinking that he could not attack till the 5th, advanced.—General Lauriston, whose corps formed the extreme of the left, was ordered to march upon Leipzig, in order to disconcert the enemy's projects, and place the French Army, for the day of the 3d, quite different to that upon which the enemy had calculated to find it, and in which it was in reality on the 2d, and by this means carry confusion and disorder into their columns. —At nine in the morning, his Majesty having heard a cannonade from the side of Leipzig, proceeded there at full gallop. The enemy defended the small village of Lestenau, and the bridges in advance of Leipzig. His Majesty only waited the moment when these last positions should be carried, to put in motion all his army

in that direction, make a pivot on Leipzig, pass to the right bank of the Elster, and take the enemy *a revers*, but at ten o'clock the enemy's army debouched towards Kara, upon several columns, extremely deep; the horizon was obscured by them. The enemy presented forces which appeared immense.—The Emperor immediately made his dispositions. The Viceroy received orders to march upon the left of the Prince of Moskwa, but three hours were necessary to execute this movement. The Prince of Moskwa placed his men under arms, and with five divisions supported the battle, which at the end of half an hour became terrible. His Majesty himself marched at the head of the last guard, behind the centre of the army, supporting the right of the Prince of Moskwa. The Duke of Ragusa, with his three divisions, occupied the extreme right. General Bertrand had orders to debouche upon the enemy's rear, at the moment in which the line should be most strongly engaged. Fortune was pleased to crown with the most brilliant success all these dispositions. The enemy, who appeared certain of the success of his enterprise, marched to reach our right, and gain the road of Weissenfels. General Compans, General of Battle of the first merit, at the head of the 1st division of the Duke of Ragusa, stopped him quite short. The marine regiments supported several charges with sang froid, and covered the field of battle with the best of the enemy's cavalry. But the great efforts of infantry, cavalry, and artillery, were directed against the centre. Four of the Prince of Moskwa's five divisions were already engaged. The village of Kara was taken and retaken several times. This village remained in the enemy's power, Count De Lobeau directed General Recard to retake the village. It was retaken.—The battle embraced a line of two leagues, covered with fire, smoke, and clouds of dust. The Prince of Moskwa, General Souham, and General Girard were every where, making head against every thing. General Girard was wounded with several balls. General Girard wished to remain on the field of battle; he declared his wish to die commanding and directing his troops, as the moment had arrived for all Frenchmen who possessed any heart, to conquer or perish. However, we began to perceive from afar the dust and first fire of General Bertrand's corps; at the same moment the Viceroy entered in line upon the left, and the Duke of Tarente attacked the

enemy's reserve, and reached the village upon which the enemy rested his right. At this moment the enemy redoubled his efforts upon the centre; the village of Kara was again taken, our centre gave way, some battalions fled, but these valorous youths, at the sight of the Emperor, rallied, exclaiming "Vive l'Empereur." His Majesty judged, that the critical moment, which decides the gaining or losing of battles, had arrived: there was no longer a moment to be lost. The Emperor ordered the Duke of Treviso to march with sixteen battalions of the young guard to the village of Kara, overthrow the enemy, retake the village, and overcome any thing he met with there. At the same moment, his Majesty ordered his Aid-de-Camp, General Drouet, an artillery officer of the greatest distinction, to form a battery of 80 pieces, and place it in advance of the old guard, which was formed in echelons, as four redoubts to support the centre, all our cavalry ranged in battle behind. General Dulaulu, Drouet, and Devaux, set out at full gallop with their 80 pieces of artillery in the same group.—The fire became dreadful—the enemy gave way on all sides. The Duke of Treviso obtained possession of the village of Kara, overthrew the enemy, and continued to advance, beating the charge. The enemy's cavalry, infantry, and artillery, all retreated.

MAY 9.—*The Empress Queen and Regent has received the following intelligence from the army, dated 3d May, nine o'clock in the evening.*

The Emperor, at the break of day of the 3d traversed the field of battle. At ten o'clock he put himself in motion to follow the enemy. His head-quarters were on the 3d, in the evening, at Pegau. The Viceroy had his at Wickstanden, half way between Pegau and Borna. Count Lauriston, whose corps had taken no part in the battle, had set out from Leipsic to march upon Zwernkaw, where he had arrived. The Duke of Ragusa had passed the Elster, at the village of Lutzkourtz, and Count Bertrand had passed it, at the village of Gredel. The Prince of Moskwa's was in a position upon the field of battle. The Duke of Reggio, from Naumburg, was marching upon Zeist.—The Emperor of Russia and King of Prussia passed through Pegau on the night of the 2d, arrived in the village of Loberstadt, at 11 o'clock at night. They reposed there four hours, and set out on the 3d at three in the morn-

ing, in the direction of Borna.—The enemy had not recovered from his astonishment, at finding himself beaten in so large a plain, by an army so greatly inferior in cavalry. Several Colonels and superior officers, taken prisoners, assure us, that at the enemy's head-quarters they had not learned of the Emperor's presence at the army, till the battle had commenced; they believed the Emperor to be at Erfurt.—As always happens in similar circumstances, the Prussians accuse the Russians of not having supported them. The Russians accuse the Prussians of not having fought well. The greatest confusion prevails in their retreat. Several of those pretended volunteers, which were raised in Prussia, have been made prisoners: they cause pity. All declare that they were enrolled by force, and on pain of seeing their property and families confiscated. The country people say that a Prince of Hesse Hombourg was killed, that several Russian and Prussian Generals had been killed or wounded. The Prince of Mecklenburg Strelitz is also reported to be killed; but all this intelligence is yet but reports of the country.—General Bonnet, commanding one of the Duke of Ragusa's divisions, received orders to make a movement upon Kara by his left, to support the success of the centre. He sustained several charges of cavalry. General Count Berthier advanced, and entered the line. It was in vain that the enemy's cavalry capered about his squares; his march was not relaxed by it. To rejoin him the sooner, the Emperor ordered a change of direction, by pivoting on Kara. The whole of the line made a change in front the right wing foremost. The enemy then fled, and we pursued him for a league and a half. We soon arrived at the heights which had been occupied by the Emperor Alexander, the King of Prussia, and the Brandenburg Family, during the battle. An Officer, who was taken prisoner, then informed us of this circumstance. We have made several thousand prisoners. The number could not be more considerable, considering the inferiority of our cavalry, and the desire which the Emperor had shewn of sparing it.—At the commencement of the battle, the Emperor said to the troops—"It is a battle like those in Egypt—a good infantry, supported by artillery, should be sufficient for it."—General Gouné, Chief of the Prince of Moskwa's staff was killed; a death worthy of so good a soldier. Our loss amounts

to 10,000 men, killed and wounded; that of the enemy may be estimated at 25 or 30,000 men. The Royal Prussian Guards are destroyed. The Emperor of Russia's guards have suffered considerably, and the two divisions of 10 regiments of Russian cuirassiers are destroyed. His Majesty cannot pay a sufficient eulogium to the good-will, courage, and intrepidity of the army. Our young soldiers took no danger into consideration. They have in this great instance shewn all the nobleness of the French blood.

The Chief of the Staff, in his relation, mentions the fine actions which have shed a lustre on this brilliant day, which, like a clap of thunder, has pulverized the chimerical hopes, and all the calculations for the destruction and dismemberment of the Empire. The cloudy train collected by the Cabinet of St. James's, during a whole winter, are in an instant destroyed, like the gordian knot by the sword of Alexander.—The Prince of Hesse Homburg was killed. The prisoners say that the young Prince Royal of Prussia is wounded, and the Prince of Mecklenburgh Swartz killed. The infantry of the old guards, only six battalions of which have arrived, by their presence kept up the affair with that sang-froid by which they are characterized. They did not fire a musket; half the army was not engaged; for the four divisions of General Lauriston's corps, have done nothing but occupy Leipsic, the three divisions of the Duke of Reggio, were still two days' march from the field of battle; Count Bertrand did not charge but with one of his divisions, and so lightly that it did not lose 50 men, his second and third divisions did not charge at all. The second division of the young guards, commanded by General Barrors, were still four days' march off, and it was the same with half the old guards, commanded by General Decowe, who was then only at Erfurt.—The Duke of Belluno's corps was also three days march from the field of battle; General Sebastiani's corps of cavalry, with the three divisions of the Prince of Echmuhl, was on the banks of the Elbe. The allied army 150 to 200,000 men strong, commanded by the two Sovereigns, with a great number of the Princes of the house of Prussia, has been thus defeated and put to rout, by less than the half of the French army. The field of battle presented the most affecting spectacle; the young soldiers, on seeing the Emperor, forgot their sufferings, exclaimed. "Vive l'Empereur."—"It is now

twenty years," said the Emperor, "that I have commanded the French armies, but I have never yet witnessed so much bravery and devotion!" Europe would at length be at peace, if the Sovereigns and the Ministers who direct their Cabinets could have been present on the field of battle. They would give up all hopes of causing the star of France to set, and perceive that those Counsellors who wish to dismember the French Empire, and humble the Emperor, are preparing the ruin of their Sovereigns.

MAY 10.—*Her Majesty the Empress Queen and Regent, has received the following intelligence of the situation of the armies on the evening of the 5th.*

The Emperor's head-quarters were at Colditz, those of the Viceroy at Kara, those of the Duke of Ragusa behind Colditz; General Lauriston at Warten, of the Prince of Moskwa at Leipsic, those of the Duke of Reggio at Altenburg, and of General Bertrand at Rochlitz.—The Viceroy arrived before Colditz on the 5th, at nine o'clock in the morning. The bridge was cut, and some columns of infantry and cavalry, with artillery, opposed our passage. The Viceroy with his division, marched towards a ford, which is on the left, passed the river, and gained the village of Komulian, where he caused a battery of 20 pieces of artillery to be placed; the enemy then evacuated the town of Colditz in the greatest disorder, and in desfilng were exposed to the fire of our 20 pieces of artillery. The Viceroy pursued the enemy with vigour; it was the remainder of the Prussian army, about 20 or 25,000 men strong, which took their direction partly to Leissing and partly to Gersdorff. Having arrived at Gersdorff, the Russian troops passed across a reserve, which occupied this position; it was the Russian corps of Miloradowitsch, composed of two divisions, amounting to nearly 8,000 men under arms. The Russian regiments, consisting of only two battalions of four companies each, and the companies not consisting of more than 150 men, but having at present not more than 100 men each under arms, which does not amount to more than 7 or 800 men per regiment. These two divisions of Miloradowitsch had arrived at the moment the battle was finished, and could not take any part in it.—Immediately on the 36th division having rejoined the 35th, the Viceroy gave orders to the Duke of Tarentum to form the two divisions in three columns, and draw the enemy from his positions. The attack was brisk, our brave fellows precipitated them-

selves on the Russians; penetrated and drove them towards Harta. In this engagement we had 5 or 600 wounded, and took 1,000 prisoners. The enemy lost 2,000 men on this day.—General Bertrand being arrived at Rochlitz, took there several convoys of sick and wounded, some baggage, and made some prisoners. Upwards of 1,200 carriages, with wounded, had passed by this route. The King of Prussia and the Emperor Alexander had slept at Rochlitz.—An Adjutant, sub-officer of the 17th division, and who had been made prisoner in the battle of the 2d, made his escape, and gave information that the enemy had sustained great losses, and was retiring in the utmost disorder; that during the battle the Russians and Prussians kept their colours in reserve, which was the cause why we could not take any of them; that they have taken 102 prisoners from us, among whom are 4 officers; that these prisoners were conducted to the rear, under the guard of the detachment which had charge of the colours; that the Prussians treated their prisoners very ill; that two prisoners not being able to walk, through extreme fatigue, they ran them through the body with their swords; that the astonishment of the Russians and Prussians at having found such a numerous army, and so well disciplined and supplied with every thing, was extreme; that there existed a misunderstanding between them, and that they mutually accused each other as being the cause of their losses.—General Count Lauriston has put himself in march from Wurtzen on the high road to Dresden.—The Prince of Moskwa has marched towards the Elbe, to raise the blockade of General Theilman, who commands at Torgau, take his position at that point, and raise the blockade of Wittenberg. It appears that this latter place has made a fine defence, and repulsed several attacks which have cost the enemy very dear.—The Prussians state that the Emperor Alexander, finding the battle lost, rode through the Russian lines to animate the soldiers, by exclaiming, "Courage! God is with us." They add, that the Prussian General Blucher is wounded, and that there were five other Prussian Generals of Division or Brigade either killed or wounded.

AMERICAN WAR.

Copy of a Letter from Captain Lawrence, of the United States Ship of War Hornet, to the Secretary of the Navy.

U. S. Ship Hornet, Holmes' Hole, March 29, 1813.

Sir,—I have the honour to inform you of the arrival at this port of the U. S. ship Hornet, under my command, from a cruise of 145 days, and to state to you, that after Commodore Bainbridge left the coast of Brazil (Jan. 6), I continued off the harbour of St. Salvador, blockading the Bonne Citoyenne, until the 24th, when the Montague, 74, hove in sight, and chased me into the harbour; but night coming on, I wore and stood out to the southward.—Knowing that she had left Rio Janeiro for the express purpose of relieving the Bonne Citoyenne, and the packet (which I had also blockaded for 14 days, and obliged her to send her mail to Rio, in a Portuguese smack), I judged it most prudent to shift my cruising ground, and hauled by the wind to the westward, with the view of cruising off Pernambuco, and on the 4th of February captured the English brig Resolution, of 10 guns, from Rio Janeiro, bound to Maranhham, with coffee, &c., and about 23,000 dollars in specie. I took out the money, and set her on fire. I then ran down the coast for Maranhham, and cruised there a short time, from thence run off Surinam. After cruising off that coast from the 15th until the 23d of February, without meeting a vessel, I stood for Demarara, with an intention, should I not be fortunate on that station, to run through the West Indies on my way to the United States; but on the 24th, in the morning I discovered a brig to the leeward, to which I gave chase—run into quarter less four, and not having a pilot, was obliged to haul off; the fort at the entrance of Demerara river at this time bearing S. W. distant $2\frac{1}{2}$ leagues. Previous to giving up the chase, I discovered a vessel at anchor, without the bar, with English colours flying, apparently a brig of war. In beating round Carolina Bank, in order to get to her, at half-past three P. M., I discovered another sail on my weather quarter, edging down for us—at 4. 20. she hoisted English colours, at which time we discovered her to be a large man of war brig; beat to quarters, and cleared ship for action, and kept close by the wind, in order, if possible, to get the weather-gauge. At 5. 10. finding I could weather the enemy, I hoisted American colours and tacked. At 5. 25. in passing each other, exchanged broadsides within half pistol shot. Observing the enemy in the act of wearing, I bore up, and received his starboard broadside, run

him close on board on the starboard-quarter, and kept up such a heavy and well-directed fire, that in less than 15 minutes she surrendered (being totally cut to pieces), and hoisted an ensign, union down, from his fore-rigging, as a signal of distress. Shortly after, her mainmast went by the board. Dispatched Lieut. Shobrick on board, who soon returned with her First Lieutenant, who reported her to be His Britannic Majesty's late brig Peacock, commanded by Captain William Peake, who fell in the latter part of the action; that a number of her crew were killed and wounded; and that she was sinking fast, she having then six feet water in her hold. Dispatched the boats immediately for the wounded, and brought both vessels to anchor. Such shot-holes as could be got at were then plugged; guns thrown overboard, and every possible exertion used to keep her afloat, until the prisoners could be removed, by pumping and bailing, but without effect, as she unfortunately sunk in five fathoms and a half water, carrying down 13 of her crew, and three of my brave fellows. Lieutenant Connor and Midshipman Cooper, and the remainder of my men employed in removing the prisoners, with difficulty saved themselves by jumping into a boat that was lying on the booms as she went down. Four men of the 13 mentioned were so fortunate as to gain the foretop, and were afterwards taken off by our boats. Previous to her going down, four of her men took to her stern boat that had been much damaged during the action, who, I sincerely hope, reached the shore. I have not been able to ascertain from her officers the exact number of killed. Captain Peake and four men were found dead on board. The master, one midshipman, carpenter, and captain's clerk, and 29 men wounded, most of them very severely, three of which died of their wounds after being removed, and nine drowned. Our loss was trifling in comparison. John Place, killed; Samuel Coulson and Joseph Dalrymple, slightly wounded; George Coffin and Lewis Todd, severely burnt by the explosion of a cart-ridge. Todd survived only a few days. Our rigging and sails were much cut. One shot through the fore-mast, and the bowsprit slightly injured. Our hull received

little or no damage.—At the time I brought the Peacock to action, the *Espiegle* (the brig mentioned as being at anchor), mounting 16 two-and-thirty pound carronades, and 2 long nines, lay about six miles in-shore of me, and could plainly see the whole of the action. Apprehensive she would beat out to the assistance of her consort, such exertions were used by my officers and crew, and repairing damages, &c.; that by nine o'clock our boats were stowed, a new set of sails bent, and the ship completely ready for action. At two, A. M. got under weigh, and stood by the wind to the northward and westward under easy sail. On mustering next morning, found we had two hundred and seventy-seven souls on board (including the crew of the American brig Hunter, of Portland, taken a few days before by the Peacock).—The Peacock was deservedly styled one of the finest vessels of her class in the British Navy. I should judge her to be about the tonnage of the *Hornet*. Her beam was greater by five inches, but her extreme length not so great by four feet. She mounted 16 four-and-twenty-pound carronades, 2 long nines, 1 twelve-pound carronade on her top-gallant forecassle, as a shifting gun, and one four or six-pounder, and two swivels mounted aft. I find by her quarter-bill that her crew consisted of 134 men, four of whom were absent in a prize.—The cool and determined conduct of my officers and crew during the action, and their almost unexampled exertions afterwards, entitle them to my warmest acknowledgments; and I beg leave most earnestly to recommend them to the notice of Government.

JAMES LAWRENCE.

Hon. Wm. Jones, Secretary of the Navy.

P. S. At the commencement of the action my sailing-master and seven men were absent in a prize, and Lieut. Stewart and six men on the sick-list.

“Head-quarters, Lewiston, March 23.

Sir,—As the Governor of the State of Delaware, and Commander of its military force, I improve the earliest time afforded me since my arrival at this place, of acknowledging the receipt of your letter of the 16th instant, directed to the Chief

(To be continued.)

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

NORTHERN WAR.—Below will be found the official dispatch of Lord Cathcart, relating to the Battle of Lutzen. To read this dispatch there is no one who would not believe that the Allies were completely victorious. Here are all the signs of complete victory. We are told, that the French were *driven back*; we are told that the Allies made prisoners and took cannon; and we are distinctly told, that the Allies prepared for attacking the French again in the morning, but that “the enemy did not wait for it, and, that it was judged expedient not to pursue.”—English reader; good, thinking, English reader, what do you understand from this! What can you understand from it? What is its clear meaning? Why, it is this: That the French were *defeated*, and that, being about to be attacked again in the morning, they *ran away*.—Is not this the only meaning that this dispatch can convey? And yet, thanks to the French Empress's bulletins, we know, that the French, so far from running away, *advanced* the day after the battle, and that, when the last of those bulletins came away, the Emperor was in possession of Dresden, which is on the banks of the river Elbe, and which is, at least, fifty English miles in *advance* of the place where the battle was fought.—We know, from the same source, that the Emperor Alexander had passed through Dresden a little time before the French arrived.—We know, that these are facts; or, that the Emperor Napoleon has promulgated barefaced lies to the people of France, which, if he has done it now, is what, as far as I can remember, he never before did, in any of his bulletins.—However, there is not, I believe, one single person, at all conversant in such matters, who believes, that Napoleon is not *arrived at Dresden*; and, if that be the case, it is undoubtedly true, that he did defeat the Allies, because what can be a proof of defeat, if retreating before the enemy be not such proof.—Nevertheless, the people in the country in England will believe that the French have

been defeated; and they will continue to believe so, though Hamburg should fall, and though Napoleon should reach Dantzic and even Petersburg.—How are they to believe otherwise? The Allies claim, always claim, the victory. Their accounts, in nineteen twentieths of our news-papers, are said to be true; and, though the French bulletins are published, they are always accompanied with an editorial comment, asserting them to be false.—The mass of the people in the country have no channel of information other than these news-papers; and, of course, they must be deceived. The profligate men, who conduct these papers, know well how false their contents are, and they, amongst themselves, laugh heartily at the frauds they are practising; but the people do not know this; they have no idea of the existence of any thing so impudent and base; they *believe*, and that is all their deceivers care about.—It must be confessed, however, that there is a wonderful pre-disposition in the people themselves to be deceived. They have, by means of a base press, been made to believe, that their own personal safety depends upon the destruction of Napoleon and his government; and, that being the case, their ears are open only to what encourages their hope of seeing that destruction take place. Like all the rest of mankind, they are ever ready to believe that which they wish for. This is the great source of the power of our Government to carry on the war. People grumble at the taxes; they smart under the effects of the war; but, they endure, because they are persuaded, that the war, with all its evils, is preferable to what a peace, leaving Napoleon in power, would produce.—The agricultural part of the kingdom, too, imagine that the war, by wasting the products of the earth and preventing importation of corn, is conducive to the high price of their property. This is a wrong notion, the loss being to them greater than the gain; but, as it is not reasonable to expect, in the mass of these persons, any views beyond those of immediate interest, so it would be unreasonable to expect them to be hostile to

the continuance of the war. A farmer, who, while such vast improvements have taken place in all other arts and sciences, still continues to cultivate his land in precisely the same way that it was cultivated when people believed that the earth stood still, and that the sun and moon set in the sea; a farmer, who does this, cannot be expected to dive into questions of political economy, and to perceive, that he may thrive by selling his wheat at ten pounds a load, and be ruined by selling it at forty pounds a load. — The very confined views of the mass of this description of persons, and which views are utterly incomprehensible to persons unaccustomed to see their effect and to trace them to their source; these views are a main support of the Government in the prosecution of the war. Where will you find a farmer, who wishes to put a stop to the export of oats, or grain of any sort, to Portugal, or Spain, or Sicily, or to any other place? And, what are we to expect from *Counties*, while these false notions of interest prevail? And prevail they must, from the same cause, that it is almost as hard for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle as to induce a common farmer to attempt any, even the slightest, alteration in the mode of managing his land, though he has what to any other set of men would amount to demonstration of the benefit of such alteration. — When to this cause of support of the war we add the interests, the real interests, of all the persons in the Army, the Navy, the Barrack Department, the Dock Yards, the Tax Offices; and all their families and friends; when we look at the buildings at Blackwater, at Wycombe, at Woolwich, &c. &c. and consider the thousands of young persons here breeding up for the purposes of war, and consider the hopes of their parents and relations, who have in this way placed them; when we add this most powerful cause to the former, are we to wonder, that the war has so many supporters? — The fund-holder, too, though the war daily diminishes the value of his property, has lurking in his mind the notion, that a peace which should ratify the power of Napoleon would destroy that property altogether. Thus he, too, the most timid of all, is for a prosecution of the war. He hopes, and his hopes are fed by the news-papers, that war may, at last, put down Napoleon, and the funds will then rise in value. While he groans under the effects of war, his mind is haunted with the fears of peace, which, some

how or other, he identifies with the triumph of Jacobin principles. It is in vain to tell him, that Napoleon is an Emperor, and no friend of Jacobins. It is in vain to remind him, that he himself thinks, or, at least, *says*, that the Emperor of France is a military despot. Still he connects the idea of triumphant democracy with the success of Napoleon in war or in peace; and he does this even at the very moment, and in almost the very same breath, that he asserts the *people* of Germany to be in arms against Napoleon as their oppressor. — It would be a waste of time to attempt to account for the way of thinking of such a person. We know the fact; and the effect is an unqualified support of the war. — The Aristocracy and the Church support the war upon more rational grounds, it being notorious, that the Napoleon system strikes at the root of both. A man, who is new to power himself, all whose nobles are new, whose system is that of making all honours grow out of personal merit and well-known services, cannot be regarded as other than the enemy of an hereditary nobility. His system strikes at the root of all pretensions founded on family antiquity; and the surprising talents which that system, which was borrowed from the Jacobins, has brought into action, gall the very souls of those, whose rank is owing to their birth. — The Church naturally are hostile to a system, which has taken away its wealth, and made the land free of an encumbrance, which the mass of its occupiers, though through wrong notions, in some respects, endure with impatience. The Church must naturally fear the effects of a free communication with a country wherein tithes have been abolished; for, such communication could not fail to give rise to the publication of statements most injurious in their tendency to the establishment. Therefore, the Church, as we always see, is for “a vigorous prosecution of the war.” Another reason why Napoleon is hated by all those, who enjoy the emoluments attached to the education of youth in the public schools and colleges, is, that he has, by his regulations, stripped their trade of its principal support. He has made a knowledge of the Greek and Latin languages unnecessary to the admission to degrees in his learned institutions. He has, in fact, destroyed the last remains of monkery, by showing the world, that men may be truly learned without its aid. For this reason is he held in abhorrence by the Clergy, who think, and very correctly,

that a free communication with France could not long exist without giving a fatal blow to their pretensions to superiority in point of learning, as well as to the whole of those notions from which they derive their vast power.—These are the causes of the support invariably given to the war, and of the readiness with which every report of success against Napoleon is credited. Were it not for these causes, which all unite to make people hope for the destruction of Napoleon, and to make them believe, like all other people, what they hope, it would have been quite impossible for the press to gain belief in the statements about insurrections in France, about the soldiers marching to the army in chains, and now in the statements about Napoleon's defeat at Lutzen.—Reader (for let me hope that I shall find one, at least, to listen to reason); then, I ask you, reader, if you, upon reflection, do really believe, that the Allies are likely to be triumphant in this war? You, as well as I, were assured, that the Allies had wholly destroyed the army of Napoleon; that it was impossible for him to raise another; that the people of France were ready to rise against him; that they placarded the walls with accusations of tyranny and cowardice against him; that he dared not quit France again.—We have found *all* this to be false. Every jot of it has been proved to be false. We are now quite sure of its falsehood. And, will you still place reliance on what is told us through the same channel?—We were assured, in terms equally positive, that *the people of Germany*, having felt his grinding tyranny, had risen every where against his authority; that they were embodying themselves into corps and legions and armies for the purpose of waging war against him; that their fury against him was absolutely ungovernable; that Frenchmen were every where murdered by them; that his troops would be driven back, not only to the Rhine, but within the boundaries of the old territories of France.—Has not *all* this been now proved to be false? Has he not already traversed great part of Germany? Have the people, in any one instance, risen against him? Have not the allied armies retreated before him?—And will you, can you, sensible reader, confide in any thing; can you put your faith in any assurance, that shall reach you through the same channel? Will you join in calling an enemy of his country the man who shall endeavour to prevent you from being again

deceived?—I do not blame the ministers much for not attempting to make peace during the last winter; because, as I have said before, my opinion is, that there can be no real peace in England, unless the power of Napoleon be first *greatly diminished*, or, unless we have a *total change of system*. But, is it not reasonable to suppose, that, if he *now* succeed, no terms of peace so good as he last offered, will ever be obtained by us?—In my opinion, the worst thing that could be done by us was done at the time of Napoleon's retreat out of Russia. At that time the language of our press (which, I dare say, was faithfully given to the people of France) was, that the only way to peace was over the dead body of the Emperor. This was very bad; but, it was infinitely worse, or, at least, more unwise, to say, as the Times newspaper did, *that the whole French nation ought to be punished*. They were represented as a wicked, a base, a bloody-minded race; they were, we were told, the *willing instruments* of his cruelty and rapacity, though, only a few days before, he was represented as having *dragged them to his army in chains*. As long as it suited the purpose of these vile scribes to represent the people of France as oppressed by him, and as being an object of our pity, they so represented them; but, when these corrupt conductors of newspapers thought it expedient to change their tone, then the people of France, not only the army, but the whole nation, became his *willing instruments*!—The effect of this is too obvious to need pointing out. The people of France, upon hearing this language, upon reading these denunciations against them, must have said: "So, then, while you thought our chief so strong that nothing but our defection from him could afford you a chance of resistance, you endeavoured to produce that defection by calling us an oppressed people, and by saying that we were dragged to his armies in chains; but, the moment you thought, that he was down, and that his power was destroyed for ever, you changed your tone with regard to us, declared us to have been his willing instruments, and inculcated the justice of making us sharers in the punishment with which you menaced him."—If this was not the precise language, it must of necessity have been the feeling, of the French nation, who thus saw their fate inseparable from that of their chief, and who, as it was natural to expect, made immense sacrifices to give him the

means of warding off that punishment with which both were menaced.—I am not certain, indeed, that the people of France ever heard of these denunciations of our press; but, they might hear of them, and our children may have to rue the consequences.—It was manifest to me, and to some others, from the time that Napoleon was compelled to retreat out of Russia, that his future fate depended, not upon the disposition of the Poles or the Germans, but upon that of *the people of France only*. If they were still on his side; if the love of glory, or any other passion, would still give him a French army, there appeared no good reason, why he should not again cross the Vistula.—Those who expressed an opposite opinion reasoned thus: They said, that *the people* of Germany and Poland would now be against him; and, it was not unpleasing, at the end of a series of years, during which they had treated the people as *nothing*, to hear them rest their hopes upon the disposition and voluntary exertions of the people, and thus to make the people every thing. But, at any rate, this was their new doctrine. They said, that, on former occasions, the people had not risen against him; though, by-the-by, they, *at the time*, told us the people *did rise against him to a man*. However, this was their new doctrine, that the people were *deceived* by him before; but, that, *now*, having *felt the grasp of his tyranny*, they were no longer to be *deceived*; that they *now* abhorred him, and were all ready to shed the last drop of their blood in order to prevent the return of his authority, or that of his deputy sovereigns.—This reasoning was conclusive enough if the *premises* were left out of consideration; and, in such cases, men seldom embarrass themselves with premises. I have no means of knowing what was the precise difference between the operation of Napoleon's governments in Germany, and that of the governments existing there before; and, therefore, I could not positively assert, that the people might not wish for a counter-revolution. But, I must confess, that I took the non-resistance of the people upon the former occasions to be but too strong a presumptive proof that they were still disposed in his favour. For, as to his *deceiving* them; how was such a deception to be *practised*? He was then an Emperor as much as he now is. His government was well known. The sort of sway that he exercised in France was no *secret* in Germany. He did not advance, as he formerly had done, with *Liberty* and

Equality inscribed on his banners. To compel the sovereigns of Germany and Russia to aid him in a war against England was his avowed object. And, if he met with no resistance from *the people* then, why was he to meet with it now?—As to *the people* feeling the *grasp* of his tyranny, we are to consider what sort of people it was, who must have felt that grasp. Those who had been most opposed to him, if any had been conspicuous in that way, would naturally feel it the most. He would assuredly not squeeze his friends, or those who became his friends. Besides, his exactions of money would fall upon the *rich*, and it is not the *rich* who *fight battles*. It is very certain, that, if you injure the *rich*, the *poor*, for a while, at least, must be injured too. But, they do not see the real cause of their new sufferings, and are, as all experience proves, always ready to ascribe these new sufferings to their old masters. If, indeed, the old governments of Germany were so very mild and just, and the people so free and happy under them that any change must have been for the worse, I allow that the people must naturally be disposed to resist him *now*; and I cannot say, that they were not such excellent governments because I never was in Germany; but, then comes this difficulty, that, if the people were so very perverse as to fold up their arms and suffer him to over run their country before, in spite of the excellence of their governments, why are we to believe, that they will shed their blood now for the restoration of these very governments? And, if, on the other hand, the old governments were of a somewhat different description, what reason have we to believe, that the people will now die to the last man, rather than relinquish their endeavours to procure their restoration?—This is my grand difficulty, and I should be very much obliged to any of the enlightened editors of our press, if they would condescend to get me out of it.—In the mean while I do really see no signs of any resistance to Napoleon on the part of the people of Germany. I read, indeed, about the volunteer corps and the levy-en-mass in Prussia; but, I read about them before, not many days previous to the arrival of the news, that Napoleon had gone to the theatre at Berlin amidst the acclamations of the people. I have no faith, therefore, in these accounts. I every where see volunteers and levy-en-mass until he approaches, and then I hear no more of them. I have



lately read of the patriotic stir in *Hanover*; but the map shows me, that Napoleon has not been afraid, "coward" as he is become, to leave that patriotic and inestimable Electorate in *his rear*; and I am not without my apprehensions, that he will have the insolence to treat many other respectable seats of patriotism in the same way.—In my opinions upon this subject I may be deceived; I am by no means sure that I am right; but, I am not willing to dupe myself, and wish to prevent my readers from being duped. There is nothing which so degrades a nation, in my eyes, as its being the dupe of designing knaves.—The *abuse* which is heaped upon Napoleon is very odious, and cannot do any good. If, indeed, the calling of him "the monster on the banks of the Elbe" would drive him back from that river, or, better still, plunge him into it, there might be some sense in the use of such appellations; but, as they can be of no use, either to us or to our magnanimous Allies, it would, surely, be better to refrain from the use of them: If they ever reach him, they cannot fail to make him laugh at us.—This is, however, taken for a mark of patriotism in this country, though it seems very difficult to find out the reason. Any fool may call Buonaparté a monster. Nothing is easier; but, let any one shew me what valour or what sense there is in such reviling.—For my part, I saw a man prosecuted and found guilty of a *Libel* for abusing this same Buonaparté, and, from that moment, I resolved never to speak of him again in any other terms than they would allow me to speak of any other sovereign, whether at peace or at war with us; for, what a base thing must the press be, if it is to be muzzled or let loose, as to the very same person, according to the varying circumstances of peace or war!—LORD CATHCART, I perceive, calls Napoleon "the Ruler of France." If this could check him in his march towards Petersburg, it would be very right to use it; but, as it cannot do that, I see no use in these nick-names. In all the calendars of Europe, not excepting those of England, he is styled an *Emperor*; and, therefore, if I were in the place of Lord Cathcart, I would not have made use of this phrase of affected contempt, which, I repeat, can do no good.—The best way, I believe, is to be *civil*. Good manners are due towards enemies; and, by a contrary conduct men only show that they are *stung*.—We never see, in the French pa-

pers, any abuse of our King or of any of the Royal Family. Those papers do not call them *monsters*, nor do they revile them in any degree. They very seldom say thing personal of any body in this country. It would, surely, be wise to follow their example. They seem not to be in a passion. They seem to take things coolly. The truth is, they have not to gratify readers who are filled with rage because they are afraid of the result of the contest. While we storm, they smile. And this is the effect of a war, begun twenty years ago against the Republicans of France.—In speaking of the prospects of the war, I forgot to take into the account, against Napoleon, the presence of the *Duke of Cumberland* with the allied army, though a circumstance of no small importance. It was reported, that His Royal Highness was about to take out the *German Troops* with him; but, it appears, it was thought much better to leave them here. I have long wished to see some one of our Royal Family pitted against Napoleon. We have seen German, and Russian, and Italian Princes often enough pitted against him, but, never until now an English Prince of the blood Royal, and we shall now see the effect that it will produce. We now see a Royal Duke in the field against the Dukes of Napoleon, the greater part of whom were farmers' or shop-keepers' or labourers' sons. We shall now see, whether these low-born men will be able to stand before him. But, I protest before hand against any attempt to make us believe, that he has not been in this or in that battle. We have been assured, *that he is with the allied army*, and, in that light we must constantly view that army. I consider him as a principal person in that army; I consider him as carrying with him the spirit of England to that army; and, I must beg the gentlemen editors of the newspapers not to suffer him, by any means, to drop out of sight in their details.—When his Royal Brother, the Duke of York, was engaged in the celebrated campaign with the Russians, against a man whom Mallet-du-Pan called "a printer's boy of Limosin," I remember what a harvest of glory was anticipated; and, I have been very respectably assured, that, if it had not been for the baseness of the Dutch, who fought like devils against us instead of for us, the *convention of the Helder* would not have graced the Republican annals. But, we are not, according to our newspaper, and, indeed, our official accounts,

liable to the same obstacles now, the people of Germany being *all for the Allies*. His Grace of Cumberland has, therefore, fairer play. Indeed, if only a quarter part of what we have heard be true, His Grace stands a good chance of pursuing Napoleon to the borders of Old France, at the very least.—The Duke is a *General*, and, of course, must be well skilled in the science of war. There is no man in this country, *no public writer*, at least, who will attempt to call in question either his skill or his courage. That being the case, I say, that we have a right to put his presence with the allied army into the scale against Napoleon, who has before fought the King of Prussia and the Emperor of Russia, but who never, until now, saw opposed to him an English Prince.—I conclude, therefore, this long article by observing, that we ought, all of us, to keep our eye steadily fixed upon this important circumstance.

CATHOLIC BILL.—As I expressed my opinion it has turned out. This Bill *has been rejected*. On Monday last, upon the motion of the Speaker to leave out the Clause giving the Catholics seats in Parliament, there was for the motion a majority of *four*, upon which the partisans of the Bill gave up the rest.—I am, for my part, glad of this result. The Bill would really have done nothing at all for the great body of the Catholics, while it would have opened the way for a new and hungry set of placemen.—There are Protestant barristers enough aspiring to big wigs, without adding three or four score of Catholics to the number. I have quite enough of the hundred Protestant members of parliament from the "*sister kingdom*." And, as to the army and navy, if any one doubts of our having *generals* and *admirals* enough, let him look at the lists. My firm belief is, that we have twice, if not thrice, the number that Napoleon has.—It is a scandalous abuse of words to call the partisans of such a Bill, the "*friends of civil and religious liberty*." They should be called the friends of a new drove of placemen. The Bill would have given not one particle of *liberty* to any Catholic, or to any priest; but, on the contrary, would have taken some of the liberties of the latter away, for the sake of putting some of the laity into places. I never could discover, in any of the proceedings of the Catholic boards or other bodies, any thing in favour of *public liberty*. On the contrary, they appear

to me (and I have observed them very narrowly) to be as stout "*anti-jacobins*" as any going. I have read their speeches for a year past, though I have not remarked on them; I have noted their toad-eating toasts; and I am glad to see them defeated. —Perfectly ready at all times I am to join my feeble voice to that of any man who shall ask for the placing of *all dissenters* upon a level with the people of the church in all respects. But, I am for no partial boons to this sect or to that sect. I am for no caballings of religious parties, by which the people are kept in a divided state, while the government gains strength. One sect comes after another, and is *ready to give up the great cause of freedom, if those in power will but humour them in their religious whims*.—I have no objection to the religion of the Catholic. I think a Catholic priest just as well qualified to forgive sins, and to have just as good authority for it, as our priests, who are authorized so to do by the Rubric. England was great and free when our fathers were Catholics. But, what I dislike is, that this description of dissenters from the church should come and demand a partial boon; and, more especially, that they should pretend, that it is for the good of all the sect, when they well know, and we know too, that it is only for the sake of gratifying a set of place-hunters.—I repeat, that I have observed in their proceedings nothing in favour of *public liberty*; and I do firmly believe, that, if the door of place had been opened to them, we should have found them amongst the most active and zealous of our persecutors. And, for this reason, that they are *hungry*. They want to share in the good things; and they very well know the only way to obtain their object. The Speaker objected to them upon precisely the opposite ground with me. He was afraid, they would range themselves in opposition to the Government: I think they would have been amongst the most ready and most useful of all its instruments.—The Morning Chronicle seems to think, that now we ought to have a *parliamentary reform*, and that we ought to have it, too, in consequence of the rejection of this Bill.—The article is very curious, and I will insert it.—"After the Speaker had resumed the Chair on Monday night, we rejoice to learn that Lord Ranccliffe gave notice of a motion on the subject of *Parliamentary Reform*, for the 11th of June next. Every day's experience shews the necessity of such a reform as shall restore

"the just rights of the people in the Commons House: and it cannot be said that it is not called for, when it is known that Major Cartwright, on Monday evening, said he now held in his hands, ready to be presented to the House, 320 petitions, uniform in their prayer for reform, and signed by *one hundred and twenty thousand men*.—We know not in what terms to speak of the disappointment which the friends of civil and religious freedom have suffered by the loss of the Bill for the relief of the Roman Catholics; because with that reverence for the House of Commons which it is our desire to cherish, we cannot reconcile with any rule of principle the vote of Monday night on a single clause of the Bill, with the former votes on the whole of it. There must be a secret history in the management of the division in the Committee, which if it could be fairly promulgated, would prove to every unbiassed mind the necessity of that reform in the representation which it is the object of Lord Ranelagh to bring into discussion. Some of the arts practised on the occasion have been whispered, and we may be enabled to speak of them hereafter. But certainly the triumph is not to be boasted of that was obtained by the means which we hear were practised, and which, after all the efforts that were made, was so trifling in its number. The Bill is lost, indeed, and the consequences may be such, as we shudder to contemplate; but what must be the feeling of the temporary winners, when they shall reflect on the very trifling majority by which they have contrived to continue the thralldom in which millions of their fellow-subjects are held! Their triumph will be short, indeed, if the result of this vote shall be to quicken the public mind in the cause of parliamentary Reform; and we sincerely hope that that will be the first fruits of the decision."—Upon my word, Mr. PERRY, this is being very sanguine indeed!—Can you believe, that the reform which was rejected upon Mr. Madox's exposure of 11th May, 1809, will be produced by the rejection of this Bill? Can you believe, that the reform, the necessity of which has not been evident enough in 20 years' war, and 800,000,000 of debt, and in the property tax, will become evident in the refusal to let two or three score of Roman Catholics into place? The Catholics wished, it seems, to get into this same parliament as

it now is! I never heard that they objected to the system of boroughs. This is, then, a sudden thought of theirs, or of yours.—No, Mr. Perry, they can surely never object to the mode of electing that very parliament, into which, without any complaint against it, they were so eager to obtain admittance. If the parliament was good enough for them to sit in by the means of borough elections, it was surely good enough to decide upon their petition.—But, the worst of it is, that those, in general, who voted for the Catholics are amongst the sturdiest enemies of reform. Will Mr. CANNING, for instance, give us a lift in the way of reform? It is very true, that a reform of the parliament would soon settle all these religious disputes; but, of those who were for this Bill, five would not vote for a parliamentary reform.—I am very glad to hear, that there are petitions for reform; but, I am sure they will be signed by very few of those who take a lead in religious sects. Those people have always some little boon to ask for themselves; and they well know, that the way to get that is not to ask for a reform of the parliament. Nay, I will bet Mr. Perry a trifle, that the very persons, in whose behalf this Bill was brought in, would be amongst the foremost in opposing parliamentary reform; because that would cut up, root and branch, the very things they are seeking for.—I do not mean to say, that all those, who have taken an active part in pressing for this measure, wish to get money by it. I know the contrary. Mr. BUTLER, for instance, I am satisfied, is actuated by no selfish motive. I could say the same of many others; but, generally speaking, the object is to get a share of the public money by one mean or another.—But, how comes it, that the Catholics, if they were friends of reform, never talked of it before? I have read, in some of their speeches, as bitter reflections on the Reformers as ever escaped the lips of any scoundrel Borough-monger, of any corrupt trafficker in seats; and, having heard this, and perceiving from the tenor of all their toasts and resolutions, that they are amongst the enemies of Reform, am I now to be made believe, that their cause ought to produce that change?—I venture to assure Mr. Perry, that MAJOR CARTWRIGHT, that most able, most zealous, and most disinterested friend of freedom, will find no material support from the Catholics, or, at least, from those who were calling for this Bill.—We are now,

it seems, to expect *dreadful consequences* in Ireland. And why? Do you see the Bill that is passing about *arms* in Ireland? Do you keep in mind the *powers* which the Irish government has over the people? Do you remember the Act, which was drawn up by the Whigs, which was left by them as a legacy to the Pittites, and which was said to have been *penned by Mr. Grattan himself*? Do you remember that Act? Have you its powers in your eye? If you have, you will be at perfect ease upon the score of *disturbances in Ireland*; and, you will also be able to judge, how far the supporters of the Bill now thrown out, seeing that they were the real authors of the Act above alluded to, merit the exclusive appellation of "friends of civil and religious liberty."—Besides, I again ask, what reason have the mass of the Irish Catholics to be more discontented *now* than they were before this Bill was rejected? The Bill, if carried, would have done them *no good*. Why, then, if not deluded, if not deceived, should they regret its failure?—Oh, no! Mr. Perry, we are in no danger of disturbances in Ireland! The people of Ireland appear to be a perfectly loyal and orderly race. You never hear from them any noise about any thing. They are as *quiet* as any people can be; and, really, it is a pity, that any hints should be thrown out, like those of Mr. Perry, calculated to disturb their minds.—At any rate, they ought not to be *deceived*. The Bill would have done them *no good*, as I have frequently shown; by the rejection of the Bill, the great body of the Catholics have *lost nothing*, nor have they been deprived of the chance of *gaining any thing*. What new reason, therefore, can they have to be disaffected towards a government, with which they appear from their silence to have been hitherto so well satisfied?—To return, for a moment, to the subject of *parliamentary reform*, I beg the reader to bear in mind, that the Morning Chronicle never speaks on the subject, except at times when its faction has received a blow. I confess that it would be a remedy for almost all our evils; but, the worst of it is, the Whigs never talked about this remedy, *when they were in power*. Nay, have not all the leaders of them talked *against* it, of late years, in a most vehement style? What, then, are we to expect from them? The people must rely upon *themselves* only; upon their own lawful exertions, and not upon the good will or exertions of this deceitful fac-

tion, who, if again in power, would again insult the people much more than the Pittites have ever done. What! Did not Mr. Tierney and Mr. Ponsonby and Lord Milton join Mr. Ganning and Mr. Perceval in making the famous "STAND" against POPULAR ENCROACHMENT, when Mr. MAROX, on the 11th of May, 1809, offered to prove the *sale of a seat*? And, with this fact in our minds, will any one attempt to persuade us, that we ought to look to the *Whig faction* as friends of reform!

AMERICAN WAR.—PRISONERS OF WAR.—Mr. BARLOW.—It appears that the *loan*, which our hireling prints assured us the American President was unable to raise, *has been raised*, and that, too, in the single city of Philadelphia.—It also is stated, that Mr. MADISON has actually named plenipotentiaries to negotiate a peace with us, under the mediation of Russia.—I hope we shall accept of the mediation, and put an end to this the worst of all our wars. But, the hireling press is against such acceptance. It labours hard to perpetuate this war and to make it as cruel as possible, by adding to the animosity on both sides.—There is a circumstance, which I have heard of, relating to Americans, who were serving on board of our ships, which it will be sufficient, I am sure, barely to state.—The Americans always asserted, that we detained many of *their native seamen on board of our ships of war*.—This now appears to have been true. For, since the war has been going on, our government have thought it prudent (and it was certainly just) to put these men, or some of them, at least, *out of our service*, it not being at all probable that an American would, without force, fight against his country. I have only to add, that the men I allude to, have, as I understand, been, *not discharged, not sent home, but made prisoners of war, to be exchanged against persons, whom the Americans may have taken from us in actual war*.—I do not positively assert this to be a fact, but I have heard it stated as such, and I do think that it is a matter which calls for public attention. Being upon the subject of America, I cannot refrain from noticing certain letters, which appeared in the COURIER, the MORNING POST, and other newspapers, a few days ago, purporting to be letters, written by Mr. JOEL BARLOW to Mr. MADISON, from France. These letters our newspapers say they have copied

from American papers; and the American papers say, that they copied them from a London paper.—The letters are sheer fabrications, intended to make people believe, that Mr. JEFFERSON was in negotiation with Napoleon, or, at least, that the latter made him an offer, the end of which was to make Mr. Jefferson a military despot over the people of America.—This is only worthy of any notice at all, as it shows the lengths to which the vile hirelings of the press will go to effect any purpose, which it is their interest to pursue.—It is very true, that we never saw any such letters in any London paper. It is certain that no such letters were ever published here; but, I will not assert, that they had not their origin here; that they were not fabricated here; that they were not even printed here, and that, too, in some newspaper.—Nothing is more easy than to put such letters into some one copy of an edition of a newspaper, and to leave them out of all the other copies. That single copy might be sent off to America, while the rest of the edition were circulated here. There are not wanting men to do such a thing on this side of the water, and, I dare say, there are not wanting men to receive and republish on the other side.—Back came these letters in the American papers, and, in republishing of them here, not a word is said to apprise the people of the fact of their having been fabricated.—I dare say, that a very considerable part of the people of England will take them for authentic documents, and will, of course, believe, that Napoleon actually proposed to Mr. JEFFERSON to make him a despot. The propositions said to have been made to him are these: “1. That on condition of his declaring war against England, the presidency should be guaranteed to him by his Majesty the Emperor for life.—2. That one million of francs, and even more, if found necessary, should be annually placed at his disposal during the war, to be repaid after it was ended, or as soon as the intended alterations in the form of government were effected.—3. That three thousand French officers, instructed to obey the President implicitly, should be sent out to serve in the army of the United States.—4. That ten ships of the line, with their proportion of frigates, should be dispatched to the United States to be manned and officered exclusively by American seamen.”—The corrupt wretch, who published the letters in Ame-

rica, had not the impudence to pretend to believe them to be authentic; but, he puts this question to his readers: “Who will deny that it is, in the highest degree singular, how such fabrications, carrying such evidence on the face of them, of an intimate knowledge of the subject and persons to which they relate, should FIND THEIR WAY INTO AN ENGLISH NEWSPAPER?”—So that I repeat my surmise, that the base fabrication had its origin here, and found its way into the American newspapers in the way that I have described.—After this, can we believe that a hireling of the press will stick at any thing? The people of America would not be deceived by so clumsy a fraud; but, not so the “most thinking people” of England, for whom nothing is too gross; and, I have not the smallest doubt, that there are men at this moment citing this offer of Napoleon as a proof of his being a sworn foe of freedom, and of his serious and settled intention to enslave all the world, and annihilate England. In short, it appears to me, that there is nothing, which, if its purport be to blacken an enemy, the mass of the people of this country will not believe. Nay, I am quite satisfied, that there are people enough in the lounging-rooms in London to denounce as “a friend of Buonaparte,” any one who shall call the authenticity of these letters in question.

ARMY AGENCY.—From a paper, laid before the House of Commons, not long since, it appears, that this is a subject worthy of great public attention; and, as I find that it is speedily to be brought forward in discussion, it may be useful to draw the attention of my readers towards it.—There is a regulation, which prescribes, that Agents of the army shall give security for the due discharge of their trust; and, certainly, such a regulation is necessary, seeing what large sums pass through their hands.—But, as appears from the above paper, some of them give no security at all, while others do to a large amount. Mr. Ridge and Mr. Shee, for instance, the former of whom is agent to the Recruiting Service, and the latter to the Local Militia, give a security each to the amount of £20,000. Mr. Robinson, who is agent to the 13th Dragoons, gives security to the amount of £10,000. While Messrs. Greenwood and Cox, who are agents to one half of the whole army, give no security at all, except for one regiment, and that only

in the sum of £1,500.—The *profits*, the bare profits of these agents, or, at least, their allowance for agency, amounts to upwards of *forty thousand pounds a year*. Between *three and four millions* of the public money pass through their hands in the course of the year; and yet, all the security they give is £1,500.—The money may, perhaps, be very safe in their hands; but, what reason can there be for their not giving security for every regiment, as well as for the one, for which they do give security?—The allowance for the agency to the whole of the army is little more than £80,000 a year. This house swallows up more than the half of the sum; and, surely, they ought to give proportional security.—It is said, in answer to this, that the several *Colonels are responsible* for the agent of their choice; and, that, if the agent fail, the public come upon the Colonel. But, Sir David Dundas, being then Commander in Chief, was asked by the Military Commissioners, whether he regarded the Colonels as being really responsible in such a case, said that he *did not think that they were responsible*.—Now, if he, and in his then situation, could give such an opinion, I leave the reader to guess who would have to pay the piper in case of the failure of an agent.—But, suppose the Colonels to be responsible by law, who is to be answerable for their ability? You cannot, as the saying is, get blood out of a flint stone, which is only saying, that you cannot get money from a man who has no money; and, as to the putting of a Colonel in jail, you cannot do that if he be a member of parliament; and, in cases where you can do it, the power could not be exercised without a great injury to the service, supposing the Colonel to be of *any use*. What, for instance, would be the mode of getting redress for the public if the agent of Sir George Prevost were to fail, and Sir George too poor to pay the debt? Would you send out a writ against him to Canada?—In short, this “*responsibility*” of the Colonel must, it is very clear, be merely *nominal*; and, it is equally clear, that the public ought to have, for the money issued for every corps, a good and real security.—Whether “the Guardians of the public purse” will think as I do is another matter, those Gentlemen and I being so very apt to differ in our opinions.

MR. CHINNERY.—There is a paper respecting the balance *due to the public*

from this “friend of regular government, social order, and our holy religion,” as JOHN BOWLES has it, which paper is also worthy of the attention of that “thinking” public.—The amount of this balance exceeds *eighty thousand pounds*, about equal in amount to the *net produce of the Duty on Hops for three years*!—But, there are some particular items that I think it right to notice.—He is stated to have received and to have paid £647 15s. 10d. to a Mr. Briarly “for expenses of Merino sheep.” Now, I am yet to learn, that this “public” have ever possessed any *Merino sheep*. I have heard of the king having some given him by the Spanish government; I have heard too of his *sales of sheep*; but, I never observed that any of the proceeds of those sales were carried to the credit of this famous “public;” and, I am yet to learn the reason why this same public should have been charged with any expenses relating to Merino sheep.—The king gave some of these sheep away; but, I always understood, that they belonged to him, and not to the public. So that, I say again, that I can see no reason whatever for the public being saddled with this expense, especially as the king’s *privy purse*, exclusive of all the expenses of his household, is so amply supplied by this same “public.”—If I were a member of parliament, I would certainly inquire how the people came to have any thing to do with this expense.—The sheep were given to the king; he did what he pleased with them; he sold them or kept them or gave them away; and, therefore, if the people refrained from all inquiry into the cause or the motive of the gift, they, surely, could have nothing to do with the expense of bringing or managing the sheep.—From another item it appears, that Chinnery received, from 1805 to 1807, £110,395, and for what purpose, think you? Why “To be paid to Count Munster for “THE SERVICE OF HANOVER.” Of this he still owes, £5,256. But, the main thing here is, that this great sum was issued for the *service of Hanover*; and, bear in mind, that it was issued from the public treasure, because, as the account states, the balance is “*due to the public*.”—Now, we see, then, that Hanover has cost us this sum, and that very recently, too. Here is a sum equal to the *net duty on starch for two years*.—This sum is not to be supposed to have gone to our army in Hanover (if we had any troops there at the time), nor to any part of our service;

for it is expressly stated to have been for the service of *Hanover*, and to be paid to *Count Munster*, who is the Hanoverian Resident here.—Another item is £41,117, “to pay bills drawn from *abroad*, on account of His Royal Highness the Duke of “*Cumberland*,” from 1798 to 1802. I do not recollect where the Duke was at that time; but, I am sure I cannot discover how this money came to have any thing to do with this enlightened “*public*,” unless the Duke was in some sort of public service at the time.—If the money was issued to Chinnery on account of the Duke’s pension and allowances, or as the Colonel of a regiment, then the balance not paid by Chinnery, which is £886, would be due to the Duke; but it is stated to be due to “the *public*,” so that it must have been the money of the public, and not his own private money, that was issued to Chinnery to the amount of £41,117.—I should like very much to see these matters explained.—We are often reviled for cavilling at such trifles; but, if I were to take all the sums that I think I can show to be expended unnecessarily, and set them against the nett proceeds of different heads of taxes, I should make any thinking reader stare. Great sums are made up of small sums; but, it is so on the one side as well as on the other.—However, perhaps, it is hardly worth while to plague one’s self about the matter, when not a few of those whom you talk to about it are, perhaps, only thinking all the while how they shall get in for a share of what you wish to save.—The *Civil List*, however, must come under my fingers. I cannot bring myself to let that pass unexplained.

WM. COBBETT.

OFFICIAL PAPERS.

AMERICAN WAR.

(Continued from page 768.)

Magistrate of Lewis.—The respect which generous and magnanimous nations, even when they are enemies, take pride in cherishing towards each other, enjoins it upon me, as a duty I owe to the State over which I have the honour at this time to preside, to the Government of which this State is a member, and to the civilized world, to inquire of you whether, upon further and more mature reflection, you continue resolved to attempt the destruction of this town? I shall, probably, this

evening, receive your reply to the present communication, and your determination of executing or relinquishing the demand mentioned in your letter of the 16th instant. If that demand is still insisted upon, I have only to observe to you, that a compliance would be an immediate violation of the laws of my Country, and an eternal stigma on the nation of which I am a citizen. A compliance, therefore, cannot be acceded to.—I have the honour to be, &c.

JOSEPH HALSET,
Governor of the State of Delaware.”

(REPLY.)

*His Britannic Majesty’s Ship Poitiers,
in the Mouth of the Delaware, March
23, 1813.*

“Sir,—In reply to your letter received this day, by a flag of truce, in answer to mine of the 16th inst. I have to observe, that the demand I have made upon Lewistown is, in my opinion, neither ungenerous nor wanting in that magnanimity which one nation ought to observe to another, with which it is at war. It is in my power to destroy your town, and the request I have made upon it, as the price of its security, is neither distressing nor unusual. I must, therefore, persist; and whatever sufferings may fall upon the inhabitants of Lewistown, must be attributed to yourselves by your not complying with a request so easily acquiesced in.—I have the honour to be, &c.

J. P. BÉRESFORD,
Commodore, and commanding
H. B. M. Squadron in the
Delaware.”

FRENCH NAVAL WAR.

Paris, April 28.—Extract from the Report of a Captain Baivrit, Commander of his Majesty’s frigate the Arethusa, to the Minister of Marine.—On board the Arethusa, April 19, 1813.

After describing the destruction of a few vessels, the latter proceeds to give an account of his action with the — British frigate.—I commenced the firing by a discharge of my whole broadside, which was immediately returned by the enemy. A furious engagement then took place, in which our vessels seemed to be joined by a column of smoke. We had been foul of each other for several minutes, and during an hour and a half we had not been more than a pistol shot off each other.—Mean-

while our fire appeared to me to surpass that of the enemy, and at the close of an hour and a half, our superiority seemed to me sufficiently certain to endeavour to board him. I hauled on the wind, but the braces and bow-lines being cut to pieces, both fore and aft, by the enemy's shot, it was not possible for me to get any closer to him. The enemy on his side made more sail. His fire, which had nearly ceased, became brisker, when he had opened our distance, and did considerable damage to our rigging. At 11 o'clock the fire ceased on both sides.—We were no longer in good condition, and the enemy setting a crowd of sail, abandoned the field of battle to us.—I had nothing more at heart, than to have the necessary work done for making sail, hauling upon a wind, and pursuing our advantage.—The *Arethusa* had suffered enormously; 20 men killed outright, had been thrown into the sea during the engagement; 88 more, grievously wounded, were down in the Surgeon's birth, and excepting the Master Carpenter, all my naval officers were killed or wounded; such men as were only slightly wounded, had not quitted their posts, or had returned to them after having their wounds dressed, and in the midst of this scene of carnage, the fourth part of the crew left wished only for recommencing the attack.

—It was calm the whole night, which we passed in repairing the ship.—At break of day, the enemy was laying to the South East of us, at about a league and half distance, standing to the Southward, with all sail set, with a light breeze from the N. E.—I then occupied myself solely with the fate of Capt. Olivier, whom I had left with his crew on the Isles de Los, for which islands I shaped my course, and got sight of them the next day, being the 9th.—In the afternoon we got sight of a three-masted ship coming out from there. I judged it to be the *Serra*, and passed the night in standing off and on. It proved, indeed, to be that vessel; I joined her in the morning of the 10th. Capt. Olivier, with his whole crew, were on board her. He had embarked in this prize, as I had advised him, after having destroyed the remains of the *Rubes*, which it was impossible to get afloat again. He was making his passage for France, notwithstanding all the risks and confinement attending a long voyage, with 300 men on board a vessel of 300 tons burden, in bad condition, and exceedingly badly provisioned. This worthy and unfortunate Captain and his compa-

nions saw us again with inexpressible joy, which the happiness of our being useful to them, caused us to partake of in a still more lively degree.—I have taken half the *Rube's* crew on board the *Arethusa*, and took the *Serra* in tow until we reached the latitude of Madeira. There I took on board every thing out of the vessel, and then destroyed her, as she retarded my voyage.—I passed several days in cruising off the Azore, where I fell in with two flags of truce, which were carrying the crew of the Java frigate to England. I have chased several English corvettes, but which I could not come up with.—On the 19th I entered St. Maloes, having only ten days' provisions left. In the course of my cruise, I have taken 15 of the enemy's vessels. I have every reason to be satisfied with the zeal and progress in instruction made by those of our conscripts, who now made their first campaign, and I cannot bestow sufficient praise on the officers, masters, and seamen of all classes of my company; they have all rivalled each other in giving proofs of their courage and devotion under all circumstances; and the ability with which I have been seconded by the officers, is superior to any eulogium I can bestow on them.

A true Extract. (Signed)
The Minister of Marine, Duke DECAZES.

NORTHERN WAR.

Proclamation, issued by the Imperial General Baron Von Winzingerode.

It is a usual measure with the enemies of all justice, to treat with the greatest severity all places and persons, which, on the approach of the Allied Army, by word or deed, express the sentiments with which all true Germans are inspired, whenever a change in the position of the troops brings them again into such neighbourhood. This induces me, once for all, to make the express declaration, that I shall put in force the right of retaliation in its greatest latitude, for all such violences which have been committed in the absence of the troops under his command, not only on the dishonourable German mercenaries that are in my power, but likewise for such purpose seize the next Civil Magistrate that shall render himself suspected of disaffection. Every punishment by death will unavoidably and instantly be followed on my side by a similar proceeding; and by such mean every country will receive some compensation for its loss of worthies, by the diminu-

tion of those, who, for a base gain, betray the sacred cause of their native country to foreigners, and, as servants of tyranny, become instruments to the oppression of their brethren. We, who follow the will of Providence in the plain road of justice, may hope in God, that very shortly no such enemy will farther dare to oppose warriors, in whom the power of their native country is made known, and who are only inflamed to revenge, for dishonoured humanity, by the sight of such mercenary hordes.

His Imperial Russian Majesty's Lieut.-Gen.

(Signed) Baron Von WINZINGERODE.

Head-quarters at Leipsic, the 6th

(18th) April, 1813.

ORDER OF THE DAY:

April 23.—The corps is herewith informed, that an engagement took place in the vicinity of Ottersberg and Rothersburg, between the van-guard under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Von Benkendorff and the enemy, in which the latter was defeated and put to flight, with the loss of 100 prisoners, his baggage, and several hundreds killed and wounded.—By the attack of our cavalry the enemy, who was 3,000 strong, was forced to confine his movements to the high-road, and the well-directed fire of our artillery soon compelled him to make a speedy retreat.—The judicious conduct of Lieutenant-Colonel Von Benkendorff, and the distinguished behaviour of Lieutenant Von Berg, of the Staff, Russmenko, of the Artillery, and Pawlow, of the Issum Regiment of Hussars, which was the principal cause of the successful issue of the battle, deserve my thanks, which I herewith return those Gentlemen.—It is with peculiar satisfaction that I have received the information, that the squadrons of the Hanseatic Legion, which had a share in the engagement, have behaved themselves in a manner becoming the brave defenders of their country.

(Signed) The Imperial Russian Maj.-Gen.

Count Von TETTENBORN.

Hamburg, April 23.

FRENCH PAPERS.

Paris, May 14.—In the name of the Emperor:

The Empress-Queen and Regent to M. the Bishop of ———.

M. Bishop of ———.—The victory gained on the fields of Lutzen, by his Ma-

jesty the Emperor and King, our very dear husband and Sovereign, can only be considered as a special act of the Divine protection. We desire, that on receiving this letter you cause *Te Deum* to be sung, and return thanks to the God of armies, and that you will thereto add such prayers as you shall judge most suitable for drawing down the Divine protection on our arms, and especially for the preservation of the sacred person of the Emperor and King, our very dear husband and Sovereign. May God preserve him from all danger! His safety is as necessary to the happiness of the empire as to the welfare of Europe, and to religion, which he has raised up, and which he is called to re-establish. He is the most sincere and faithful protector of it. This letter having no other object, we pray God, M. Bishop, to have you in his holy keeping.—Given at our Imperial Palace of St. Cloud, this 11th May, 1813.

MARIA LOUISA.

By the Empress Regent,
The Duc De Cadore, Secretary of State.

Paris, May 15.—Her Majesty the Empress Queen and Regent has received the following intelligence respecting the situation of the army, dated the 10th, at night:—On the 9th, Colonel Lasalle, Director of the bridge-equipage, began to replace rafts for a bridge, which was forming at the village of Prielnitz. There was also a go-and-come (*un va et vient*) formed at the same time. Three hundred voltigeurs were passed over to the right bank, under the protection of twenty pieces of cannon placed on an eminence.—At ten in the morning the enemy advanced to drive back these voltigeurs into the river. He thought that a battery of twelve pieces would be sufficient to silence our guns. The cannonade began, and the guns of the enemy were dismounted; three battalions whom he had pushed forwards were destroyed by our grape shot. The Emperor hastened to the spot. General Dulauoi took a station with General Devaux, and eighteen pieces of flying artillery, on the left of the village of Prielnitz, a position which commands the whole plain on the right bank; General Drouet advanced with sixteen pieces of artillery to the right. The enemy brought forward forty pieces of cannon. We had established a battery to the amount of eighty. In the mean time a hollow was traced on the right bank of the river, in the form of a *Ule-de-pont*, in which our tirailleurs sheltered themselves. After hav-

ing had from twelve to fifteen pieces of their cannon dismounted, and from fifteen to eighteen hundred men killed or wounded, the enemy discovered the folly of his enterprise, and at three in the afternoon marched off. We worked all night at the bridge, but the Elbe rose, some of our anchors were unmoored, and the bridge will not be finished till to-night.

This day (the 10th) the Emperor has marched the division of Charpentier into the new town, by the bridge of Dresden; and now, to night, the bridge being finished, the whole army is passing over to the right bank of the river. The enemy appears to be retreating to the Oder.—The Prince of Moskwa is at Wittenburgh; General Lauriston at Torgau; General Regnier has resumed the command of the 7th corps, composed of the Saxon contingent, and the division Durutte.—The 4th, 6th, 11th, and 12th corps will pass by the bridge of Dresden to-morrow, at break of day. The young and old guard is around Dresden.—The second division of the guard, commanded by General Barrois, arrives this day at Altenbourg.—The King of Saxony, who has directed his course towards Prague, in order to be nearer his capital, will repair to Dresden in the course of to-morrow. The Emperor has sent an escort of 500 of his guard to receive and accompany him. Two thousand of the enemy's cavalry have been cut off from the Elbe, as well as a great quantity of baggage, patrols, light troops, and Cossacks. They appear to have taken refuge in Bohemia.

Paris, May 17.—Her Majesty the Empress Queen and Regent has received the following accounts with regard to the situation of the armies, on the evening of the 11th May:—The Viceroy had advanced with the 11th corps to Beschoffswerder; General Bertrand, with the 4th corps, to Koenigsbruck; the Duke of Ragusa, with the 6th corps, to Reichenbach; the Duke of Reggio, to Dresden; the young and old guards, to Dresden.—The Prince of Moskwa entered Torgau on the morning of the 11th, and took a position on the right bank, one march from that fortress. Gen. Lauriston arrived the same day at Torgau with his corps, at three in the afternoon.—The Duke of Belluno, with the 2d corps, has marched upon Wittenburg; as well as General Sebastiani's corps of cavalry.—The cavalry corps commanded by General Latour-Maubourg, on the 11th, crossed by the bridge of Dresden, at three

in the afternoon.—The King of Saxony slept at Sedlitz. All the Saxon cavalry must rejoin on the 13th at Dresden. General Regnier has resumed the command of the 7th corps at Torgau; that corps is composed of two Saxon divisions, consisting of 12,000 men.—His Majesty spent the whole day on the bridge to see his troops defile.—The Colonel of Engineers, Bernard, Aid-de-Camp of the Emperor, has exerted great activity in repairing the bridge of Dresden.—General Roguati, Commander in Chief of the engineers of the army, has traced out the works which are to cover the new town, and to serve as a *tele-de-pont*.—We have intercepted a courier from the Count De Stackelberg, Ex-ambassador from Russia at Vienna, to the Count De Nesselrode, Secretary of State, accompanying the Russian Emperor at Dresden.—We have also intercepted a number of estafettes from Berlin to Prague.—Her Majesty the Empress Queen and Regent has received the following account with regard to the situation of the army on the evening of the 12th of May:—On the 12th, at ten in the morning the imperial guards were drawn up in battalion on the road from Pirna to Gross-Garten. The Emperor reviewed them. The King of Saxony, who slept the night before at Sedlitz, arrived at mid-day. The two Sovereigns alighted from horseback, embraced each other, and then entered Dresden, at the head of the guards, amidst the acclamations of an immense population. It formed a very fine sight.—At three o'clock the Emperor reviewed the division of cavalry of General Fresia, consisting of 3,000 horse from Italy. His Majesty was extremely satisfied with this cavalry; the good condition of which is owing to the cares and activity of Fontanelli, the Minister of War for Italy, who spared no pains to put it in a good state.—The Emperor has given orders to the Viceroy to repair to Milan, there to fulfil a special mission. His Majesty has been extremely satisfied with the conduct of that Prince during the whole campaign; that conduct has acquired for the Viceroy a new title to the confidence of the Emperor.

Proclamation of the Emperor to the Army.

Soldiers!—I am satisfied with you. You have fulfilled my expectations. You have supplied every thing by your good-will, and by your valour. On the memorable 2d of May, you defeated and routed the Russian and Prussian army, commanded by

the Emperor Alexander and the King of Prussia. You have added new lustre to the glory of my eagles. You have displayed all that the French blood is capable of. The battle of Lutzen will be placed above those of Austerlitz, Jena, Friedland, and the Moskwa. In the last campaign, the enemy found no refuge against our arms, but by following the ferocious course of his barbarous ancestors. Armies of Tartars laid waste his fields,—his cities,—sacred Moscow itself. They are now arrived in our regions, preceded by all the bad subjects and deserters of Germany, France, and Italy, for the purpose of preaching up revolt, anarchy, civil war, and murder. They became the apostles of every crime. They wished to light up a moral conflagration between the Vistula and the Rhine, in order, according to the usage of despotic Governments, to place deserts between us and them. The madmen! They little knew the attachment of the Germans to their Sovereigns,—their wisdom, their orderly disposition, and their good sense. They little knew the power and bravery of the French.—In a single battle you have counteracted all those parricidal plots. We will drive back these Tartars into their frightful regions, which they ought never to have left. There let them remain, amidst their frozen deserts,—the abode of slavery, of barbarism, and of corruption, where man is debased to an equality with the brute. You have deserved well of civilized Europe. Soldiers—Italy, France, Germany, return you thanks.

(Signed) NAPOLEON.

From our Imperial Camp, at Lutzen,
May 3, 1813.

LONDON GAZETTE, May 25.

A Dispatch, of which the following is a copy, has been received by Viscount Castlereagh, His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, from General Viscount Cathcart, K. T. His Majesty's Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the Court of Russia, dated *Dresden, May 6, 1813.*

My Lord,—My last dispatches informed your Lordship of the arrival of the Ruler of France, and of the concentration of his forces near Erfurth, and towards the Saale, as also of that of the Allies upon the Elster.—I have now the honour of enclosing herewith the official statements which have been published by the Russian and Prussian

Governments, of the general action which took place on the 2d inst. between the two armies; and after which the Allies remained in possession of the field of battle, and of the positions from which in the course of the day they had dislodged the enemy.—The last division of General Tormazoff's corps having crossed the Elbe on the 28th ultimo, the whole of it moved forward by forced marches to the Elster.—His Imperial Majesty and the King of Prussia arrived at Borna on the morning of the 1st inst. with the reserve; and the several parts of the army were on the same day collected in the vicinage of that place.—Marshal Prince Kutusoff Smolensky was left ill on the march at Bruntzlau, where he died; but his death was not published. Count Wittgenstein, at that time at Zwenkan, was appointed to command the army.—He had on that day reconnoitred the enemy, and ascertained his position; and the same evening a disposition was made for a general attack, to take place on the following morning at day-break.—During the preceding week, the advance of the enemy's main army towards Naumburg, and the approach of Beauharnois from Quedlinburg, had been indicated by several skirmishes and partial affairs, particularly at and near Halle and Merseburg, where the Prussians behaved with great gallantry.—On the evening of the 1st, the enemy appeared to have great masses of his force between Lutzen and Weissenfels, and after dusk a strong column was seen moving in the direction of Leipzig, to which place there was clear evidence that he intended to move.—The advanced corps of Count Wittgenstein's army having been engaged on the same evening, to the east and north of Lutzen, the cavalry of it remained there to amuse the enemy in the morning, but with orders to retire gradually. Meanwhile the several columns of the army were ordered to cross the Elster at Pegau, and bear down, and to follow the course of a rivulet which, rising near the Elster, runs in a north-west direction to the Saale, by which movement, which the ground favoured, it was intended to turn the enemy's right between Weissenfels and Lutzen, while his intention was directed to his left between the latter place and Leipzig.—As soon as their Majesties saw the troops placed according to the disposition, the whole was put in motion towards the enemy.—The country is uncovered and open, the soil dry and light, but with very considerable variety of hill and valley, and much intersected by hollow

ways and mill-streams, the former not discernible till closely approached.—The enemy, placed behind a long ridge, and in a string of villages, of which Gorschen is the principal, with a hollow way in front, and a stream sufficient to float timber on the left, waited the near approach of the Allies.—He had an immense quantity of ordnance, of twelve-pounders, and larger natures, distributed throughout the line and in the villages, the batteries in the open country were supported by masses of infantry in solid squares.—The plan of operation determined upon, on view of the enemy, was to attack the village of Gros-Gorschen with artillery and infantry, and in the meanwhile to pierce the line to the enemy's right of the villages, with a strong column of cavalry, in order to cut off the troops in the villages from support.—The remainder of the enemy's line was to be engaged, according to circumstances, by the corps opposed to it.—The cavalry of the Prussian reserve, to whose lot this attack fell, presented themselves and supported their movements with great gallantry, but the showers of grape-shot and musketry, to which they were exposed on reaching the hollow way, made it impracticable for them to penetrate; and the enemy appearing determined to maintain the villages at any expense, the affair assumed the most expensive character of attack and defence, of a post repeatedly taken, lost, and retaken.—The cavalry made several attempts to break the enemy's line, and behaved with the most exemplary coolness and regularity under very heavy fire; in some of these attacks they succeeded in breaking into the squares and cutting down the infantry.—Late in the evening, Buonaparté having called in the troops from Leipsig, and collected all his reserves, made an attack from his left on the right of the Allies, supported by the fire of several batteries advancing.—The vivacity of this movement made it expedient to change the front of the nearest brigades on the right, and as the whole cavalry from the left was ordered to the right to turn this attack and to charge it, I was not without hopes of witnessing the destruction of Buonaparté and of all his army; but before the cavalry could arrive, it became so dark that no-

thing could be distinguished but the flashes of the guns.—The Allies remained in possession of the disputed villages, and of the line on which the enemy had stood.—Orders were given to renew the attack in the morning, but the enemy did not wait for it, and it was judged expedient, with reference to the general posture of the cavalry, not to pursue. The wounded have all been removed across the Elbe, while the cannon and prisoners taken, and the ground wrested from the enemy in the action, are incontestable proofs of the success of the Allies.—Both Sovereigns were in the field the whole day. The King was chiefly near the village where his troops were engaged. The Emperor was repeatedly in every part of the field, where he was received with the most animating cheers by every corps he approached. The fire, to which his person was not unfrequently exposed, and the casualties which took place near him, did not appear in the least to disturb his attention from the objects to which it was directed, and which he followed without any ostentation.—Gen. Wittgenstein, with the army, is between the Elbe and Elster, with the command of several bridges over the former.—The Russian troops of all arms fully realized the expectations I had formed of their bravery and steadiness, and the emulation and spirit of patriotism which pervades the Prussian army merits the highest encomium.—I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) CATCART.

*Particular Statement of the Battle at Gross
Gorschen, on the 2d of May.*

On the 30th of April information was received at General Count Von Wittgenstein's head-quarters, of the greater part of the army and the French guards having crossed the Saale in the vicinity of Naumburg. It was at the same time reported, that the Emperor Napoleon had arrived at the army. We observed that the Viceroy's army drew to the right. It was therefore clear, that the enemy endeavoured by all means to form a junction, and that it was most probably his intention to give a general battle. His Majesty the Emperor
(*To be continued.*)

THE TRINITY.

The reader may, probably, recollect, that, three weeks ago, my Register contained an article upon this subject, arising out of the proposition of Mr. William Smith for introducing into the House of Commons a Bill to repeal that Act of William the Third, which makes it a misdemeanour to speak or write against the Doctrine of the Trinity. I expressed my wish that this Bill might not pass into a law, and I gave what I regarded as sufficient reasons to justify that wish. It was not to be supposed, that I should escape the animadversions of those, in whose especial behalf the Bill was presented; but, I was not aware that I had, in this instance, acted in such a way as to deprive me of a claim to be treated, by my opponents, with good manners. Some of them, however, seem to have thought otherwise, and, accordingly, an anonymous Writer, in the "*Freethinking Christian's Magazine*," in a letter addressed to me, observes, at the outset: "but for your interference in a matter so completely beyond your reach, and out of your latitude, it would have been as much in character for me to have addressed Mr. Coates, or Mr. Kelch, or Mr. Molineux, as Mr. Cobbett, on the Doctrine of the Trinity." He next observes, that the income from the sale of my work is of *more importance to me* than my popularity.

The readers of the Register will not, I am sure, think it right for me to enter the lists with such an antagonist; or else, I could really afford them some sport in the exposure of the ridiculous absurdities in this Freethinking Christian's Letter, which he, while he keeps his name carefully concealed, calls upon me, in a very imperious tone, to publish. There are two objections to the complying with this demand: the first is, that the letter ridicules, as far as the writer is capable of ridicule, the Doctrine in question; and, let it be observed, that, as Mr. Smith's Bill has not yet become a law, the publisher of such ridicule would be exposed to the claws of the Attor-

ney General. The second is, that the author of the Letter, while he emits a large quantity of personal abuse upon me by name, conceals his own name, and thus, while he takes all the chances of victory, and reserves to himself the power of openly claiming it, ensures himself against all the consequences of defeat. If he will give us his real name and place of abode, as I give mine, I will publish his Letter, with the exception of such parts as appear to me to be a violation of the law. Until then he will excuse me from complying with his demand.

A writer of a very different description, has, however, entered the field against me, upon this subject, in a Letter transmitted to me by the post, giving me his real name and place of abode, but stating reasons why he has signed his Letter with that of "*TRANQUILLUS*." This Letter, with the exception of some passages, containing general reflections on the Church, I am now about to insert, with the intention of subjoining my answer to it. The passages omitted are, as the writer will perceive, by no means of importance to his argument, containing, as they do, mere reflections on the Clergy of the Established Church; reflections, in some respects, at least, not quite just, and which, upon the whole, are but expletives in the composition; and, I am of opinion, that the author will not think that the omission has done injury to any fact or reason contained in his Letter.

"SIR,—Your remarks on Mr. Smith's proposition for a repeal of the existing Statutes, which have for their object the persecution of those who do not believe in the Trinity, attracted my notice.—You have given a plain description of this doctrine; and, if any one doubt its accuracy, you have only to refer him to the Creed of your Church, written by one of your Saints, Athanasius.—You also tell us how this Saint of your's curses and swears at all those who do not believe this mystery; how your Church curses and swears in imitation of your Saint; and how you good Churchmen curse and swear, as you are taught by

" your Ministers, at all who do not believe
 " with you the doctrine of the Trinity. —
 " You say the abrogation of this doctrine
 " is a blow aimed at the very bowels of
 " your Church ; " that it strikes at the
 " root of Christianity. " — In the for-
 " mer expression you may be right ; for
 " you, as a Churchman, are likely to know
 " the construction of your Church better
 " than myself. That in the latter you are
 " as decidedly wrong, I, as a Christian,
 " take the liberty of saying ; for, in the
 " doctrine of the Trinity, there is no re-
 " semblance to the precepts of Christianity.
 " — You quote the words of your Saint
 " and Church as if they were infallible ;
 " but a Christian must be too great a friend
 " to liberty to mind what any Church or
 " Saint says about the matter. — You ob-
 " ject to the repeal of these arbitrary laws,
 " because every thing arbitrary and unjust
 " is not done away with also. This does
 " not appear to be sound reasoning. — I
 " acknowledge the injustice of any Estab-
 " lished Sect. I feel the galling griev-
 " ance and injustice of forcing the greater
 " part of the landed proprietors of this
 " kingdom to contribute a tenth of the pro-
 " duce of their fields, their gardens, their
 " flocks, their herds, their poultry, for the
 " purpose of paying a set of men to preach
 " and teach what the greater part of those
 " who pay believe to be worse than non
 " sense. — I am surprised that you who
 " so often advocate the cause of civil liber-
 " ty, should belong to a superstitious, in-
 " tolerant, and unjust establishment, that
 " invades the rights of others. — Far be
 " it from me to deprive you, or any mem-
 " ber of an established sect, of the benefit,
 " or the supposed benefit, arising from any
 " part of your public worship ; from your
 " faiths, creeds, ordinances ; your Saints,
 " Reverends, Right Reverends ; your Arch-
 " and other Bishops ; or interfere in the
 " pleasures and edifications of your ecclesi-
 " astical discipline, and your scruples of
 " letting your bones rot in ground not con-
 " secrated by your *Rev. and Holy Clergy*.
 " &c. ; but I think, if you want all these
 " things to keep you in the straight forward
 " road to Heaven, you ought to have the
 " exclusive privilege of paying for them
 " yourselves. — It is not for those who
 " dissent from your Church to decide for
 " you, whether you are right or wrong in
 " your theological notions, whether you are
 " improving in Christian charity, in love
 " and universal benevolence, by swearing
 " at us behind our backs in your religious

" houses, for not believing the doctrine of
 " the Trinity. — Whatever your ceremonies
 " and beliefs, you would have a full
 " right to all of them, provided in their
 " exercise you did not intinge upon the
 " liberty of others. If your Church were
 " correct and pure in every part, you would
 " have no right to impose her upon others,
 " or compel them to give her the least tithe
 " of support. — You may tell me it is the
 " law of the land ; it is a privilege granted
 " by acts of Parliament ; but acts of Par-
 " liament or individuals cannot alter plain
 " natural justice. — In proof of your opi-
 " nion, that the demolition of this doctrine
 " would cut up Christianity by the roots,
 " you quote the religion of your Church as
 " interpreted by the Clergy. They tell
 " you that the Christian religion does not
 " consist of the morality of Judaism or
 " Christianity, but in a belief of the doc-
 " trines of their Church, or a belief of those
 " marvellous and mysterious things, which
 " are occasionally to be found in the writ-
 " ings of the Old and New Testament.
 " — That religion is a belief in the mys-
 " teries, and in the interpretation of those
 " mysteries. This is an error into which
 " established sects are very apt to fall ; and
 " the mischief is, that these mistakes are
 " perpetuated, by means of an establish-
 " ment, long after the people have rejected
 " them. — You of the established sect
 " appear to lay aside your reason when you
 " peruse the scriptures. You take them up
 " with a previous determination to believe
 " all and every word of them to be truth,
 " and inspired truth, or every part of them
 " a lie. You would not treat any other
 " publication so unfairly, especially an old
 " work ; you would make allowances for
 " the time in which it was written, the
 " prejudices of the writer, the idiom of the
 " language, the figurative allusions, and,
 " above all, the misinterpretations and cor-
 " ruptions, with various other defects to
 " which old writings are peculiarly liable.
 " You would carefully compare its parts,
 " trace the leading truths, mark the obvi-
 " ous meaning, and observe its general ten-
 " dency. If any mysteries occurred, you
 " would lay them aside ; for no one by pry-
 " ing can see into that which is impervious
 " to the sight. — If any thing appeared
 " incompatible with the tenor and moral,
 " you would not take it for part of the ge-
 " neral system contained in the book ; you
 " would either reject it as spurious, or lay
 " it aside as something with which you had
 " nothing to do. Why do you read the

“Scriptures without making these allowances, without observing these reasonable rules in their perusal. Do not these same writings that contain these miracles and marvellous relations which your Church endeavours to make you believe (but which many of you disbelieve), contain truths to which no rational beings object. Whatever becomes of all the miracles you have mentioned, the religion or morality remains immovable, because it is so simple, reasonable, and just, that the weakest comprehension can understand it. Any persons framing their character after the precepts of Christian morality, are more respected for their virtue than either the evangelical scheming visionary, the methodistical fiery zealot, or the established persecuting bigot.—Where will people go, say you, if once let loose? Here will they go—to the simplicity of truth.—Where will your Church go? Where it ought—to oblivion; and plain common sense may tell her interpreters, that if there are mysteries in religion, *they* cannot unravel them; and if there are none, no explanation is wanted.—But if any see mysteries, and want interpreters, let them pay the cost themselves. Why should the tender consciences of the Unitarians be relieved, say you? I ask, why should they not? If you put yourselves in chains, there is no reason for your retaining others in like bondage.—The dissenting Unitarian would oppose as strenuously the establishment of his own sect, as he now does the present establishment of your’s.—He asks for the repeal of all penal statutes, for religious liberty, liberty in its most extended sense, liberty to speak for, or against; for free discussion, equally with the infidel or the superstitious. For then, and not till then, will the truth shine without obscurity into the minds of men, dispelling the dark clouds of superstition, and strengthening the wavering doubts of infidelity.

“TRANQUILLUS.”

Before I enter, in regular order, upon my answer to this letter, let me beg the reader’s leave to make just one observation on the concluding sentence of it. “The Unitarian,” I am told, “asks for the repeal of all penal statutes.” Mr. Smith’s Bill asks for no such thing. It asks only for the repeal of that *part* of one out of many penal statutes upon the subject of religion; and, it was Mr. Smith’s Bill,

and not the prayer of any sect, that was the subject of my objection. If Mr. Smith had asked for a repeal of *all* these penal statutes, TRANQUILLUS would, in all probability, never have had the trouble of disputing with me. I will, before I have done, give my reasons, more fully than heretofore, for my objection to any *partial* repeals of these statutes.

I cannot, I must confess, compliment TRANQUILLUS upon the lucid order of his letter, the want of which, considering its source, I must, I am afraid, attribute to a cause not very flattering to myself. To show, however, my respect for his talents, I shall endeavour to make my answer as clear as possible.

His letter, as far as I am capable of analysing it, contains these three propositions: 1. That, whether the Established Church be right or wrong in its creeds, those who dissent from it ought not to contribute towards its support. 2. That we are to judge of the contents of the scriptures as we do of other books, receiving, or rejecting, as our reason guides us. 3. That, to object to a repeal of part of the penal statutes relative to religion, because the whole is not repealed, is not sound reasoning. If I have omitted any thing, the reader will supply the omission; but, to me it appears, that these three propositions embrace the whole of the matter.

With regard to the first, that is to say, the injustice of making those pay tithes, who dissent from the Church, I certainly am not called upon to say a word, because I did not even glance at it in the article upon which TRANQUILLUS was commenting; but, his notions upon this subject seem to be so erroneous, that I cannot suffer them to pass unnoticed. He surely did not think well of what he was saying, when he said, that the *greater* part of the *land-proprietors* in this kingdom look upon the Church creeds as worse than nonsense, by which, I may fairly presume that he meant them to be *dissenters*; for, if not, he must look upon them as amongst those whom he calls *infidels* (a word, the meaning of which he has not explained), and, in that case, they could be entitled to very little of his commiseration. Now, then, if I look at the landed property, the real freehold title, vested in the nobility, the colleges, the corporations, and in the church itself, I cannot think it less than one half, and, perhaps, more, of the landed property of the whole kingdom. Of the lands descending by inheritance, a very small portion belong

to dissenters, who are, ninety-nine out of every hundred, of that class called *the poor*. Out of the 11,000, or thereabouts, church livings in England and Wales, more than 6,000 are the *property of individuals*, and, in most cases, of those who own a great part of the soil as well as the living. This fact alone serves to shew how comparatively trifling the landed possessions of dissenters must be; and, at the same time, to shew, that a very large portion of the land-proprietors are, in fact, the proprietors of the tithes, seeing that they may give them away if they please, or sell the reversion of them to the highest bidder.—But, be it in ever so small a degree, Dissenters, he says, ought not to contribute to the support of the Church. There might be some reason in this, if the Church were supported by a tax, collected from individuals out of their earnings or incomes. But, he means not this; for he objects to their yielding part of the produce of their fields, gardens, herds, flocks, and poultry; and, of course, he objects to their paying tithes, because they are *dissenters*. How many farmers or land-proprietors would not become dissenters, if his principle were to become law, I shall not pretend to say; but, this I know, that he proceeds wholly upon a wrong idea of the nature and effect of tithes. He evidently regards them as a mode of contribution to support the clergy, originating voluntarily on the part of *some* of the people, who have now compelled *the rest* to join in that contribution. Whereas the tithes are *real property* as much as the land itself; the right to them descends along with the right to the land, and the title of their owner is, in general, much safer than that of the owner of the land can possibly be, because it rests upon unwritten law, and requires no parchments to prove its origin. We need not here go into any inquiry as to the origin of tithes. It is sufficient for our purpose to know, that, at some period, the land became charged with them for the support of an Established Church. Those who now hold the lands, hold them either by descent from the first grantors of the tithes, or by purchase or gift. If by descent, they cannot claim any exemption from the charge, nor, surely, can they, if by purchase or by gift. In every case they received the lands with the charge upon them, and have no more reason to complain of the tithe than a man would have to complain of a *ground-rent*, who should purchase a house with such a charge upon it.—Those, who complain against the ex-

istence of tithes, usually speak of them as if the *whole* went to the support of the Established Church; but, the fact is, I believe, that *less than one-half of them are applied to that purpose*, and that the rest are the property of lay persons, as much as land or house is their property. TRANQUILLUS must know many instances of this sort, I am sure. He must know instances of laymen, very worthy men, and even of *Dissenters*, and, perhaps, of *Unitarians*, who are the proprietors of tithes, and who make the most of them too, as well as the parsons. Let me ask TRANQUILLUS what he would wish to have done in such cases? Come, let me thrust it home to him; would he deny the right of an Unitarian proprietor to his tithes? If he would not, with what justice does he deny the right of the clerical proprietor, whose title rests upon a less disputable foundation, if possible, than that of the Unitarian?—In order to get out of this difficulty; in order to avoid, on the one hand, giving support to the Church, and, on the other, the laying of violent hands upon property, he would, according to the vulgar notion, abolish all tithes, giving, through the means of a general tax, the Unitarian, or other lay proprietor, a compensation for his tithes, and leaving the clergy to be supported by the voluntary contribution of their followers. Perhaps his justice would lead him so far as to give the latter, during the lives of the present incumbents, a stipend out of the national revenues. But, does he suppose, that the nation at large would be such fools as to acquiesce in a measure so flagrantly unjust as either of these would be? Does he suppose, that those who might remain attached to the Doctrines and Worship of the Church, would be content to pay their pastors out of their own pockets solely for the purpose of relieving the land-proprietor from the expense of paying them? Does he suppose, that people would consent to pay taxes upon income, upon soap, upon salt, upon windows, &c. in order that the Unitarian or other lay proprietor of tithes might receive a compensation, or that the clergy might receive a stipend in lieu of those tithes which they now receive from the land proprietors in general? But, come, TRANQUILLUS: let us suppose, that, at one and the same moment, the tithes were to be abolished along with every thing and notion belonging to what has been called religion, or, which is about the same thing, suppose the tithes to be abolished and all of us

to become Unitarians, and that no compensation or provision were to be made for the Clergy. What would the land-proprietor get by it? Suppose yourself a land-proprietor and your tithes to amount to £100 a year. Do you imagine that the rest of the parish would suffer you to gain that £100 by the change? If they were to do it, they would be most egregious fools. What benefit would *they*, in that case, derive from the change? They, as far as tithes went, would have made a revolution for *your* sole advantage. They would merely have taken from the parson £100 a year, part of which, at least, he spent in the parish, to put it into your pocket to enable you to lounge your time away in London or at Bath.—No, no. That would not be the way of proceeding. They would say, that you ought not to be the sole gainer by this change of religion. That the whole community ought to share in it. They would *value* your tithes; they would then compute the fee-simple of them at about thirty-two years' purchase; they would call upon you to purchase them of the public at that rate, and, if you refused, they would sell them to your neighbour.—To believe, that you would be able to avoid consequences like these, requires faith nearly as strong as it does to make a man a sincere Trinitarian.—If, then, it be obvious, as I think it is, that you would gain nothing at all by the total abolition of tithes, what reason can you have to complain of the hardship of yielding them?—If, indeed, you proposed that every land-proprietor should yield tithes to a priest of his own sect, and not to the priests of another, there might be something like reason in your complaint, if common sense did not instantly rush forward and tell you that every land proprietor would, in that case, be, from day to day, changing his sect and his priest; and, in short, that any way of getting rid of tithes, other than the one pointed out and traced into practice as above, must be utterly impracticable, without a total annihilation of all the laws and all the notions relating to property.

Now, Sir, as to your SECOND proposition, namely; that we are to judge of the contents of the Scriptures, as we do of other books, receiving or rejecting as our reason guides us, it is manifest, that you could not avoid this assertion, without admitting, that I was right. You complain, that I take up the Bible with a "previous determination, to believe all, and every word of it, to be true, and inspired

"truth, or every part of it a lie." I will not say *lie*; but put *fiction* in the room of that word, and I say *amen* to your statement. I do call the history of Tom Jones *lies*. Lies are wicked falsehoods. I call it what it is, a *fiction*, and a very pleasing and useful fiction, being very sorry that I cannot say as much of *all other fictions*. The "*Spirit of the Book*," is a fiction; but, being meant to deceive the public as to facts in real life, it is wickedly false, and, therefore, a tissue of lies.—Well, then, I do say, that I take up the two testaments with the previous determination that you mention; and well I may, for, if I am to look upon them as "*the word of God*," how am I to conceive that it is possible for them to have any of the imperfections of which you speak? You say, that I should not treat any other publication so unfairly. I trust that I am not disposed to treat any publication unfairly; but, certainly, I should not treat any other publication in the same way, unless I were to see another that was called "*the word of God*;" and then I should either believe that other publication to be *all true*, or a *fiction from one end to the other*. What do you mean, Sir, by an *old book* . . . about *making allowances* for the time when it was written . . . about the *prejudices* of the writer . . . the *idiom* of the language . . . the *figurative allusions* . . . and about other defects to which *old writings* are liable? What! were not the writers *inspired*, and did not they write under the direction of *God*? Allowances! Talk to me of *allowances* where God is the dictator! What have I to do with comparing and expounding? I must believe the whole, or none of it.—So, if there be any part of Scripture that I do not find compatible with other parts, in my view of the matter, I am to *reject it as spurious*. Upon my word this is giving us a pretty good latitude. At this rate the thief may reject the commandment that forbids him to steal, and I am afraid, that most of the decalogue would find numerous persons to declare it *spurious*.—The short and long of the matter comes to this at last: Are the Old and New Testaments "*the word of God*," or are they not? Will you, in your next letter, be so kind as to answer me that question distinctly? I beg you to do it *distinctly*, or else we shall never get on.—I beg your pardon for introducing here an observation on the letter of the "*Free-thinking Christian*," who, in speaking of the *Incarnation*, says, that "*this story is*

"no where to be found in the Scriptures, except in the two *spurious chapters* of "Matthew and Luke." He, you see, has named some of what he calls the *spurious parts*. This, like Lord Peter's, in the Tale of a Tub, is a very short way of settling a disputed point. His Lordship, when it was discovered that all the letters except K were to be found in the Will, in order to make out the words "Shoulder Knot," said, that *knot* ought to be spelled with a C, instead of a K, and that, in future, he would take care that such should be the orthography.——Upon what authority does this man deny the genuineness of those two chapters, which, in the most plain and positive terms, gives the account of the Incarnation? He has no authority but his own; he cites no authority; all is his own bare assertion and conjecture. He has an opinion to maintain, and, therefore, he gives the lie direct to all that makes against it.——But, if men are to treat the Scriptures in this way; if they are to say, this is *spurious* and that is *spurious*; that is to say, false, and even falsehood hatched for the purpose; if we are to be told by TRANQUILLUS, that these writings abound in *corruptions* and *defects*, what are those about, who, under the name of "*Bible Societies*," are taking so much pains to spread these writings amongst the most illiterate part of the people?——If this is the way, in which the Bible is to be treated, those Gentlemen ought to begin to consider what they are at. Nor is the matter unworthy of the attention of those rival bodies, the *Lancasterians* and the *Bellites*, both of whom, I believe, insist upon the reading of the Bible. They would do well to apply, in time, to my friend TRANQUILLUS and the Freethinking Christian, in order to obtain a correct version of the Scriptures, before they go any further in spreading them abroad. If the little *Lancasterians* are told, that two of the Chapters of Matthew and Luke are *spurious*, how are they to know, that the ten commandments are not *spurious*? In short, if they were made to believe these chapters to be a mere fiction, is it agreeable to common sense to suppose, that they would put confidence in any part of the whole Book?——For my part, I will not go an inch further in the dispute with any one, until he gives me an explicit answer to this question:—*Are the Scriptures the Word of God?* When I have that answer, I know what to do. I know my ground; but, with a disputant, who talks about his *Christianity*, and his

belief, and other things, in that strain, and who, when I cite a passage against him, answers me by calling the passage *spurious*, I can carry on no controversy; with a man, who like the anonymous writer abovementioned, talks of "*corruptions*," "*forgeries*," "*lies*," and "*impious inventions*," as making part of what we, of the Church, deem the word of God, I can have no dispute; and, I really am astonished at the impudence of the man, who can affect to treat as *infidels* those who avow that they believe not a single word of the whole of that Book, part of which he describes in such terms of abuse.

The 3rd proposition of TRANQUILLUS, namely, that it is not *sound reasoning* to say, that, because the whole of the penal statutes on the subject of religion are not repealed, a part ought not to be repealed, I shall now proceed to answer. And, here, as well as in other places, I have, I think, a right to complain, that he makes no attempt to *prove* his assertion to be *true*. Nothing can be more easy than to contradict people without giving any reasons for the contradiction. Besides, I gave *reasons* for my objection to a *partial* repeal of these statutes; and, it became my adversary to state, to meet, to face, to combat, to over-set those reasons, before he came to a conclusion the opposite of mine. I am not called upon to reply to his contradiction, because he has left my reasons untouched; but, it being of some consequence to me to be clearly understood upon the subjects of *toleration*, and the *liberty of speaking and writing*, I will re-state my reasons, and a little more at large than I did before.

My opinion is (and, I think, that no man will say openly that he differs from me here) that, upon all public matters, whether of religion, politics, or any other, TRUTH ought to prevail over falsehood. To deny this proposition would be to declare openly in favour of lies.——This point being settled, we have next to consider what is the most likely way of *ensuring the triumph of truth*; and, my opinion is, confining myself now to religion, that the most likely way is, to leave all men at perfect liberty to say or write what they please upon the subject of religion. To suppose, that, in consequence of such liberty, truth would not prevail, is to suppose, that truth is, in its nature, less pleasing than falsehood, or, that the human mind is prone towards a preference of the latter; which is directly contrary to all the maxims, and, indeed, all experience on the subject.——

Hence it naturally follows, that I must be of opinion, that it would be conducive to the complete triumph of truth, in matters of religion, to give full and free scope to the tongues and pens of all descriptions of dissenters. But, it does not follow from the same premises, or from any thing that I have ever said, that I must be in favour of a *partial* liberty to speak and write upon the subject of religion. I know that it is said, as some say about parliamentary reform, *get what you can*; but, it has never been, that I have heard, attempted to be proved, that the getting of a little would do any good, or, that it would not tend to the *perpetuating of the evil*; and, as I have no hesitation to say, that I would rather the parliament should remain as it is, than see *triennial* parliaments adopted, so have I no hesitation to say, that I would rather all the penal statutes on the subject of religion should remain as they are, than to see a repeal of certain parts of them, and especially at the request of particular sects.——For, observe, what, in such case, becomes the effect of such penal statutes. They are bands in the hands of the government, who, to gain the good-will of one sect, relaxes a little this time; of another sect, relaxes a little next time; and, thus, it gains the gratitude of these numerous sects by means quite distinct from considerations connected with the public and general weal. For my part, I can imagine nothing better calculated to give undue power to the government, and, of course, nothing more hostile to public liberty, than the existence of numerous religious sects, all condemning each others' creeds, and all having motives to make them seek the favour and indulgence of the ministers of the day. A religious sect, and more especially the priests of such sect, who, in fact, guide the sect, naturally think the prosperity of the sect of more importance than the prosperity of the nation at large, and, of course, their first and chief object, whatever may be their politics, is the prosperity of the sect. And, if the government, by the partial repeal of acts of parliament, or by any other means, possesses boons to toss down to them at pleasure, we may be very sure, that those sects will never take much trouble in the cause of a reform in which all the nation is interested.——We have seen the Methodists, with their roaring, raving, ranting, foaming priests at their head, pouring in thousands of petitions against a Bill which they thought would a little cramp their particular sect; and, the Bill

having been given up, they flocked round Perceval, and, at the very time when he was proposing the *Mary-le-bone* and other new Barracks, covered him with their applause as a *friend to freedom*. Thus their gratitude was gained without any boon at all; but merely by shaking the rod at them, and then laying it aside without using it.——The Catholics were coming on in nearly the same way; and, as I have before observed of them, I have never, in any of their public proceedings, been able to discover any thing favourable to public liberty.——Thus, then, *TRANQUILLUS* may perceive, that, leaving religion wholly out of the question, there are reasons why a *partial* repeal of these penal statutes should not pass. These reasons may, possibly, not be "*sound*;" but, he has not shewn them to be unsound; nor, indeed, has he made any, even the slightest, attempt to shew it; and, until he does, he will excuse me if I continue to regard them as sound.——But, I am not for leaving religion out of the consideration. And, I am sure, that no fair man will say, that any man ought to be punished for publishing a work intended to inculcate the belief of the falsehood of certain parts of the scriptures, if the Unitarians are allowed to publish works intended to inculcate a belief of the falsehoods of other parts of those same scriptures. I am quite sure that no just man will say this. What! while the Free-thinking Christian is allowed to say, in print, that the scriptures contain "*corruptions, forgeries, lies, and impious inventions*," shall other men be punished for speaking in the same strain of other parts of those very same writings? Ought not the law to operate on all men alike?——Ought one man to be permitted to call some of the chapters spurious, and another man not be permitted to call other chapters spurious?——There is no pride equal to *spiritual* pride. Gratify that, and you have the sect, body and soul. Then each sect is always *aspiring*. Sectarians can never let people alone. If they had power, all (except the *Quakers*) would be more intolerant than the church is, or ever has been. See with what fury this Free-thinking High Priest (for one of such I understand he is), falls upon me! I do not like sects for this reason amongst many others, that they, with the coolest insolence, give up to perdition all who dissent from them. The *Quakers* are an exception. Theirs is a religion that has an effect upon their actions in life. It produces cleanliness and

neatness in their dress, it produces economy, sobriety, gentleness, kindness, honesty, and universal benevolence. I never asked any of them what was their *creed*. I see the effects of their religion, and I judge of the tree by its fruits.—I think that the law has gone, in one respect, too far in favour of religious sects; I mean in the exempting of their *Ministers*, as they call them, from the effect of the *Militia Ballots*. Perhaps, there are, at this time, from 15 to 20,000 persons, who are thus screened from their fair share of this heavy burden. And why, I should be glad to know, is a shoemaker, who is not a roarer at a meeting-house, to be obliged to serve in the Local Militia, or pay ten pounds, while another shoemaker, who is a roarer, is exempted? Is not this a sort of *premium* to become “*inspired*,” as they call it? And, while men, the most ignorant men, can, by merely pretending to heavenly gifts, get rid of the most heavy of all the earthly burdens to which they are liable, is it to be supposed, that the number of the gifted will not continue to increase; and that reason and morality will not daily meet with additional insult and injury in the inculcation of a set of notions, which, in the means of ensuring salvation, dispense with the practice of every thing known by the name of virtue amongst men?—Now, I know, that I shall be told, that I am bringing a nest of hornets about my ears; but, if the fear of doing this were to deter us from disturbing the nests of real hornets, we should, in time, be stung to death by those malignant and vindictive insects.

NORTHERN WAR.

The details of the bloody battles fought in Saxony, on the 19th and 20th of the last month, will be found below; and they will, I should imagine, convince every rational and well-informed man, that the Allies will not be able to stop the progress of the arms of Napoleon. It is, I think, very probable, that an armistice may take place, followed by a *continental* peace, on the principles of the *Continental system*. I see no other means of escape for the King of Prussia, and, if he fall, what else is the Emperor Alexander to do? It is well-known, that this war arose out of the refusal of Russia to adhere to that system, agreeably to the treaty imposed on her at *Tilsit*. It has been said, that Alexander was not so hostile to the Continental system as his nobles, who profit from the com-

merce with England. What effect these successes of Napoleon may make upon those nobles I know not. If they should be alarmed, peace may soon arrive between Russia and France; and this event may be accelerated by the acquisitions of strength, which the French will acquire by being masters of the Prussian territories.—The interference of Austria is not, I think, to be expected, except in the producing of such a peace; for, to suppose, that she will do any thing to favour the prosperity of either Prussia or Russia is, I think, most monstrously absurd.—This, however, is very far from being the set of notions now in vogue, in England, where even these decided triumphs of the French are treated as *drawn battles*, and where it is believed *still* that the *people* of Germany are unanimous in their hatred and hostility against the French.—We have seen the French traverse a very considerable portion of Germany; we have not seen a single instance of their meeting with the smallest opposition from the people; they themselves, on the contrary, boast, in the highest strain, of the good disposition of the people: and yet, we are told, that we ought to believe (and believe we shall), that the people of Germany are rising, “as one man,” against the French.—The *Times* newspaper, that grand fountain of national delusion, and which is, I am told, edited principally by a *sectarian priest*, has accompanied the official account of the above-mentioned battles with an article truly characteristic of the source whence it flows. It calls Napoleon “a robber, the tyrant of the SAVAGES on the banks of the *Seine*.” Thus are the French people, the whole French nation, represented as savages, because they have beaten our Allies. To say nothing of the injustice of this appellation, how can one sufficiently deplore the use of language like this on account of its *impolicy*? If we wished to unite all Frenchmen in support of their chief in all his hostility to us, what could we do so likely to accomplish our purpose, as to unite them and that chief in our scurrilous abuse?—This writer, in speaking of the scene between Napoleon and the Duke of Friuli, says: “Amongst those who were mortally wounded, was one *Duroc*, the son of a scrivener, and, for many years, a servile attendant on the tyrant, who, in return, had created him Duke of Friuli. To this person, in his last moments, Buonaparté paid a consolatory visit; and the poor dying wretch

“ is described as carrying his adulation and servility to the very borders of the grave. “ The scene, however, is too much for “ Buonaparté; and this *butcher*, who could “ behold unmoved the wanton destruction “ of so many thousands of his fellow-creatures, for no other object than to raise him “ from his *native beggary* to a throne, this “ *monster* of ferocious and unrelenting cruelty, is overcome by his feelings, and retires to his tent to indulge in the luxury of grief alone.—*Odious, disgusting, contemptible HYPOCRITE!*”——Now, as to this latter character I will venture to prove, that Napoleon has not a better claim to it than the person, who, for the last six months, has had the conducting of this “ newspaper.——That paper, during that time, has told us, that the French people were grievously oppressed by Napoleon; that they were, at every moment, ready to rise against him; that they abhorred him and his wars, which they knew were carried on for the gratification of his ambition; that the persons composing his army served by mere compulsion; that they were *dragged to his army in chains*. This we were told at the time when he was advancing in Russia; but, as soon as it was known, that he was compelled to retreat, and when the merchants in London were toasting the intended of Miss Platoff, then this vile paper, represented the French nation as partakers in the guilt of Napoleon, and asserted that, as they were his *willing instruments*, they ought to share in his punishment, the nature of which they pointed out by assertion, that there was *no way to a safe peace but over his dead carcase*.——But, seeing, that, contrary to all their predictions, he arrived safe at Paris and was calling upon the people of France to come forth again to the combat, this same newspaper had the audacity again to tell us, that the French nation detested him; that they sought and prayed for his destruction; that they were *unwilling instruments* of his ambition; and, again and again it asserted, that his soldiers were *dragged to the army in chains*.——Now, however, when they see, that those soldiers are fighting and triumphing under his banners; that France is pouring forth her legions to support those who are in the front, and that nothing like insurrection is apparent in France; now, this vile and unprincipled and mischievous paper describes the French nation by the appellation of “ THE SAVAGES ON THE BANKS OF THE SEINE!”——Say, now, reader, who is the most “ *odious, disgust-*

ing, and contemptible HYPOCRITE;” Napoleon, or this his assailant?——And, suppose the Duke of Friuli to have been the “ *son of a scrivener*,” what then? Are there not many sons of scriveners in our army? And are they never to rise to distinguished rank on that account? If so, all those officers who do not belong to the *aristocracy*, would have no encouragement to render any particular service. What stupid, what senseless, what mischievous abuse is this! I remember, that, when it came out, that the Duke of York had given a commission to Mrs. Clarke’s footman, who was the legitimate *son of a footman*, and not the bastard of an officer, as some, at first, pretended; I remember, that, at that time, the Members of the Honourable House had the justice to say, that they saw no reason for excluding *talents*, though found in low life, from promotion in the army. Why, then, object to the advancement of the “ *son of a scrivener?*”——But, he was, we are told, created Duke of Friuli for his *servile* attendance on Napoleon. This the whole world (except the *thinking* nation), and especially the enemies of France, know to be false. It was, not in return for servility, but for many and many a successful battle that Duroc was made a Duke. No: whatever be the sins of Napoleon, they are not those of giving to pimps, panders, buffoons, and bottle-companions, the rewards due to military service. If he had been in the habit of doing this, he would, indeed, have been an object of contempt to those who now dread him as they do the thunderbolt.——As to the terms “ *butcher* and “ *monster*,” they are unworthy of any particular comment. They are nothing new, and the use of them can do no harm, except to exasperate the French, who, if this news-paper ever reaches France, and is republished there, must be already sufficiently exasperated against us.——But, the worst of it is, this news-paper knows that its language and sentiments suits the taste of its readers. It knows well, that it is feeding their passions and their hopes; and it knows that that is the way to keep up and increase its circulation and its profits. This is the most dismal reflection. And, really, I shudder to think of the ultimate consequences of the prevalence of notions such as appear in this paper.——We are shocked at horrid murders and assassinations committed amongst ourselves; but our vile news-papers are continually asserting the propriety of assassinating Napoleon. What are we to think of men, who,

at a public dinner, could toast *the intended of Miss Platoff*; that is to say, any one who might, in any manner, kill Buonaparté? Can we wonder, if such base and horrible sentiments are thus promulgated, that they produce an effect?—But, the whole of this system of abuse is to be reprobated in the strongest terms. It is never imitated by the French news-papers. “The SAVAGES on the banks of the Seine” never abuse our Sovereign or his people. One would think, that, in time, this example would have some effect: but, it has had none; and, indeed, our papers seem to grow more virulent in proportion to the forbearance of those of France.—To return, for a moment, to the war in the North: I shall not be surprised to see a peace speedily follow these battles; a peace that will round and complete the *Continental System*, and that will leave us to carry on the war with the ports of all Europe and all North America shut against our commerce.—But, we are not, for that, to *despair*. Good often comes out of apparent evil; and who knows, but those very events, which seem the most deplorable, may finally lead to general liberty and happiness?

WM. COBBETT.

OFFICIAL PAPERS.

LONDON GAZETTE, *May 25.*

(Continued from page 800.)

Alexander and his Majesty the King of Prussia therefore went to their armies, to animate the courage of the troops by their personal presence. But the better to be enabled to judge of the enemy's strength, a reconnoissance was undertaken with General Von Winzingerode's corps from Leipzig, on the road to Weissenfels. This confirmed the intelligence received, of the enemy being there in considerable force. Upon this a very severe engagement took place on the 1st of May with the said corps, by which we were convinced, that the main force of the enemy was in the vicinity of Weissenfels and Lutzen. It was believed that the Viceroy's position was between Leipzig and Halle, and consequently the enemy's plan for the battle was clearly apparent. General Count Von Wittgenstein resolved on being beforehand with him, to obstruct him in his dispositions by a bold attack, and to restrain his offensive operations. It was necessary in this attempt to

make it our main object, immediately to fall on such part of his force as was, on his side, considered to be the best troops; in order, after such a stroke, to give larger space for the operations of our flying corps, over whom the enemy had latterly acquired a superiority. Therefore it was requisite, if possible, to direct the attack immediately against his rear-most troops. For this purpose, the main army broke up in the night, between the 1st and 2d of May, from Notha and Botha, in two columns, and pushed forward as far as the defile of the Elster, in the vicinity of Pegau. General Von Winzingerode received orders to mask this operation, to leave his posts of cavalry standing, and to unite himself with the main army by the way of Zwekau.—At break of day all the troops passed the defile of the Elster, near Pegau, and drew up in order of battle on the left bank of the Elster, with their right wing to the village of Werben, and their left to that of Grunz. By reconnoitring, we discovered that the enemy's main body already extended beyond Weissenfels, to the villages of Gross Gorschen, Klein Gorschen, Rahno, Starsiedel, and Lutzen. The enemy did not venture to attempt disturbing our march, nor to get before us into the plain, but took his position in the village between Gross Gorschen and Starsiedel.—About twelve o'clock at noon General Blucher received orders, as commanding the van-guard of the army, and supported by a part of the Russian artillery, to attack the enemy. The attack was made on the village of Gross Gorschen, which was obstinately defended by the enemy. It was taken by storm. General Yorck marched with his corps to the right of the village. The whole army wheeled to the right, and presently after the battle became general along the whole line of Blucher's corps. The enemy, at the same time, displayed a numerous artillery, chiefly of heavy caliber, and the fire of musketry in the villages was kept up with great vivacity for several hours. In this murderous battle the villages of Klein Gorschen and Rhano, as likewise the villages of Gross Gorschen, were early taken by storm, and with unexampled bravery, and kept possession of for several hours. At length the enemy returned in considerable force, surrounded, and in part retook these villages; but on the attack being renewed, was not able to retain possession of them. The Prussian guards moved forward, and after a most obstinate combat of an hour and an half, those villages were again retaken from

the enemy, and remained in our possession. During this time the corps of General Winzingerode on the left wing, and the corps of General Yorck, with a part of the Russian troops under General Berg, had taken a share in the battle. We stood opposed to the enemy, at a distance of one hundred paces, and one of the most bloody battles became general. — Our reserves had drawn nearer to the field of battle, to be in readiness wherever needful, and thus was the battle continued till near seven o'clock in the evening. During its course, the villages on the left wing were likewise several times taken and retaken by both parties. At seven o'clock the enemy appeared with a new corps on our right wing, before Gross and Klein Gorschen—probably with the Viceroy's army—made a brisk attack on us, and endeavoured to tear from us the advantages we had gained. The infantry of a part of the Russian reserve was now brought forward to the right wing, to the support of General Yorck's corps, which was briskly attacked, and the most desperate engagement (in which the Russian artillery during the whole remaining time greatly distinguished itself, as did the corps of Yorck, Blucher, and Winzingerode, the whole day) was now continued until night came on. The enemy had likewise again attacked our centre and the villages with great briskness, but we maintained our position. In this situation night put an end to the battle. The enemy was to have been again attacked on the following morning, the 3d of May. He had meanwhile taken Leipsig during the battle. This obliged us to manoeuvre with him. It was not till afterwards that we were informed, that in consequence of the battle, he had again been forced to quit it, and had by the same means lost Halle, and fifteen thousand men of his best troops; many of his cannon are dismounted, and a number of his powder waggons blown up. Our light detachments are again at liberty to harass him, and to prosecute the advantage gained. We have consequently kept the field of battle, the victory is our's, and the intended purpose is accomplished. Near fifty thousand of our best troops have not yet been engaged: we have not lost a single cannon, and the enemy must have perceived what can be effected by the united national feelings, between two firmly allied nations, in courage and resistance; and that the high hand of Providence protects the just cause of those Powers, who have no object but their independence, and to found a durable

peace on the freedom of all nations. — Such was the battle of the 2d of May, fought near the plain of Lutzen, where the liberty of Germany was once before conquered. With the courage of lions did both Russians and Prussians fight for it, and their endeavours will not have been in vain. The loss we have sustained may amount to about ten thousand men, but the most of them are only slightly wounded. Among the killed, on the Prussian side, we have among several other valuable Staff-officers, to lament the loss of the Prince of Hesse-Homburg. Our wounded are, on the Russian part, General Von Kanonieczyn; and on the Prussian, Generals Blucher and Scharnhorst slightly, and Hunerbein dangerously. On the French side, according to the report of the prisoners, we learn that Marshal Bessieres is killed, Ney and Souham wounded. Upwards of one thousand prisoners are already brought in, ten pieces of artillery taken, and some thousand muskets captured at Halle. Our light troops are now occupied in pursuing the enemy. — Although the numerous villages lying near to each other in this territory, and its canals, together with the precaution taken by the enemy never to appear in the open plain, did not afford our cavalry an opportunity of charging in line, yet the Prussian Garde-du-corps, and the regiment of Brandenburg Cuirassiers, cut down several masses of the enemy's infantry, even amidst the villages, and under his cross-fire, and have thereby gained a share in the immortal honour which the Prussian warriors have again obtained in this murderous battle: and in like manner have the Russians proved that they can fight on the German soil, with the same sentiments which ensured victory to them in their own country. These are the results of this day, up to this present. God bless our arms! — He visibly and during the battle protected both our beloved Monarchs, who several times exposed themselves to danger, even in the villages where the battle raged the hottest. May he furthermore bless and preserve them to us!

Official Intelligence from the Combined Armies, from the Field of Battle, May 3.

The Emperor Napoleon had quitted Mayence on the 24th of April. Being arrived at his army, every thing announced that he meant immediately to act on the offensive: in consequence the combined Russian and Prussian armies had been united

between Leipsig and Altenburg, a central position, and very advantageous in all possible cases. Meanwhile the General in Chief, Count de Wittgenstein, had soon convinced himself, by good and spirited reconnoissances, that the enemy, after having concentrated himself, was debouching with the whole of his forces by Merseburg and Weissenfels, whilst at the same time he sent a considerable corps on Leipsig, which appeared to be the principal view of his operations. Count Wittgenstein immediately decided on taking advantage of the moment when it would be out of the power of this detached corps to co-operate with the main body of the French army, and to attack this immediately with his whole force. For this purpose it was necessary to conceal his movements, and during the night, between the 1st and 2d, he drew to himself the corps under the orders of the General of Cavalry Tormazoff. By this junction, he found himself enabled to throw himself en masse on the enemy, at a place where the latter might suppose he had only to deal with a detachment, whose aim was to give him disturbance on his flanks. The action commenced. Generals Blucher and Yorck entered into it with ~~an~~ ardour and energy, which was in a lively manner participated by the troops. The operations took place between the Elster and the Luppe. The village of Gross-Gorschen was the key and centre of the French position.—The battle commenced by the attack of this village. The enemy was sensible of the whole importance of this point, and wished to maintain himself in it. It was carried by the right wing of the corps under General Blucher's orders; and, at the same time, the left wing pushed in front, and soon charged on the village of Klein-Gorschen. From this time, all the corps came successively into action, which soon became general. The village of Gross-Gorschen was disputed with unexampled obstinacy. Six times it was taken and retaken with the bayonet; but the valour of the Russians and Prussians obtained the superiority, and this village as well as those of Klein-Gorschen and Rhan, remained in the hands of the combined armies. The enemy's centre was broken, and he was driven off the field of battle. He, nevertheless, brought forward fresh columns, which being come from Leipsig, were destined to support the left flank of the enemy. Some corps drawn from the reserve, and placed under the orders of Lieutenant-General Kanovnitzin, were opposed to them.—

Here, towards evening, a combat commenced, which was likewise exceedingly obstinate, but the enemy was also completely repulsed at this point.—Every thing was disposed for renewing the attack at sun-set, and orders had been sent to General Miloradowitsch, who with his whole corps was posted at Zeitz, to join the main army, and to be there at break of day; the presence of an entire fresh corps, with one hundred pieces of artillery, leaving no doubt as to the issue of the day. But towards the morning the enemy appeared to be moving towards Leipsig, always falling towards his rear-guard. This mode of refusing the challenge made for engaging, gave room to believe that he would endeavour to manoeuvre, either to move towards the Elbe, or on the communications of the combined armies. Under this supposition, it became necessary to oppose manoeuvre against manoeuvre, and by occupying a commanding front between Colditz and Rochlitz, we immediately became possessed of every benefit of this kind, without for such purpose quitting too far the points for making an offensive attack. On this memorable day the Prussian army fought in a manner to fix the admiration of its allies. The King's Guards covered themselves with glory. Russians and Prussians rivalled each other in valour and zeal, under the eyes of the two Sovereigns, who did not, for a moment, quit the field of battle. The enemy has lost sixteen cannon; and we have taken one thousand four hundred prisoners; not a single trophy has been conquered from the allied army; its loss in killed and wounded may amount to eight thousand men; that of the French army is estimated at twelve or fifteen thousand. Among the wounded are, the General of Cavalry, Blucher, and Lieut.-Generals Kanovnitzin and Scharnhorst; their wounds are not dangerous. The enemy, having but few cavalry, endeavoured to get and keep possession of the villages, the ground of which was rugged and broken; consequently the day of the 2d of May was a continual combat between the infantry. An uninterrupted shower of balls, bullets, grape-shot, and grenades, was kept up on the part of the French, during an action of ten hours.

FRENCH PAPERS.

Paris, May 26.—Her Majesty the Empress Queen and Regent has received intelligence from the army, dated from Hochkerch, on the 21st, at 5 in the evening; it

states, that in consequence of advantages gained the preceding day, a second battle took place on the 21st, in which the most complete success crowned the Emperor's arms; our loss, in the two days, has not been considerable.—The Emperor was in perfect health.

Paris, May 29.—Her Majesty the Empress Queen and Regent has received the following intelligence respecting the events which have passed at the army, during the days of the 19th, 20th, 21st, and 22d; and of the position of the army on the 23d:—The Emperor Alexander and the King of Prussia attributed the loss of the battle of Lutzen to the faults their Generals had committed in the direction of the combined force, and particularly to the difficulties attached to an offensive movement of from 150 to 180,000 men. They resolved upon taking the position of Bautzen and Hochkerch, already celebrated in the history of the seven years war; to unite there all the reinforcements which they expected from the Vistula, and other points in their rear, to add to that position every thing for which art could furnish the means, and there run the chances of a fresh battle, of which all the probabilities appeared to them to be in their favour.—The Duke of Tarentum, commanding the 11th corps, left Bischofswerder on the 15th; in the evening of which day, he found himself within cannon-shot of Bautzen, where he found all the enemy. He took a position: from this moment the French army marched upon the camp at Bautzen.—The Emperor left Dresden on the 18th; he slept at Harla; and on the 19th, at ten in the morning, arrived before Bautzen. He employed all the day in reconnoitring the enemy's positions.—We learned that the Russian corps of Barclay de Tolly, Langeon, and Sass, and Kleist's Prussian corps, had rejoined the combined army, and that its force might be estimated from 150 to 160,000 men.

On the 19th, in the evening, the enemy's position was as follows: his left was supported by mountains covered with wood, and perpendicular to the course of the Spree, nearly a league from Bautzen; Bautzen contained his centre. This town had been entrenched and covered by redoubts; the right of the enemy leaned upon fortified rising points, which defended the debouches from the Spree, from the side of the village of Nimschitz; all his front was covered by the Spree; this very strong position was but a first position.—We distinctly per-

ceived at 3,000 toises distance in the rear, the ground newly dug up, and works which marked their second position. The left was still supported by the same mountains at 2,000 toises in the rear of those of the first position, and considerably in advance of the village of Hochkerch. The centre leaned upon three entrenched villages, where so many works had been erected that they might have been considered as strong places. A marshy and difficult ground covered three-quarters of the centre. Lastly, their right leaned in rear of the first position upon villages and rising ground, likewise entrenched.—The enemy's front, either in the first or second position, extended about a league and an half. After this reconnaissance, it was easy to conceive how, notwithstanding a lost battle like that of Lutzen, and eight days retreating, the enemy could still have hopes in the chances of fortune. According to the expression of a Russian officer, who was asked what they intended to do, "*We neither wish to advance, nor retire.*" "*You are masters of the first point,*" replied a French officer; "*the event, in a few days, will prove whether you are masters of the other.*" The head-quarters of the two Sovereigns were in the village of Natscher.

On the 19th, the position of the French army was as follows:—

Upon the right was the Duke of Reggio, leaning upon the mountains to the left of the Spree, and separated from the left of the enemy by that valley. The Duke of Tarentum was before Bautzen, on horseback, upon the Dresden road. The Duke of Ragusa was upon the left of Bautzen, opposite the village of Niemenschütz. General Bertrand was upon the left of the Duke of Ragusa, leaning upon a windmill and a wood, and appearing to intend debouching from Jaselitz upon the enemy's right. The Prince of Moskwa, General Lauriston, and General Reynier, were at Hoyerswerda, out of the line, and in the rear of our left.

—The enemy having learnt that a considerable corps was to arrive by the road of Hoyerswerda, was doubtful that it was the Emperor's intention to turn their position by the right, to alter the field of battle, and to cause all his entrenchments to fall, which had been erected with so much pains, and the objects of such great trouble. Not being yet informed of General Lauriston's arrival, he did not suppose that this column could consist of more than 16 or 20,000 men. On the 19th he therefore detached against them, at four o'clock in

the morning, General Yorck with 12,000 Prussians, and General Barclay de Tolly, with 18,000 Russians. The Russians posted themselves at the village of Klix, and the Prussians at the village of Weissig. —Count Bertrand had in the mean while sent General Pery, with the Italian division to Koenigswerda, to keep up our communication with the detached corps. Being arrived there at noon, General Perin made bad dispositions. He did not cause the neighbouring forest to be properly reconnoitred; he placed his posts badly, and at 4 o'clock he was assailed by a *hurra*, which threw some battalions into disorder. He lost 600 men, among whom was General Balathier, of the Italian brigade, wounded; 2 cannon, and 3 caissons; but the division having taken to their arms, kept themselves to the wood, and faced against the enemy. —The Count de Valmy having arrived with the cavalry, put himself at the head of the Italian division, and retook the village of Koenigswartha. At this very moment, the corps under Count Lauriston, which marched at the head of the Prince of Moskwa's, to turn the enemy's position, and had departed from Hoyerswerda, arrived on Weissig. The battle commenced, and the corps of Gen. Yorck would have been destroyed, had it not been for the circumstance of the troops having to pass a defile, which caused that they could come up only in succession. After a battle of three hours, the village of Weissig was carried, and De Yorck's corps, being overthrown, was driven to the other bank of the Spree. The battle of Weissig was in itself an important event. A detailed report will shortly make known the particulars concerning it. —On the 19th, Count Lauriston therefore remained in the position of Weissig: the Prince of Moskwa at Mankersdorf, and Count Reynier at the distance of a league in the rear. The right of the enemy's position was evidently in disorder. —On the 20th, at eight o'clock in the morning, the Emperor went to the heights in the rear of Bautzen. He gave orders to the Duke of Reggio to pass the Spree, and attack the mountains which supported the enemy's left; to the Duke of Tarentum, to throw a bridge on chevalets over the Spree, between Bautzen and the mountains; to the Duke of Ragusa, to throw another bridge on chevalets across the Spree, in the turn which that river takes to the left, at half a league from Bautzen; to the Duke of Dalmatia (to whom His Majesty had given the Com-

mand in Chief of the centre), to pass the Spree, and disturb the enemy's right; and finally, to the Prince of the Moskwa, under whose orders were the third corps, General Lauriston, and General Reynier, to push forward on Klix, to pass the Spree, to turn the enemy's right, and to carry his head-quarters from Wurtchen to Weissenburg. —At noon the cannonade commenced. The Duke of Tarentum had no occasion to throw his bridge of chevalets across the river, as he found a stone bridge before him, over which he forced his passage. The Duke of Ragusa threw his bridge across, and the whole of his corps passed over to the other bank of the Spree. After six hours of a brisk cannonade, and several charges made by the enemy without success, General Compans caused Bautzen to be occupied; General Bonnet occupied the village of Niedkayn, and by a running charge took a plain which rendered himself master of the whole centre of the enemy's position; the Duke of Reggio got possession of the heights, and at seven o'clock in the evening, the enemy was driven back on his second position. General Bertrand passed one of the arms of the Spree; but the enemy kept the heights which supported his right; and by this means maintained himself between the Prince of Moskwa's corps and our army. —At eight o'clock in the evening, the Emperor entered Bautzen, and was received by the inhabitants and the constituted authorities, with sentiments due from allies, who were happy in finding themselves delivered from Stein, from Kotzebue, and the Cossacks. This day, which, were it single, might be called the *Battle of Bautzen*, was merely the prelude to the Battle of Wurtchen. —However, the enemy began to comprehend the possibility of being forced in his position. His hopes were no longer the same; and he must, from this moment, have had the presage of his defeat. Already were all his dispositions changed. The fate of the battle was no longer to be decided behind his entrenchments. His immense works, and 300 redoubts, became useless. The right of his position, which was opposed to the 4th corps, became his centre; and he was obliged to offer his right, which formed a good part of his army, to oppose the Prince of Moskwa, in a place which he had not studied, and which he believed beyond his position. —On the 21st, at five in the morning, the Emperor marched towards the heights, three quarters of a league in advance of Bautzen. —The Duke of

Reggio sustained a lively fire of musketry towards the heights which defended the enemy's left. The Russians, who felt the importance of this position, had placed a strong part of their army, in order that their left should not be turned. The Emperor ordered the Dukes of Reggio and Tarentum to keep up this combat, in order to prevent the enemy's left from disengaging itself, and to hide from him the real attack, the result of which could not be felt before noon or one o'clock.——At eleven o'clock the Duke of Treviso advanced 1,000 toises from his position, and engaged in a dreadful cannonade before all the enemy's redoubts and entrenchments. The guards, and the reserve of the army, concealed by a rising ground, had easy debouches to advance, by the left or right, according as the vicissitudes of the day might require. The enemy was thus kept in uncertainty respecting the real point of attack. During this time, the Prince of Moskwa overthrew the enemy at the village of Klix, passed the Sprée, and advanced, fighting what he had before him, to the village of Preilitz. At ten o'clock he carried the village; but the enemy's reserves having advanced to cover the head quarters, the Prince of Moskwa was driven back, and lost the village of Preilitz. The Duke of Dalmatia began to debouch an hour after noon. The enemy, who comprehended all the danger with which he was threatened by the direction the battle had taken, knew that the only means of advantageously supporting the battle against the Prince of Moskwa, was to prevent us from debouching. He endeavoured to oppose the Duke of Dalmatia's attacks. The moment for deciding the battle had then arrived. The Emperor, by a movement to the left, in twenty minutes marched with the guards, General Latour-Maubourg's four divisions, and a great quantity of artillery, upon the right flank of the enemy's position, which had become the centre of the Russian army.——Morand's and the Wurtemberg division carried the rising ground, which the enemy had made his *point d'appui*.——General Devaux established a battery, the fire of which, he directed upon the masses which attempted to take the position. Generals Dulauloy and Drouet, with sixty pieces of reserve artillery, advanced. Lastly, the Duke of Treviso, with the divisions Dumontier and Barrois, with a detachment of the young Guard, took the road to the Inn of Klein-Baschwitz, crossing the road from Wurtchen to Bautzen.——The enemy

was obliged to uncover his right, to prepare for this new attack. The Prince of Moskwa took advantage of it by advancing in front. He took the village of Preisig, and having come up with the enemy's army, marched on to Wurtchen. It was at three o'clock in the afternoon, and whilst the army was in the greatest incertitude of success, that a heavy firing was heard along a line of three leagues, and announced to the Emperor that the battle was won.——The enemy, finding that his right was turned, began to retreat, and this retreat soon became a flight. At seven o'clock in the evening, the Prince of Moskwa, and General Lauriston, arrived at Wurtchen. The Duke of Ragusa then received orders to make an inverse movement to that which the Guard had made, occupied all the entrenched villages, and all the redoubts, which the enemy were obliged to evacuate, advanced in the direction of Hochkerch, and thus took the whole of the enemy's left in flank, which then fell into an unavoidable rout. The Duke of Tarentum, on his side, briskly pushed this left wing, and did it considerable mischief.——The Emperor slept on the road in the midst of his Guards; at the Inn of Little Baschwitz. Thus the enemy being forced from all his positions, left the field of battle in our power, covered with his dead and wounded, and several thousands of prisoners.——On the 22d, at four o'clock in the morning, the French army put itself in motion. The enemy had fled the whole night by all the roads, and in every direction. We had not found his first posts until past Weissenberg; nor did he offer to make any resistance until he had gained the heights in the rear of Reickenbach. The enemy had not yet seen our cavalry.——General Lefebure Desnouettes, at the head of 1,500 horse, of the Polish lancers, and the red lancers of the Guards, charged and overthrew the enemy's cavalry in the plain of Reitenbach. The enemy believing that these were alone, caused a division of their cavalry to advance, and several divisions were successively engaged. General Latour Maubourg, with his 14,000 horse, and the French and Saxon cuirassiers, arrived to their assistance, and several charges of cavalry took place. The enemy, quite astonished to find 15 or 16,000 cavalry before him, whilst he believed us to be unsupplied with any, retired in disorder. The red lancers of the Guards is, for a great part, composed of the volunteers of Paris, and its neighbourhood. General Lefebure Desnouettes,

and General Colbert, their Colonel, bestow the greatest eulogiums on them. In this affair of cavalry, General Bruyere, of the light cavalry, and an officer of the highest distinction, had his leg carried off by a cannon-ball.—General Reynier, with the Saxon corps, gained the heights behind Reitenbach, and pursued the enemy as far as the village of Hotterndorf. Night overtook us, at a league from Goerlitz. Although the day had been extremely long, we finding ourselves now at the distance of eight leagues from the field of battle, and that the troops had undergone so much fatigue, the French army was to have slept at Goerlitz; but the enemy having placed a corps of their rear guard on the heights in front, and as it would have required half an hour more day-light to turn his left, the Emperor ordered the army to take a position.—In the battles of the 20th and 21st, the Wurtemberg General Franquemont, and General Lorencez, were wounded. Our loss on these days may be estimated at 11 or 12,000 men in killed and wounded. At seven o'clock in the evening of the day of the 22d, the Great Marshal, Duke of Friuli, being on a small eminence along with the Duke of Treviso and General Kirgener, all three with their feet on the ground, and at a sufficient distance from the fire, one of the last balls fired by the enemy struck down close to the Duke of Treviso, tore the lower part of the Great Marshal, and killed General Kirgener on the spot. The Duke of Friuli immediately felt that he was mortally wounded, and expired twelve hours after. As soon as the posts were placed, and that the army had taken its bivouaques, the Emperor went to see the Duke of Friuli. He found him perfectly master of himself, and showing the greatest sang froid. The Duke offered his hand to the Emperor, who pressed it to his lips. "*My whole life,*" said he to him, "*has been consecrated to your service, nor do I regret its loss, but for the use it still might have been of to you!*" "*Duroc!*" replied the Emperor, "*there is a life to come: it is there you are going to wait for me, and where we shall one day meet again!*" "*Yes, Sire, but that will not be yet these thirty years, when you will have triumphed over your enemies, and realized all the hopes of our country. I have lived an ho-*

nest man; I have nothing to reproach myself with. I leave a daughter behind me: your Majesty will fill the place of a father to her." The Emperor grasping the right hand of the Great Marshal, remained a quarter of an hour with his head reclined on his right hand, in deep silence. The Great Marshal was the first who broke this silence: "*Ah, Sire,*" cried he, "*go away: this sight gives you pain!*" The Emperor, supporting himself on the Duke of Dalmatia, and the great Master of the Horse, quitted the Duke of Friuli, without being able to say more than these words: "*Farewell, then, my Friend!*" His Majesty returned to his tent, nor would he receive any person the whole of that night.—On the 23d at nine o'clock in the morning, General Reynier entered Goerlitz. Bridges were thrown over the Neisse, and the army crossed that river.—On the 23d in the evening, the Duke of Belluno was near Botzenburg; Count Lauriston had his headquarters at Hochkerch; Count Reynier before Trotskendorf, on the road to Lauban; and Count Bertrand in the rear of the same village; the Duke of Tarentum at Schomberg, and the Emperor at Goerlitz.—A flag of truce, sent by the enemy, brought several letters; from which, it is believed, that he wishes to negotiate for an armistice.

—The enemy's army has retired by the road of Branzlau and Lauban, into Silesia. All Saxony is delivered from her enemies; and, by to-morrow, the 24th, the French army will be in Silesia.—The enemy has burnt a great quantity of his baggage, blown up a number of parks, and distributed through the villages great quantities of wounded. Those whom he was able to take away in carriages had not their wounds dressed; the inhabitants make their numbers upwards of 18,000; and more than 10,000 remain in our power. The town of Goerlitz, which contains 8 or 10,000 inhabitants, has received the French as their liberators. The city of Dresden, and the Saxon Ministry, have shown the greatest activity in providing for the army, which has never had greater abundance of every thing.—Although great quantities of ammunition have been consumed, yet the workmen of Torgau and Dresden, and the convoys which arrive through the atten-

(To be continued.)

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SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

THE TRINITY.—Having lost sight of the progress of the Bill upon this subject, I do not know what state it is in; but, in the meanwhile, we have forced out the UNITARIANS to an open avowal of their creed.—The author of the anonymous essay, noticed in my last Number, has, in an article, which I insert below, given us his name and place of abode. This is *Wright*, and, though he affects to treat the request lightly, I continue to think that it was quite proper.—However, what is more material, is, that he has come to the open confession, that he *does not* believe, that the Old and New Testament are the *Word of God*.—Very well, this; so far, is manful. But, then, what does he mean by calling people *infidels*? What does he mean by his charges against me of craftily attacking all *revealed religion*, by saying that we *must* believe the whole or none? What does he mean by talking about *hostility to Christianity*? He says, that the writers of the several parts of the Scriptures were *not inspired*; except, perhaps, in certain cases. That is to say, I suppose, when they wrote those parts of the book that it suits him to believe. The rest he treats as the offspring of the brains of mere men, unaided by any single ray of divine light.—In short, this is his creed: that the *Scriptures are not the word of God*; that they were written by men, as other books have been; that they were a parcel of histories, moral essays, poems, and letters, the mere offspring of men's brains, and which have been collected together and published in one volume; and that, of this volume, we ought to regard as true only those parts which the Unitarians believe to be true.—Did I not say, that the Bill which would give a sort of sanction to this creed, would strike into the very bowels of the Christian system; and what becomes of that system, if the Scriptures be *not the word of God*? What other foundation than this has the Christian system?—Ask any man, *why* he is a Christian; *why* he believes in original sin; *why*

he believes in the redemption; *why* he believes in the resurrection. Ask him this; and what is his answer? Does he show you, or pretend to show you, how nature or human reason led to the circumstance of the fall of man on account of his eating of an apple? Does he pretend to show you the necessity or justice, upon any principles of our feeble human reason, of a most virtuous man being executed as a malefactor, in order to appease the wrath of his own father towards those, who, in addition to their other manifold sins, were guilty of that of murder, and that, too, of the most atrocious kind, being veiled under the garb of legal justice? Does he go to nature, does he attempt to show you facts or human reasoning, that dead bodies will re-assemble their scattered dust, re-assume corporeal shape and substance, and be re-animated with life?—Does the believer in original sin, in the redemption, and the resurrection, do any of this?—No, he attempts no such thing. He tells you that frail human reason is out of the question. He tells you, that it is above the reach of the human mind to know *how* things are thus. But, he says he believes they are thus, BECAUSE THE SCRIPTURES SAY THEY ARE THUS.—And, then ask him, *why* he believes what the Scriptures tell him. His answer is, that THE SCRIPTURES ARE THE WORD OF GOD, and, therefore, what they contain must be true.—Now, then, is it not a necessary conclusion from these premises, that, if the Unitarians believe, that the Scriptures are *not the word of God*, they are not, and cannot be, Christians? They cannot believe in original sin, in the redemption, or the resurrection. I say, they cannot; because they have *no foundation for such belief* other than the word of God; and as they deny there to be any word of God, they cannot entertain the belief necessary to constitute a Christian.—These opponents of mine treat my *Theological knowledge* with great contempt; and I am very glad that they can do it with justice; for, I should think my time very shamefully wasted, if I had spent it in

reading the wranglings of Theologians ; or in endeavouring to settle points of faith ; and the more especially, as there are settled laws, and, indeed, express acts of parliament, to regulate my faith and my worship. — Aye, say the Unitarians, but every rational creature ought to *think* for himself. Well, and so do I ; but, of what use is it for me to waste much thought upon a subject that has split the whole world into sects, who, not unfrequently, have cut each other's throats, for the sake of a pretended love of God ? — It is much better for me to hold my tongue as to the matter ; and, I should not now have meddled with it, if it had not, as I have shown, been so closely connected with political consequences. — But, now again, as to *Mr. Smith's Bill*. It will be remembered, that that Gentleman said, that the UNITARIANS had no objection to the other act of parliament, which required a declaration of belief in the Holy Scriptures generally. We see, however, that my antagonist *does not* believe in the Holy Scriptures ; and that he speaks, too, in the name of his sect. — I knew I should bring this out. He was compelled to deny the Scriptures to be the word of God ; or, he must have laid down his arms at once before me, who, by the help of Crutwell's Concordance, could have poured out upon him such broadsides of texts as would have reduced him to his native dust in a minute. — Well, here he is, then. Here is one of the High Priests (for such I am told he is) of the sect, in whose behalf Mr. Smith's Bill was to operate, or is to operate, declaring that he *does not* believe the Scriptures to be the word of God, while Mr. Smith, in the introducing of his Bill, says, that they have no objection to the declaration of a belief in the Scriptures generally ; so that, it appears, that the “ *tender consciences*” of this sect only wanted to be released from all prohibition to deny, in fact, the divine origin of the Scriptures. — What is believing in the Scriptures ? What does the phrase mean ? Does it mean that the believer thinks that there are such writings ? Does it mean, that he believes that they are the works of mere men, and that some part of them are true and some false ? If this be the meaning of the phrase, it is of no more amount than to say that he believes in Hume, or any other historian. This is not the meaning of the phrase, as contained in the Act of Parliament. — Mr. Smith did not want to be understood. The phrase, as

there contained, means, a belief, that the Scriptures were written under the influence of divine inspiration ; that they are the word of God conveyed to man by his command ; and, of course, that they are, in all their parts, *true*. — That is the meaning of the Act of Parliament, which Act would still remain in force ; and, then, I should be glad to know what relief the “ *tender consciences*” of this gentleman will receive from a repeal of the Act relative to a belief in the Trinity. If their consciences require that they should be at full liberty to ridicule the doctrine of the Trinity because they disbelieve in that doctrine ; will they not also want liberty openly to deny the divine origin of the Scriptures altogether ? — I said that it must lead to this. To this it has led ; and, for my part, I can see nothing now to be done, but, to put down such publications as deny the Scriptures to be *holy* ; or, to pass an Act to do away all penal statutes whatever relative to religion, or to discussions relative to religion. — It ought to be borne in mind, too, that our Judges have uniformly laid it down, that Christianity is a part of the law of the land ; and that it was not under any statute, but under the interpretations of the *Common Law* that Mr. Eaton was found guilty and punished. — Now, what did Mr. Eaton do ? Why, he published a book, *denying the truth of the Scriptures generally* ; and, does not the Unitarian do the same ? This Gentleman, who attacks me in so rude a manner, does not, indeed, deny the truth of the whole of the Scriptures, neither did Mr. Eaton's book. It did not deny the truth of those assertions, that men ought to love one another ; that we ought to do as we would be done unto ; that we ought not to lie or steal, or covet our neighbour's goods ; that we ought to be charitable and forgiving ; that servants ought to be faithful to their masters, and wives obedient to their husbands ; that we should abstain from shedding innocent blood ; that, in short, we ought to be kind and just. — Mr. Eaton's book denied none of this ; if it had, it must have quarrelled with the religion of the Bramins, and with all other religions in the world, as well as with that of Jesus Christ. But, it did no such thing. It denied the divine origin of Christ, and that was all. It attempted to support this denial by endeavouring to prove, that the prophecies in the Old Testament, relative to the birth, life, death, and resurrection of Christ, apply to quite other matters, and not at all to these events

and circumstances.—Now, pray, what did this book do *more* than the Unitarians do? And, why should an act be passed to enable them to do with impunity that which Mr. Eaton has been so heavily punished for doing?—As being intimately connected with this subject, let me notice the petitions now before parliament, from divers religious sects, to be at liberty to go and teach the people, under the sway of the East-India Company in Hindostan. Church-people, Baptists, Presbyterians, Methodists, Catholics, and I know not how many more, are running this race of conversion.—If these petitions were granted, it must, of course, be with a view of giving *effect* to the prayers of the petitioners; and, can it possibly enter into the head of any wise legislator, to lay, thus, the foundation of everlasting divisions and feuds in a country, for which he has to make laws? It is one thing to *tolerate* these several sects, in a country, where, for the sake of its peace and happiness, it is unfortunate that they *already exist*; this is one thing, but to *create* such divisions is quite another thing.—What is to become of the souls of all the Hindostanians, who have heretofore died, if a belief in Christianity be necessary to the salvation of those who are now alive, and of those hereafter to be born, is a question which I must leave for theologians to settle. But, if Christianity be necessary to the Hindostanians *now*, and that it is so the petitioners assert, will any man say, that, before missionaries are sent to convert them, it ought not be settled *what Christianity is*? It is well known, that the sects, which have petitioned Parliament, differ as widely from one another in their belief as it is possible for men to differ. The Calvinists will tell their hearers, that it was decreed, by an all-powerful being, before they were born, that they should either go to heaven, or to hell; and, that, though it was so decreed, their going to hell, if they do go thither, *will be their own fault*.—The preachers of free-will will tell their hearers (who may be the same persons), that this doctrine was hatched in the brain of a morose, savage, treacherous, tyrannical, bloody-minded man of Geneva, who seems to have fashioned his God after his own image, and cursed with the same disposition and passions.—The Protestants will tell the Hindostanians, that the Catholics are *idolaters*; and the Catholics will tell them that the Protestants are *heretics*. Yet *both* will be sent to *convert them to Christianity*.

The Catholics will tell them, that they act under the authority of the Pope, who is God's vice-gerent upon earth; and the Protestants will tell them that, this Pope is no other than a poor decrepit old man, and withal, not much better than a cheat. The Catholics will tell them, that each of their wafers contains the real body and blood and limbs of Jesus Christ; and, if this should be too much for them to swallow, the Protestants will quickly open their throats by most solemnly assuring them that each wafer is really nothing more than a little innocent flour and water.

—The Trinitarians will tell them, that, on account of the original sin in eating of the forbidden fruit, all the people of the whole world, the progeny of the original sinners, became worthy of damnation; but that the Almighty Father and Maker of all things, in pity to mankind, sent his only begotten Son into the world, who offered himself as a sacrifice to appease his Father's wrath; that he, being God himself too, was executed between two thieves; and that this operated as a redemption in favour of the people in the world, and also in favour of those that had died and were to be thereafter born.—But, if the Unitarians get amongst them, they will tell them, that the whole of this is a ridiculous story from beginning to end; and that they are not to believe in any of those parts of the Bible which relate to it; though, by the bye, I see that the Unitarians are joining with other sects in the printing and circulating, without any commentary, the whole of this same Bible.—The Churchmen will teach them that Bishops derive their office from those men whom Christ himself set over his people; and the Presbyterians will declare to them, with equal positiveness, that this office is a remnant of the trappings of the old scarlet whore of Babylon.—Amongst them all, let us suppose, that there will be men, animated with real benevolence, and under the guidance of sound sense, who will, as a good and sensible man in the Church always does, endeavour to wean their hearers from those notions and prejudices which lead to the commission of cruelty and injustice; who will teach them, that the road to happiness, here and hereafter, is the road of good works; that to be well is to do well; and that the reward, in the case of either good or bad, is pretty certain to follow the desert.—Let us suppose, that some such men will find their way to India; and, if I could be assured that no other sort of men

would go, I should be for granting the prayer of the petitioners; but, on the side of such men, and, indeed, before them in the race of proselytism, would go the ranting, roaring, canting, bellowing Methodist, who would tell them, that good works, that honesty, sobriety, industry, benevolence, were nothing at all; that *faith* was every thing; that good works, in place of saving them, might tend to their damnation; that the blacker the sinner the brighter the saint; that, in the words of one of their favourite leaders, a man, to be regenerated, must first be more than nine-tenths damned; that they need not trouble their heads about what they do, so that they get *grace*, which they will feel come into them by the agitation of their bodies.—Now, reader, I put it to your good sense, whether any member of parliament, in his sober senses, can reconcile it to his conscience to let loose such a scourge upon a people? I, for my part, would as soon consent to let loose upon them, if I could have the power, all the plagues of Egypt.—I should say to these petitioners, before I let you go to India to teach Christianity, let me see that you are of *one mind* as to what you propose to teach. First agree amongst yourselves as to *what Christianity is*; and then I may let you go on the work of conversion.—Aye, say they, but we all agree as to the *morality* of the Christian system. Gentlemen, you cannot separate the morality from the dogmas; and while the Indians hear you abusing each other; accusing each other of folly, and of deception; while they hear you, who are all come to them upon the same errand, calling each other all manner of vile names, is it probable, nay, is it possible, that they will listen to *your morality*, even supposing it to be better than that which they now have amongst them?—Suppose, for instance, that Mr. WILBERFORCE and Mr. BELSHAM were to go, and were to choose, as the scene of their operations, some Indian village, and, in a friendly way, were to take turns in teaching the same audience. Mr. Wilberforce tells us, and, of course, he would tell the Hindostanians, that Mr. Belsham is *half an infidel*, and that his doctrine tends to a laxity of morals; while Mr. Belsham would, doubtless, retort upon his antagonist, as he is doing here. Mr. Wilberforce would tell them that Jesus Christ was, and is, *God*. Mr. Belsham would tell them that he was a mere *man*. If the Hindostanians believed Mr. Wilberforce to assert the truth, they must believe Mr.

Belsham to be guilty of falsehood. There, then, is the morality of the latter done for at once. If they took the side of Mr. Belsham, away would go "*vital christianity*" in the character of its preacher.—But, the probability is, that some of the audience would believe one, and some of them the other. There are, then, two hostile sects to begin with; and, as people are usually violent in proportion to their ignorance, quarrels and bloodshed might reasonably be expected.—Now, then, I ask, can there be any good arise from yielding to the prayers of these petitioners?—Infinitely worse would it be, when the contending parties came to talk of the Bible. Mr. Wilberforce would say, that it is the *word of God*. The Unitarian would deny the fact. This passage, says Mr. Wilberforce, means thus and thus; and the other would tell them that it meant no such thing. *This is spurious*, says one; that is an interpolation, says another. And, yet, this is called *teaching of Christianity*!—The worst sect of all, however, is that of the Methodists, and, for that very reason, they are increasing the fastest. It is a religion which dispenses with every virtue. It preaches up *grace*, as the sovereign healer of all wounds; and is beyond all measure more mischievous in its effects than the Catholic doctrine of forgiving of sins, because it dispenses with *oral confession*. The Catholic must tell his priest the truth of his crime before he can be forgiven, and, in case of theft, or other reparable wrong, he must make restitution before forgiveness. But the Methodist robber or murderer may keep the secret and the wages of his sin, and still obtain full remission for all by the means of *grace*, which every ruffian, who is terrified into a praying fit, easily imagines that he has got. To proclaim, that good works are of no avail; that faith alone is of any use in the ensuring of salvation; that the greater a man's sins are, the greater hope there is of him when he repents; that the blood of Christ instantly washes away all crimes from any one who chooses to call upon his name, without any restitution or previous open confession of such crimes; what is this but to invite all the ignorant part of the people to commit robbery and murder?—And these, amongst others, are the sects, that wish to go to *convert* the Hindostanians!—The Methodists call it "*coming to Christ*," when any one, after no matter what cruities, begins to turn up his eyes and

to groan in their meeting-houses. His blood they have at hand to wash out all stains in an instant; and, as far as religion has any influence on the actions of men, there can be no doubt that this doctrine must have a terrible effect. It is remarked, that the Methodistical congregations consist of those, generally, who have been amongst the most profligate and wicked of men and of women. In an hour of fear, they fly thither for salvation; and, in a short time, if they do not get the better of their fears, and relapse into their former practices, they usually become *Saints*, setting themselves down as of the number of the *elect*.—Such notions as these must produce bad effects. They must encourage robbery and murder. And yet, this sect would fain go to *convert* the Hindostanians!

—This, too, is the sect, in which a man, who cannot read, may become a *teacher*, and, by that means, escape from his fair share of service in the militia!

—Amongst all the rest of mankind, that I have ever heard of, every one takes as much care as possible to keep out of sight the sins of his past life. He is content to behave well now, without talking of the change in his deportment. Not so the Methodist. He openly boasts of his wicked acts, except, indeed, such as would put him in jail. He relates what a state Christ, as he pretends, found him in. Whence his hearers are to infer, that he has been favoured with a large portion of grace, and are to look up to him accordingly. I once heard a Black man preaching at Frederickton, in New Brunswick, who treated us to a catalogue of his sins, under their several heads of theft, fornication, adultery, and desertion; and told us, that his soul was blacker than his face, till Christ came with his precious blood and washed it till it was as white as the river St. John, which was then covered with snow. An old Yankee farmer, who stood near me, said, in a low tone of voice, “I would not trust you in my barn, for all that, Cuffee.”—Cuffee told us the particulars of all his amours; and I have heard the same of some of the impudent pretenders to heavenly gifts in this country. It is notorious that this sect are less honest, less sincere, and less industrious than other working people. They are taught to believe (a belief very flattering to their pride), that they are vessels selected for salvation; whence they very easily go on to believe that it is little or no harm to cheat the reprobate vessels, whose sufferings they think may as well have a little

beginning in this world.—And this is a sect, is it, to be sent out to *convert* the Hindostanians!—I have thus stated, in plain terms, my objections to granting the prayer of these petitioners. I do not know precisely what is the religion or what the morality of the inhabitants of Hindostan; but, I am quite sure, that they can never be mended by sending amongst them missionaries from these numerous hostile sects, who would be more anxious to defeat each other than to overcome any injurious prejudices that they might find existing in the country.—Missionaries from some one sect might *possibly* do good; but, from them all, mischief of some sort must be the consequence. I feel no interest at all in the matter as affects our political power, thinking the possession of India to be an injury to England; but, in addition to all the rest that we have done to that unoffending people, I do hope that we shall not sow the seeds of everlasting religious discord.

—I want to see no laws passed to put down by force any of these sects in England; but, as I said before, it is one thing to *tolerate*, and another to *create*, a nuisance.—I am well aware of what a correspondent reminds me, namely, that to publish these and the like remarks is to expose myself to the “animosity and execrations of great numbers of knaves and fools;” but, being convinced of the truth, and of the *public utility* of such remarks, I am resolved to make them whenever the occasion appears to me to call for them. There are, I know, persons who look upon the Methodists, for instance, as *friends of freedom*. It is impossible they should be. They are either fools or tricksters, or so nearly allied thereto, as to be worthy of no consideration. Their heavenly gifts, their calls, their inspirations, their feelings of grace at work within them, and the rest of their canting gibberish, are a gross and outrageous insult to common sense, and a great scandal to the country. It is in vain that we boast of our *enlightened state*, while a sect like this is increasing daily. It would seem, that, at last, men had fallen in love with ignorance of the most vulgar kind. The very sound of the bellowings of one of these pretended sons of inspiration is enough to create disgust in a hearer of sense. The incoherent trash, the downright balderdash, that these *gifted* brethren send forth surpasses all description, and it really is a stain upon the national character, that they should find such multitudes to follow at their heels.

NORTHERN WAR.—HAMBURG.—This town, which, as we were promised, was to be defended to the last extremity; which was protected by the DANES; and then by the Swedes; this town, of such vast importance to us, in a commercial point of view, is again in the hands of the French Emperor. What will "the thinking people" say to this? They will say nothing to it; for they will not be suffered to have time to think of it. They were told, in the very same newspapers that announced the event, that it was of very little consequence; for that the Swedes, who were expected to defend it, were better employed in marching against Buonaparté himself.—And thus goes Hamburg back to the French without a groan; and the famous Hamburg newspaper, which, only a few days ago, abused Napoleon and sang the praises of those *deliverers*, the Cossacks, now praises the former and execrates the latter!—To be sure, this is the age of humbug!—Below I have inserted some most curious papers, which have been published in London, regarding this event; and, if any one, after reading them, can ever believe in the accounts of our hired newspapers, he is too staring an idiot to talk to.—The Prussian proclamation, too, calling out the *levy-en-masse*, is worthy of particular attention. It tells the people, that Berlin is in no danger at all. To be sure, it says, that the great ministers of state, the Princes of the Royal Blood, and the archives, *have been removed*; but, that is not through any fear, but merely as a measure of prudence! Now, what would an Englishman think, if, upon the arrival of a French army at Canterbury, the Princes of the Royal Blood and the archives, were to be removed to Bristol? I fancy he would look upon it as the result of a conviction in the minds of those Princes, that the French would soon be in London.—The hope now seems to be, that Austria will join the Allies. It is possible, to be sure; but, not at all likely. The hatred of this power towards Prussia, whom it always remembers as the first formidable assailant of the House, is far greater than its hatred of France. Perhaps the Emperor of Austria is bargaining for his assistance; but, in any case, I think, the French are likely to reduce Russia to such terms as they may dictate; and I think so, because I see no opposition to them on the part of the people. If France were invaded, does any one imagine, that they would be as quiet as the Germans and the Prussians now are,

and as the Russians were last year? When we talk of a *people* rising, we always seem to have in our memory the rising of the French people. We remember how they rose to meet their invaders, and we seem always to have that fact in our minds. But, if we were to consider the wide difference in the character of the people, and in the circumstances, we should not reason in the way we do.—It has been remarked by our sagacious news-writers, that Buonaparté does not get on as he used to do. I really do not know what they mean. He beats the enemy, and drives him before him. What want they more? He cannot win battles oftener than the enemy will meet him.—There is one thing that I have often thought of noticing, namely, the great change in the language of our newspapers as to the *Crown Prince of Sweden*, formerly *Marshal Bernadotte*, Prince of Ponte Corvo, and who now signs himself, CHARLES JEAN.—The Morning Post of the 6th or 7th of September, 1810, when the Prince of Ponte Corvo had just been elevated to his present rank, called him "this infamous satellite of the common tyrant of the Continent;" and asked, "is it possible, that the once noble and proudly independent Swedes will permit so base and unprincipled an upstart to ascend the throne?" It, in the same article, called the Prince "a miscreant." In the Courier news-paper of the 29th of September, the present King of Sweden was called "a criminal, a silly man, an usurper, a puppet;" and in the Morning Post of the 12th of October, he was called "a traitorous King."—At the time (See Vol. xviii. p. 631), I reproved these writers for their language towards these distinguished persons; and, I have the pleasure to see, that they have, at last, completely changed their tone. They now not only approve of the conduct of CHARLES JEAN; they now not only call him the *Crown Prince of Sweden*; but, they seem to build their chief hope upon his particular exertions. They seem to look up to him as the real bona fide deliverer of Europe! "Hang them jakes," says Cassia, when he is told that the girls of the town shed tears at Cæsar's fainting, "they would have done no less if Cæsar had murdered their mothers."—Is it not astonishing that these writers are not ashamed to look each other in the face!—Well, but, after all, here is a Frenchman, and one of Buonaparté's generals too, become Crown Prince of Swe-

den; and, what is more, acknowledged by us in that capacity, and fighting, or is to fight, as we are told, by the side of our allies! After this, let no one pretend, that we ought to make scruples about acknowledging the legitimacy of titles. If we have got over this, I do hope, that it will not be pretended, that, in other cases, possession does not give right. —For my part, I was always for acknowledging the Crown Prince. The Swedes chose him. They wanted such a man. They wanted a gallant and wise man; and we have now discovered him to be both. I was right, then, when I reproved these hired gentry for treating him so scurvily; and, who knows, that my praises of him may not have assisted in bringing him over to our side?—It was right that the people of Sweden should choose a successor to the throne. Bernadotte was a proper man for them; aye, and *we now acknowledge it too!*—But, mark me, hirelings! Stand to your word. I will not let you slide back again. Whatever the “Crown Prince” does, or leaves undone, you shall not deny that he is Crown Prince of Sweden. You shall not call him “an *old serjeant*” again. You shall not cover him with vile names. You shall still speak of him with respect, as of *Royal* rank. Remember this now. Mind, I make this stipulation before-hand. I will have no back-slidings. Crown Prince of Sweden you now call him, and Crown Prince of Sweden he shall be. —Having swallowed this, gentlemen, why may I not expect that you will now call Napoleon Emperor of France and King of Italy, Mr. Murat King of Naples, Joseph King of Spain, and Jerome King of Westphalia? *Ce n’est que le premier pas qui conte.* Having taken one step, and so decided a step too, what is to stop you in your progress? Did I not caution you against your abuse of Ponté Corvo? Did I not tell you, that you would have to swallow your words? And, you! You have the impudence to boast that Pitt stifled the revolution of France, in the very same number of your paper where you acknowledge as heir to the Crown of Sweden, and boast of as an ally, one of the *obscure individuals, who arose out of that revolution!*—Farewel, for the present; but, take care that you all speak respectfully of the Frenchman who is now become “Crown Prince of Sweden;” take care to speak as becomes you of our friend, the deliverer of Europe, the renowned CHARLES JEAN.

WM. COBBETT.

UNITARIANS.

The writer of the Letter addressed to Mr. Cobbett in the Freethinking Christian's Magazine, is not a little surprised at the strange and unaccountable reason assigned for not inserting his Letter in the Register—because, forsooth, his letter is *Anonymous*;—and thus, says Mr. Cobbett, “while he takes all the chances of victory, and reserves to himself the power of openly claiming it, he ensures himself against all the consequences of defeat.” He would be glad to know what chance of victory he gains, either by concealing his own name, or by the knowledge of Mr. Cobbett's? He does not profess to have the discerning faculties of Mr. C., and that may be the reason why he cannot see how the argument turns upon the knowledge of his *own name*. But this *name*, it seems, according to the logic of the Register, is material to the discussion;—and not only his *name* but “his *place of abode*,”—perhaps the *place of his birth* may be equally essential, his parentage, &c. If so, Mr. Cobbett may be able to get the necessary information by searching the Baptismal Registry of St. Bride's, London; indeed the writer has no objection to furnish Mr. C. with a succinct history of his *life*, if he can only be given to understand how any such knowledge is connected with the merits of the question in dispute. But as there can be no reason why the writer should refuse giving either his *name* or *place of abode*, (except that it is utterly unnecessary), he will even comply with Mr. Cobbett's idle request; before which, however, he begs to know what is meant by “the consequences of defeat,” from which the concealment of his name ensures him? Is it intended to summon him from his peaceable habitation in an affair of honour?—Must he expect a caning from Mr. Cobbett, for having been so very ungentlemanly as to speak what he thinks concerning him? Or is it merely the disgrace of being vanquished by so doughty a theologist as the author of the Political Register? If so the Freethinking Christian informs Mr. C. that he contends for truth, and not for triumph, and that victory or defeat are equally indifferent to him;—he only wishes to see truth upheld, and error trampled in the dust.

And now the writer will give his “*real name*,” and “*place of abode*,”—real name, Wm. Coates; place of abode, Timber-yard, in the Hackney and Kingsland-roads, near Shoreditch Church, where, unless Mr. C. comes with any evil design, W. C. will be at home to him at any time.

And now, in reply to Mr. Cobbett's question, "Are the Old and New Testaments '*the word of God*'?" W. C. can answer for himself, and he thinks he can for '*Tranquillus*,' that it is their opinion *they are not*, and that for this simple reason, because they do not assume to be such. The Old and New Testaments are a miscellaneous collection of ancient writings, comprising History, Poetry, Prophecies, Moral Maxims, Letters, &c., which have been by the industry of subsequent ages collected together into one Book, known by the name of the BIBLE, or THE BOOK, which is the meaning of the term. Now to comprise all these multifarious compositions under one title, which shall be expressive of their several contents, is what cannot so easily be done. To call them '*the word of God*,' is ridiculous in the extreme, for a great part of them are evidently the word of man, and do not pretend to be any thing else. The historical books of the Bible may be considered as a history of a revelation, (or of *the word of God*, if you please), which was given to man; other parts of this book are evidence of the truth of such revelation, and the Epistles of the New Testament, generally speaking, arose out of the abuse of this revelation, and were written to correct errors and disorders that had crept into the Christian Churches.

In this view of the subject it will follow, that the truth of revelation, the fact of its having been given, must originally have stood perfectly independent of the book called The Bible, though to us of these latter times it is the best remaining evidence that can be adduced in support of revealed religion. Now, then, this book must necessarily have been exposed to the same chances of obscurity and corruption as any other book written in such distant times; and as in the ancient classics, critics sometimes find it necessary to collate and compare the different copies and editions of the same work, so such a necessity may exist with regard to some parts of the Scriptures, without any impeachment of their general veracity. Mind, it is not said or even insinuated, that such critical investigation is necessary to understand CHRISTIANITY, its doctrines and principles appearing too obvious from the general tenor of the Scriptures, even in their corrupt state, to require it.

But even if men could be ridiculous enough to believe that the Bible is, or rather was, the '*word of God*,' it would not follow, that it should on that account

escape the possibility of corruption; nor would its corruptions militate against its pristine truth. The *Revelation of God* has been corrupted. Paul, in several parts of his writings, foretold it would be corrupted, and where is the reason, where the discernment, in saying, we must believe the whole corrupt as it is, or none of it?

As to the writers of the Scriptures being *inspired*, that also is what they do not pretend to, at least as *writers*; it was utterly unnecessary that they should have been, in a variety of instances; the prophetic writings are an exception to this observation. The men appointed by God to establish pure religion in the world were inspired, but when they wrote the history of these things there is every reason for believing they did not write under divine inspiration. And even if this were admitted to have been the case, it would not have secured their inspired writings from mutilation and corruption, unless all the transcribers, and all the translators, and all the printers of those writings, were equally inspired, unless also men were very different from what they ever have been.

It may be well here to observe, that neither the revelations of Moses, or of Jesus, are revelations *to us*, they were only such to the persons to whom they were given, they were communicated in an extraordinary way, they were confirmed by miracles, they were fully established in the world, and from those who first received their truths and their principles they have been handed down to us. Nor does it appear that the writers of the New Testament intended their writings as the means of perpetuating Christianity, though they have since, in the ways of Providence, become so. Their design was to write principles and truths, not in books, but in men's hearts, that to future ages might be made known through the church the manifold goodness of God. If any one should be weak enough, in the way of objection, to ask why the Deity, who had revealed himself to man, did not guard this revelation from the possibility of corruption; it may be answered, that many good reasons might be given; but, perhaps, the shortest, and the fairest way of replying to the question would be by asking, why the Deity has not secluded evil and error altogether from his creation?

W. C. has thrown out these hints that Mr. Cobbett may not fight in the dark, and of which he can avail himself if he pleases. As to the observation, that the

author of the letter has no authority but his own assertion for denying the authenticity of the chapters in Matthew and Luke, he can only say, if Mr. Cobbett pleases, he will give such authority, and such argument in support of his assertion, as neither he nor any man living will be able to invalidate; but this would be only doing what has already been done before him, and that in a much better manner than he could pretend to.

Hackney Road, June 8, 1813,

To W. Cobbett.

PASTORAL ADDRESS.

The Roman Catholic Prelates, assembled in Dublin, to the Clergy and Laity of the Roman Catholic Churches in Ireland.

Reverend Brothers—Beloved Children—Peace be with you—Solicitude for the Spiritual Interest of our Beloved Flocks, obliges us once more to suspend the exercise of our other Pastoral Duties, in order to deliberate, in common, upon the present posture of our religious concerns.—We hasten to declare to you, the lively feelings of gratitude excited in our breasts by the gracious condescension of the Legislature in taking into its favourable consideration the disabilities which still affect the Catholic Body. With these feelings deeply and indelibly impressed upon our hearts, it is with the utmost distress of mind that we are compelled, by a sense of duty, to dissent (in some points connected with our Emancipation) from the opinions of those virtuous and enlightened Statesmen, who have so long and so ably advocated the cause of Catholic Freedom.—Probably from a want of sufficient information, but unquestionably from the most upright motives, they have proposed to the Legislature the adoption of certain arrangements respecting our Ecclesiastical discipline, and particularly respecting the exercise of Episcopal Functions, to which it would be impossible for us to assent, without incurring the guilt of Schism—inasmuch as they might, if carried into effect, invade the spiritual jurisdiction of our Supreme Pastor, and alter an important point of our discipline, for which alteration his concurrence would, upon Catholic principles, be indispensably necessary.—When the quarter is considered from whence the clauses have proceeded, it might perhaps be imagined, were we to continue silent, that they had our unqualified approbation, on this account we deem

it a duty which we owe to you, to our country, and to God, to declare in the most public manner, “that they have not, “and that in their present shape they never “can, have our concurrence.” As, however, we have, upon all occasions, inculcated the duty of loyalty to our Most Gracious Sovereign (the securing whereof, is the professed object of the proposed Ecclesiastical Arrangements), so we would be always desirous to give you the most convincing proofs, that we are ready, in the most exemplary manner, to practise it ourselves. We have sworn to preserve inviolate the Allegiance which every subject owes to his Sovereign—we are not accused of having violated our oaths.—Should any other Oath, not adverse to our religious principles, be yet devised, which could remove even the unfounded apprehensions of any part of our countrymen, we would willingly take it. We owe it to our God, to be free from disloyalty. We owe it to our Countrymen, to endeavour, at least, to be free from suspicion.—Upon these grounds, Reverend Brothers, Beloved Children, we announce to you the following Resolutions, which, after invoking the light and assistance of God, we have unanimously adopted, viz.—1. That, having seriously examined a Copy of the Bill, lately brought into Parliament, purporting to provide for the removal of the Civil and Military Disqualifications under which his Majesty’s Roman Catholic subjects labour, we feel ourselves bound to declare, that certain Ecclesiastical clauses or securities therein contained, are utterly incompatible with the discipline of the Roman Catholic Church, and with the free exercise of our religion.—2. That we cannot, without incurring the heavy guilt of Schism, accede to such regulations; nor can we dissemble our dismay and consternation at the consequences, which such regulations, if enforced, must necessarily produce.—3. That we would, with the utmost willingness, swear (should the Legislature require us so to do) “That we never will concur in the appointment or consecration of any Bishop, whom we do not conscientiously believe to be of unimpeachable loyalty and peaceable conduct.” And further, “that we have not, and that we will not have, any correspondence or communication with the Chief Pastor of our Church, or with any person authorized to act in his name, for the purpose of overthrowing or disturbing the Protestant Government, or the Protestant Church of Great Britain and Ireland, or

the Protestant Church of Scotland, as by law established."—Reverend Brothers—Beloved Children—the Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the Communion of the Holy Ghost, be with you all—Amen.

(Signed) Dublin, May 26, 1813.

[Here follow the signatures.]

OFFICIAL PAPERS.

LONDON GAZETTE.

Colonial Department.—*Downing-street,*
June 2.

Sir George Prevost, in a dispatch dated Niagara, Feb. 27, 1813, acquaints Lord Bathurst, that on the 21st of February he arrived at Prescott, within a mile of the enemy, posted at Ogdensburg, who had availed themselves of the frozen state of the St. Lawrence, in that neighbourhood, to carry on repeated nocturnal enterprises against posts of communication which were occupied by the Militia, and to commit frequent depredations upon the persons and property of His Majesty's subjects, carefully selecting objects beyond the immediate support and protection of a regular military force.—In order to put a stop to these depredations, Sir George deemed it necessary to dislodge the enemy from his position at Ogdensburg, which was effected in a very spirited manner, by a detachment under the command of Major Macdonnell, of the Glengarry light infantry fencibles, whose report Sir G. encloses.—Sir George praises the gallant conduct of Capt. Jenkins, of the Glengarry Fencibles, and Lieut. Impey, of the Dundas Militia, the former of whom lost an arm, and the latter a leg. Sir G. warmly recommends them both for promotion.

Prescott, Feb. 22.

Sir,—I have the honour to acquaint you, for the information of his Excellency the Commander of the Forces, that, in consequence of the commands of his Excellency to retaliate, under favourable circumstances, upon the enemy, for his late wanton aggressions on this frontier, I, this morning, about seven o'clock, crossed the river St. Lawrence upon the ice, and attacked and carried, after a little more than an hour's action, his position in and near the opposite town of Ogdensburg, taking eleven pieces of cannon, and all his ordnance, marine, commissariat, and Quartermaster-General's stores, four officers, and seventy prisoners, and burning two armed schooners and two

large gun-boats, and both his barracks. My force consisted of about 430 regulars and militia, and was divided into two columns; the right commanded by Capt. Jenkins, of the Glengarry light infantry fencibles, was composed of his own flank company, and about 70 militia; and from the state of the ice, and the enemy's position in the Old French Fort, was directed to check his left, and interrupt his retreat, whilst I moved on with the left column, consisting of about 120 of the King's regiment, 40 of the Royal Newfoundland corps, and about 200 militia, towards his position in the town, where he had posted his heavy artillery. The depth of the snow, in some degree, retarded the advance of both columns, and exposed them, particularly the right, to a heavy cross fire from the batteries of the enemy, for a longer period than I had expected, but pushing on rapidly after the batteries began to open on us, the left column soon gained the right bank of the river, under the direct fire of his artillery and line of musketry, posted on an eminence near the shore; moving on rapidly, my advance, consisting of the detachment of the Royal Newfoundland and some select militia, I turned his right with the detachment of the King's regiment, and after a few discharges from his artillery, took them with the bayonet, and drove his infantry through the town; some escaping across the Black River into the fort, but the majority fled to the woods, or sought refuge in the houses, from whence they kept such a galling fire, that it was necessary to dislodge them with our field-pieces, which now came up from the bank of the river, where they had stuck on landing, in the deep snow.—Having gained the high ground on the brink of the Black river opposite the fort, I prepared to carry it by storm; but the men being quite exhausted, I procured time for them to recover breath, by sending in a summons, requiring an unconditional surrender. During these transactions, Capt. Jenkins had gallantly led on his column, and had been exposed to a heavy fire of seven guns, which he bravely attempted to take with the bayonet, though covered with two hundred of the enemy's best troops: advancing as rapidly as the deep snow, and the exhausted state (in consequence) of his men would admit, he ordered a charge, and had not proceeded many paces, when his left arm was broken to pieces by a grape shot; but still undauntedly running on with his men, he almost immediately afterwards was de-

prived of the use of his right arm by a discharge of case shot: still heroically disregarding all personal consideration, he nobly ran on cheering his men, to the assault, till exhausted by pain and loss of blood, he became unable to move; his company gallantly continued the charge under Lieut. M'Auley, but the reserve of militia not being able to keep up with them, they were compelled, by the great superiority of the enemy, to give way, leaving a few on a commanding position, and a few of the most advanced, in the enemy's possession, nearly about the time that I gained the height above-mentioned. The enemy hesitating to surrender, I instantly carried his eastern battery, and by it silenced another which now opened again, and ordering on the advance, the detachment of the King's and the Highland company of Militia, under Captain Eustace, of the King's regiment, he gallantly rushed into the fort; but the enemy retreating by the opposite entrance, escaped into the woods, which I should effectually have prevented, if my Indian warriors had returned sooner from a detached service on which they had that morning been employed.—I cannot close this statement without expressing my admiration of the gallantry and self-devotion of Capt. Jenkins, who has lost one arm, and is in danger of losing the other. I must also report the intrepidity of Capt. Lefevre, of the Newfoundland regiment, who had the immediate charge of the militia under Col. Fraser, of Capt. Eustace, and the other officers of the King's regiment, and particularly of Lieut. Ridge of that corps, who very gallantly led on the advance, and of Lieut. M'Auley and Ensign M'Donnell, of the Glengarry regiment, as also Lieut. Ganguchen, of the royal engineers, and of Ensign M'Kay, of the Glengarry light infantry, and of Ensign Kerr, of the militia, each of whom had charge of a field piece, and of Lieut. Impey, of the militia, who has lost a leg. I was also well supported by Col. Fraser and the other officers and men of the militia, who emulated the conspicuous bravery of all the troops of the line. I enclose a list of the killed and wounded. The enemy had 500 men under arms, and must have sustained a considerable loss.—I have the honour to be, &c.

G. MACDONNELL,

Major, Glengarry Light Infantry,
Lieut.-Col. Commanding in the
Eastern District of Upper Canada.

(True Copy.) NOAH FREER, Mil. Sec.

*Return of the Killed and Wounded in the
Action of Feb. 22.*

Total Loss—1 serjeant, 7 rank and file, killed; 1 field-officer, 2 captains, 5 subalterns, 3 serjeants, 40 rank and file wounded.

Names of Officers wounded.

8th (or King's) Regiments—Ensign Powell, Glengarry Regiments—Lieut.-Col. M'Donnell, Capt. Jenkins, and Ensign M'Kay, Militia—Capt. M'Donnell, and Lieutenants Impey, M'Lean, and M'Dermid.

FRENCH PAPERS.

(Continued from page 832.)

tion of General Sorbier, keep our artillery well provided.—We have received intelligence from Glogau, Custrin, and Stettin. All those places are in good condition.—This recital of the battle of Wurthen can only be considered as a sketch. The General Etat Major will collect the reports, which will make known such officers, soldiers, and corps, as have distinguished themselves.—In the small combat of the 22d, at Reitenbach, we ascertained that our young cavalry is superior to that of the enemy, in equal numbers.—We could not take any colours, as the enemy always carries them off the field of battle. We have only taken 19 cannon, the enemy having blown up his parks and caissons; and, besides, the Emperor keeps his cavalry in reserve, until it is of sufficient numbers: he wishes to spare it.—(Moniteur, May 30.)

*Conversation between Buonaparté and the
Austrian Ambassador.*

Buonaparté, after complaining of the want of assistance on the part of Austria, in his designs upon Russia; in the late campaign, says, in answer to an observation of Bubna, that he had destroyed the influence of Austria over the Germanic body.

"I am satisfied with allowing Germany to have a strong organization, and I am not disinclined to extend the advantage thereof to Austria. That was a part of my object when I began the war against Russia. I wished, after having driven the Russians northward, to enlarge the Austrian frontiers, and strengthen them by mountains and rivers. Austria may, however, still enjoy the fruit of my good will, if she will help me to regain those positions which I possessed before the last campaign. This

assistance is due to me as well for her own advantage as from gratitude. In reality, what has she to fear from me? Have not I guaranteed the integrity of her Polish possessions?"

Bubna.—"Sire, you cannot blame my Sovereign for employing his present ascendancy to recover his ancient possessions?"

Buonaparté.—"Ascendancy! That, then, is your secret thought. Do you believe that you preponderate as you naturally should do? Well, I will annihilate that ascendancy, should it cost me my last dollar. M. Bubna, I am not yet down; I am still able to make those shed bitter tears who have ventured to threaten me, because I have been unfortunate. M. Bubna, the sun of Wagram is not yet obscured. My genius and the bravery of my troops can yet make memorable days dawn upon me. And, finally, what does your Cabinet want? What does your Sovereign desire? Have not I done every thing to tranquillize him as well with respect to policy as to our family union? You know I have taken a step with regard to the Pope, which had no other object but to calm the scruples of my father-in-law. I have not yet, however, made this step the origin of all the consequences which I intend to derive from it. But pressed as I am on all sides by my enemies; receiving from my allies none of the assistance they owe me; treated in the same manner by your Court, from which I had a right to expect a very different conduct, I am under the necessity at present of thinking only of the defence of my States. I shall surround the Empress with new splendour. I shall render her independent of events, and shall assure to her the Empire during my absence, or after my death. Yet, this is not satisfactory; this benefit is rejected, and far from assisting me, I have been insulted by demands irreconcilable with my honour. I have sacrificed to you the crowned Empress Queen, the woman who, next to the present Empress, was the nearest to my heart. I wait only for the coronation of the present, in order that she may take her title. What can I do more? We live no longer in the times when troublesome Queens might be strangled. Doubtless, it is not desired, that I should make them all vanish? The thought shocks me, when state policy requires such actions; but the necessity has not yet been demonstrated to me. Since I have united myself with your master's dynasty, I have wished to animate it with new vigour. I have, in amalgamating it with the new order of

things in Europe, wished to provide against its being swallowed up thereby. Well, then, it appears my views are not understood. I am dealt with deceitfully, while the greatest frankness is shewn in my conduct. You increase my troubles, while I have only in view the welfare of Austria. This situation of affairs must end in a crisis. This convulsion I cannot endure, and woe to you and to your Austrian Master when this explosion breaks forth against you!"

Bubna.—"Sire, we have, in the mean time, shewn that menaces do not frighten us. The explosion of which your Majesty speaks, cannot be directed against us."

Buonaparté.—"Ha! you defy me; you utter in my presence, against the Emperor of the French, words which could scarcely be allowed towards an abortion of the Rhenish Confederacy! Rovigo, do your duty."

Rovigo immediately stepped forward to Count Von Bubna to disarm him; but the latter stepped quickly back a few paces, and laid his hand on his sword to be ready to defend himself. Rovigo, by a wink of the eye, inquired the pleasure of his Master, who, now more calm, signified to him, by a similar signal, not to proceed farther.

Buonaparté.—"M. Bubna," said he, "I am passionate; I possess all the pride of the Sovereign of a great and brave nation. I have a lively feeling of insults, and in what you said there appeared something offensive. However, though you may forget yourself, I will not forget what is due to the character with which a Sovereign, who is my relative and ally, has clothed you."

Bubna.—"Sire, my Sovereign will perceive in my language only the expression of what is due to himself."

Buonaparté.—"Do you know, M. Bubna, that to-morrow I can make peace with Russia, if I re-establish Prussia, and even enlarge her? If I place a Russian Prince on the throne? What in reality have I to fear from Russia? She is too distant from my States for me to fear her as a power: and what would become of Austria, were I to permit Russia to extend herself towards the Danube? Let me hear what you have to say on this point."

Bubna.—"Either that your Majesty does not know your own situation, or that you are pleased to give me a view of it which you have not yourself."

Buonaparté.—"You then believe me to be in a very critical state (here he turned about to the Duke of Bassano). You see what this senseless babbler must ever be

(such are the delicate expressions which his Majesty uses). You know not my strength, my resources; and because I have found it necessary to fall back to my old positions, you begin already to think that my throne totters. In consequence of such hopes, which have not the slightest foundation in probability, you slumber in the midst of danger, and are blind to my power."

Buonaparté then accuses Bubna of acting like a spy in France, and goes on to say—

"I would have been in Petersburg had it not been for the unseasonable cold which my army had to sustain. I was, however, overcome by the elements only. The weather deranged all my calculations; every thing else has, however, happened just as I foresaw it. If your Emperor had supported me, he would have saved me much blood and many tears. If your Master will sincerely unite with me, we still can restore tranquillity to the world, and realize the project of a general peace, which is the object of all my meditations, the end of all my efforts! It is supposed that I love war—that is a mistake. The evil which it produces makes my heart bleed. Before the commencement of a campaign I have always offered peace, and have always again bestowed it upon my vanquished enemies. In a week I shall have 300,000 men. I will go to Magdeburgh. Your Emperor may on his part give me his hand at Erfurt, make a flank movement with two hundred thousand men, and assist me in delivering the North of Europe from the Barbarians that ravage it. We must unite the chain of civilization. Should he deny me his assistance, I will perform the great work without him. It will of course cost me more time, and I shall have to sacrifice more men, which will wring my heart—but this time I will put the old Dynasties out of condition to give me farther uneasiness. I have been too long indulgent with them. I have replaced them when I had cast them down. There must be an end of that. Your Master must either be my enemy or my confederate."

Bubna.—"Well, Sir—

Buonaparté.—"Ah! I understand you, Mr. Ambassador; you unroll your flag, and shew us war with all its horrors. Well, you shall have war."

Bubna.—"Sir, we fear it not. I shall write, then, to my Court, to prepare for it. [Napoleon cast a look of astonishment, and after some moments of profound silence proceeded].

Buonaparté.—"No! Humanity has suf-

fered enough; I wish for peace; I wish for it sincerely. It depends on your Court to give it to Europe. Let only my enemies cease to rely on your neutrality, or your co-operation. Let not your Court permit English emissaries to sow divisions on the Continent. Lord Walpole—his presence in the states of a Sovereign, who is my father-in-law and ally—is a scandal which astonishes all Europe—which France reluctantly sees. That Lord Walpole must be publicly dismissed. The Empress participates in my sentiments. Go to her, she expects you—then write to your Court."

PRUSSIA.

Berlin, May 18.—Authentic statement of the movements of the corps of General Von Bulow, of the 17th May:—

"According to certain intelligence received, the corps of Lieutenant-General Von Bulow, which by the enemy's manœuvres from Torgau had been forced to make a retrograde movement, is again going to act on the offensive, and will, with its full force, protect the line of defence which extends down to Magdeburg, and protect Berlin.—The Russian corps of observation, under General Count Woronzow, still continues in its strong entrenchments before Magdeburg and Kupsul, the communication with General Bulow. Under these circumstances there can be little cause of fear for the capital, and more especially as his Royal Highness the Crown Prince has landed at Stralsund, and will, jointly with the other Swedish corps which had previously landed, and are already in part arrived at the Lower Elbe, operate strongly against the enemy."

Last Saturday the following publication was posted up here:—

"The theatre of war on which the grand armies are combating being removed further off from Berlin, yet the local situation of this metropolis being near the river, the passages of which are in part in the enemy's hands, prudence renders it necessary, although there is no immediate danger, to remove such articles, the transport of which, at a moment of less tranquillity, would be attended with difficulty, and require means and strength which might then be employed to better purpose.—The police cannot, therefore, form any disquieting ideas from this fundamental measure, which merely arises from the local situation of Berlin.—Lieutenant-General Von Bu-

low is in readiness with a sufficient force to cover Berlin, and even in the case of his being constrained by a superior force to commence a retreat towards Berlin: yet he will receive continual reinforcements from the troops collected, and find a line of defence, which the enemy will not pass; and what above all must appear dreadful, and be destructive to the enemy, is the courage of each Brandenburger, who, true to his King, enthusiastically devoted to his country, appears as the defender of his wife, his children, his home, and every thing dear to him, against foreign oppression. On this courage, in case of danger appearing, the King relies, and on it we place equal reliance; the enemy dreads it. Every fear, with such means of protection, is therefore unnecessary.—If the servants of the State, and those of the higher class, whose circle of action extends through the whole monarchy, have absented themselves, this is done by the express command of his Majesty, and proceeds from the very natural cause of preventing any interruption to the course of business.—Weak-minded persons, who, without having received any orders for so doing, have nevertheless privately absented themselves, contrary to the law, may nevertheless take themselves away, their impatience might only be productive of harm in moments where activity of performance is requisite. They are to be deplored.—We shall neglect no prudential means which require time for preparation; but, on the other hand, expect from the good sense of the public that it will not from hence draw a proof of the public affairs being in any worse situation, or consider that any danger threatens this metropolis.

“Royal appointed Majesty's Governors for the Country between the Elbe and the Oder.

(Signed) “L'ESTOCQ.

“SACK.

“Berlin, May 14.”

PROCLAMATION.

By the raising of the Landsturm throughout the whole of the Prussian States, all able-bodied citizens are to consider themselves as soldiers. No one, therefore, without the permission of his Commandant, is to move from the district to which he belongs.—Though the Princesses of the blood remove from Berlin for the present, and though some of the chief Officers of the State are going to the right bank of the Oder, towards which the pub-

lic chests and archives have also received a direction; yet no considerate man will feel alarm on that account, when he reflects that prudence requires that such measures should not be delayed to the last moment of necessity, but conducted in tranquillity and order; and when they recollect that Berlin is only 6 (German) miles from the frontier, and 11 from the Elbe. In the mean time there is very little to fear for Berlin. The Elbe is covered with our troops, and the enemy has already felt the valour and the vigour of our native population. The retreating movement of our victorious army, is only for the purpose of receiving its reinforcements and supplies with the greater facility. Already are the militia of all the provinces in motion, not only to defend the frontiers, but to relieve and render disposable the regular troops before the fortresses.—But our main strength lies in the whole population, whose whole power has been united by the levy-en-masse. What can the enemy attempt against a million of able-bodied men, who have their homes, their wives, and their children to defend? Will not every man, even though at the danger of his life, grapple with the thief who breaks into his house? and shall not we Prussians march to repel the irruption of an enemy, who threatens us with the loss of every thing, and who would rob us of our King, our property, our independence, and our honour? With union, with mutual confidence and valour, it is impossible that a whole people can be subjugated. The nearer the danger approaches, the higher should our courage ascend, and with it a determination to hasten to the assistance of our brethren, who may be first attacked.

—Such is the spirit which ought to mark the whole of the levy-en-masse, and which we trust will be found to distinguish the male population of our Government. True to God and their brethren, they will perform their duty even unto death, and prefer freedom and honour to an ignominious life.

(Signed) COUNT TAUENZIEN,
BEYMR.

Stargard, May 18, 1813.

Civil and Military Governors of the Country between the Oder and the Vistula.

HELIGOLAND MAIL.

Heligoland, June 5.

I am, thank God! arrived here, after

many perils, having with difficulty made my escape from Hamburg to ———, where I imagined myself secure, but the Danish authorities caused me to be arrested and thrown into prison, where I remained several days, closely confined.—— We have an account here of a great victory having been obtained over Victor's corps near Berlin, by the combined Swedes and Prussians: it was nearly annihilated. Buonaparte had dispatched it to take possession of Berlin.——We hear also that General Tettenborn, with the Hanseatic Legion and the Cossacks, has gained a signal advantage over the enemy near Bergedorff.——Hamburg¹ was betrayed by the Danes after repeated promises of protection—they sent over their boats to carry the French army over the Elbe. The Russians, Swedes, and Prussians having left it, it was obliged to surrender on the 31st—but it was expected to be free again in a few days. A battle with the Danes was also expected this week.——In revenge of Count Bernstorff's return, the Danish Authorities ordered all travellers coming from England to be made prisoners.——I enclose you a very interesting document, the Proclamation of M. Von Hesse, General of the Hamburg Militia."——We give the above letter as we received it from a Gentleman with whom we are acquainted. We trust the intelligence will be confirmed. In his dispatch, dated on the evening of the 18th ult. Buonaparte said that Victor, Sebastiani, and Regnier were marching upon Berlin.——In a subsequent dispatch, dated on the 23d, we find that Victor and Regnier were in the late great battles; but no mention is made of Sebastiani. If the report, therefore, be correct, it must have been his corps that has been defeated.

East Order of the Day of the Hamburg Burgher Guard.

"When two months ago the fairest prospects led us to the greatest exertions, it appeared the period for relieving the inhabitants of Hamburg from an irresistible tyranny.——Almost without arms and unprepared, they offered to the cities of Germany the most noble example of unwearied perseverance in the severest duty, of the most determined courage in the defence of their borders.——The blood of our fellow-citizens has not been shed ingloriously for the common cause of our German countrymen, and for the independence of our beloved native city.——When the enemy

continued to advance, and at length after having obtained possession of Wilhelmsburg, was enabled at any moment to take the city by assault, we may attribute it to the active co-operation of our fellow-citizens that the troops of His Majesty the Emperor of Russia did not give way to superior force.——The event of the war now calls the Russian army to more decisive successes.——A dark concatenation of impenetrable misunderstandings compels the sons of the North, who were destined to our assistance, to witness our fate, if not with indifference, at least without doing any thing to avert it.——Thus is the city of Hamburg surrounded by enemies thrown back upon her own efforts.——Called upon by the request of my fellow-citizens, and by the determination of the Senate, I stand at the head of the Burgher guard. I quit the repose of my former life, because I thought to be of use in a moment of desponding hope to a city in whose happiness my own was so closely interwoven.——Had I followed the dictates of personal feeling, I should have preferred death with my brethren to return to this embittered repose.——But with the faint dawn which still opens to the future, I dare not wantonly expose the lives of those invaluable men who are intrusted to my care. While, therefore, with the deepest emotion, I absolve you from the duties you have assumed, I have only to require of you to reserve for other times a lively feeling of hatred towards the despotism which again threatens our desolated city, and to remove your persons to the most suitable places to await the moment, now at no great distance, which shall destroy the delusion of tyranny, that the citizens of Hamburg may be the first to rouse, and return with honour to their restored country. VON HESSE."

Extract of another Letter from Heligoland, dated June 5.

"A respectable merchant who arrived here this morning from Hamburg, accompanied by a merchant of that city, states, that they left Hamburg on Wednesday morning; there were then 5,000 French troops in the town, under the command of Marshal Davoust and Gen. Vandamme; that these troops were mostly wretched looking soldiers, consisting of douaniers, gens d'armes, mariners, and national guards; that although the Danes were supposed to have allied themselves with them, the French seemed much alarmed, and bivouacked outside the gates

of the town at night, not trusting to the inhabitants nor to the Danes, who openly declared, that they would not fight for the French but against them.—It was reported and credited on Wednesday, that a corps of 20,000 men, under the Duke of Belluno, which had been detached from the Grand Army, had been cut off by the Allies, supported by the levy en masse, on the 27th ult. and completely routed.—Letters from Berlin, on the 29th ult. are very satisfactory, and such was the confidence entertained there of the success of the Allies, that orders were sent for large supplies of colonial produce and manufactured goods.”—We subjoin the contents of the *Hamburgh Paper* of the 1st. It mentions the entrance of Davoust and Vaudamme on the preceding day, of their having reviewed 35 battalions of troops, and of their first measure having been to order all papers or libels, as they are called, published since the 24th February, to be delivered up, and every stranger to make his appearance at the Police Office, to receive permission to remain in the city. Not the least mention is made of the Danes.

—Hamburgh is not more than 150 or 160 miles from Dresden, and intelligence from the armies might easily reach in three days. As there is none in the *Hamburgh Papers*, we infer that nothing of importance, at least not favourable to the enemy, had occurred between the 23d and 28th of last month.

Hamburgh, May 30.

Yesterday we heard a brisk fire from the side of Rollenspecker: we soon knew that the French had forced all the passes, and were pursuing the enemy in the direction of Boitzenburg. Towards evening we saw several battalions enter, which occupied the public squares and most important posts.—*Journal du Departement des Bouches de l'Elbe, June 1.*

May 31.

A moment has not this day passed without our seeing fresh French troops enter our walls.—At four in the afternoon their Excellencies Marshal Prince Eckmuhl, Governor, and Lieutenant-General Vandamme, reviewed 35 battalions of French infantry.—The inhabitants have not recovered from their astonishment. It would be difficult to determine which surprised

them the most, the fine appearance of these troops or their number. There was in effect a great difference between what they saw and what was related to them, and the physical and numerical weakness of the French battalions.—We will immediately give some details respecting the manners, habits, and acts of the adventurers who have just left us. Towns, which like us, have had the misfortune to possess these liberators of nations, know how dearly it costs them.—The Russians had only time to save their persons, and were not happily able to follow their custom of destruction and fire.—We found 150 cannon in the Marine Arsenal and nearly 80 upon the ramparts. All the establishments are in the best state.—The works constructed to make Hamburgh a place d'armes are very considerable. All military men are astonished at them, and now consider Hamburgh as a strong place.—*Same Paper.*

By the decision of his Excellency Marshal Prince Eckmuhl, Governor-General, it is ordered to every inhabitant of Hamburgh, to bring without the least delay to the general direction of Police,—"Every libel, pamphlet, foreign or not authorized gazette, caricatures, portraits, pieces in verse, &c. &c. published or introduced since the 24th Feb. of the current year; every individual who shall delay in submitting to this order, or who shall not entirely fulfil it, by retaining any of the objects, the giving up of which is prescribed, shall be prosecuted with rigour.—The Director General of Police,

"D'AUBIGNON."

(*Same Paper.*)

"In execution of the orders of his Excellency Marshal Prince Eckmuhl—Every stranger residing in Hamburgh is ordered to present himself, within 24 hours, at the general direction of police, for the purpose of legitimatizing himself, and obtaining permission, should there be reason for sojourning:—Every housekeeper, lodger, or tavern-keeper, is forbidden to afford any asylum to a stranger, who has not received permission to remain at Hamburgh.—The old ordinances concerning the movements of travellers are again in vigour. Every breach shall be strictly prosecuted

(*To be continued.*)

TREATY WITH SWEDEN.

To the "Most Thinking People" in the World.

Most thinking People,

Though I, who have had the misfortune not to reside amongst you during a very considerable part of my life, do not, of course, pretend to be so "*thinking*" as the rest of you, or, at least, as the greater part of you, you will, I am sure, excuse me for *thinking* upon the subject of the Treaty with Sweden, and also for expressing my *thoughts* to you thereon.

Before I come to speak to you of this precious document in detail, let me call your recollection up a little as to some historical facts. The war, in which we now are with France, was, in reality, begun in 1793; the interval, called peace, being, in reality, no peace at all. This war was entered into in order to save what was called *regular government*, in Europe, from destruction. The French people, weary of the burdens which they had to bear, and having imbibed the principles of freedom from the writings of Rousseau, Voltaire, and others, having also the example of the United States of America before their eyes, rose upon the government of the Bourbons and destroyed it. The other governments of Europe, taking the alarm at so dangerous an example, combined, for the most part of them, against the French people, who had then formed themselves into a republican people, governed by an Assembly of Deputies of their own choosing. In this league against France, or, as it was termed, the Democracy of France, all the other Powers of Europe entered the field, first or last; and this "*mud democracy*," as it was called, without any King or other Chief, without Nobility, without Clergy, without Old and experienced Officers of any kind, had to contend against England, Sweden, Denmark, Prussia, Russia, Holland, Switzerland, Sardinia, the Empire of Germany, the Dukedoms of Italy, the Pope, Naples and Sicily, Spain, and Portugal. One after another all these Powers made their peace with the Republicans of France,

who, not content with defeating their enemies, extended vastly the dominions of France.

But, during this memorable conflict, the grandest and most interesting that was ever read of by us of this age, the people of France themselves were hurried into numerous acts of folly and cruelty. All the passions were let loose; and, while the love of glory led to conquest in the armies, the base passions were at work at home. So that, at last, it became necessary to contract the focus of power, in order to enable the government to yield protection to the weak against the strong. To one change, in this retrograde way, another succeeded, till, in the end, the man who had shone most in arms, was chosen the sovereign of the country, and was called Emperor of France. He has been at peace with all Europe, *except England*; but, now again, other Powers have raised their heads, and, by the aid of *English money*, are now leagued against him in war.

The fact, however, to be borne in mind, is, that the war originated in the openly-avowed motive of preventing the democratical and disorganizing politics of the French from spreading over the rest of Europe. It was a league of the old governments of Europe for their mutual protection, against insurrections of their several peoples against them. The league did not answer its purpose; for, of the numerous potentates of Europe, there remain, at this hour, but two, that I can think of, whose governments have not been overthrown. Look about you, most Thinking People, and see where are now the Kings of Sweden, Prussia, Naples, Sardinia, Spain, and Portugal; the Stadtholder of Holland, the Emperor of Germany, the Pope, the Electors of Germany, the Swiss Aristocracy, the Doge of Genoa, the Dukes of Modena and Tuscany; see where they all are, most Thinking People, and particularly see where are the old Royal Family of France; and, then consider, that, in this war, you have added *six hundred millions* to a debt, of which you have to pay the interest, whether you now have peace or war.

Having thus refreshed your most Thinking Minds; having called to your recollection, the fact, that this long, and, apparently, endless war, arose out of the alarm of the old governments for the safety of the settled order of things; having reminded you of the time when you were called upon to make a *voluntary* offering of your money in this cause, we will now, if you please, read over this famous treaty together; and, when we have so done, let us give way to that disposition for *deep thinking*, for which the sinecure placeman, Lord Stormont, said we were so remarkable.

TREATY OF CONCERT AND SUBSIDY BETWEEN HIS BRITANNIC MAJESTY AND THE KING OF SWEDEN;—SIGNED AT STOCKHOLM, MARCH 3, 1813.

In the name of the most Holy and Undivided Trinity,

His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and his Majesty the King of Sweden, equally animated with the desire of drawing closer the ties of friendship and good intelligence which so happily subsist between them, and penetrated with the urgent necessity of establishing with each other a close concert for the maintenance of the independence of the North, and in order to accelerate the so much wished for epocha of a general peace, have agreed to provide for this twofold object by the present Treaty. For this purpose they have chosen for their Plenipotentiaries, namely, His Royal Highness the Prince Regent, in the name and on behalf of His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the Honourable Alexander Hope, Major-General of His Majesty's Armies; and Edward Thornton, Esquire, his Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to his Majesty the King of Sweden; and his Majesty the King of Sweden, Lawrence Count d'Engestrom, one of the Lords of the Kingdom of Sweden, Minister of State and for Foreign Affairs, Chancellor of the University of Lund, Knight Commander of the King's Orders, Knight of the Royal Order

of Charles XIII. Great Eagle of the Legion of Honour of France; and Gustavus Baron de Wetterstedt, Chancellor of the Court, Commander of the Order of the Polar Star, one of the Eighteen of the Swedish Academy; who, after having exchanged their respective full powers, found in good and due form, have agreed upon the following articles:—

ARTICLE I.—His Majesty the King of Sweden engages to employ a corps of not less than thirty thousand men, in a direct operation upon the Continent, against the common enemies of the two high contracting parties. This army shall act in concert with the Russian troops placed under the command of his Royal Highness the Prince Royal of Sweden, according to stipulations to this effect already existing between the Courts of Stockholm and St. Petersburg.

II.—The said Courts having communicated to His Britannic Majesty the engagements subsisting between them, and having formally demanded His said Majesty's accession thereto, and his Majesty the King of Sweden having, by the stipulations contained in the preceding article, given a proof of the desire which animates him to contribute also on his part to the success of the common cause; His Britannic Majesty being desirous in return to give an immediate and unequivocal proof of his resolution to join his interests to those of Sweden and Russia, promises and engages by the present Treaty to accede to the conventions already existing between those two powers, inasmuch that His Britannic Majesty will not only not oppose any obstacle to the annexation and union in perpetuity of the Kingdom of Norway, as an integral part, to the Kingdom of Sweden, but also will assist the views of his Majesty the King of Sweden to that effect, either by his good offices, or by employing, if it should be necessary, his naval co-operation in concert with his Swedish or Russian forces. It is nevertheless to be understood, that recourse shall not be had

to force for effecting the union of Norway to Sweden, unless his Majesty the King of Denmark shall have previously refused to join the alliance of the North, upon the conditions stipulated in the engagements subsisting between the Courts of Stockholm and St. Petersburg; and his Majesty the King of Sweden engages, that this union shall take place with every possible regard and consideration for the happiness and liberty of the people of Norway.

III.—In order to give more effect to the engagements contracted by his Majesty the King of Sweden, in the first article of the present Treaty, which have for object direct operations against the common enemies of the two powers, and in order to put his Swedish Majesty in a state to begin without loss of time, and as soon as the season shall permit, the said operations, His Britannic Majesty engages to furnish to his Majesty the King of Sweden (independently of other succours which general circumstances may place at his disposal), for the service of the campaign of the present year, as well as for the equipment, the transport and maintenance of his troops, the sum of one million sterling, payable at London monthly, to the agent who shall be authorized by his Swedish Majesty to receive the same, in such manner as not to exceed the payment of two hundred thousand pounds sterling each month; until the whole shall be paid.

IV.—It is agreed between the two High Contracting Parties, that an advance, of which the amount and the time of payment shall be determined between them, and which is to be deducted from the million before stipulated, shall be made to his Majesty the King of Sweden for the "mise en campagne," and for the first march of the troops; the remainder of the before-mentioned succours are to commence from the day of the landing of the Swedish army, as it is stipulated by the two High Contract-

ing Parties in the first article of the present Treaty.

V.—The two High Contracting Parties being desirous of giving a solid and lasting guarantee to their relations, as well political as commercial, His Britannic Majesty, animated with a desire to give to his ally evident proofs of his sincere friendship, consents to cede to his Majesty the King of Sweden, and to his successors to the Crown of Sweden in the order of succession established by his said Majesty, and the States-General of his kingdom, under date the 26th of September, 1810, the possession of Guadeloupe, in the West Indies, and to transfer to his Swedish Majesty all the rights of His Britannic Majesty over that island, in so far as his said Majesty actually possesses the same. This colony shall be given up to the Commissioners of his Majesty the King of Sweden in the course of the month of August of the present year, or three months after the landing of the Swedish troops on the Continent; the whole to take place according to the conditions agreed upon between the two High Contracting Parties, in the separate article annexed to the present Treaty.

VI.—As a reciprocal consequence of what has been stipulated in the preceding article, his Majesty the King of Sweden engages to grant, for the space of twenty years, to take date from the exchange of the ratifications of the present Treaty, to the subjects of His Britannic Majesty, the right of entrepot in the ports of Gottenburgh, Carlshamn, and Stralsund (whenever this last-mentioned place shall return under the Swedish dominion), for all commodities, productions, or merchandise, whether of Great Britain or of her colonies, laden on board British or Swedish vessels. The said commodities or merchandise, whether they be of such kind as may be introduced and subject to duty in Sweden, or whether their introduction be prohibited, shall pay

without distinction, as duty of entrepot, one per cent. ad valorem, upon entry, and the same upon discharge. As to every other particular relating to this object, the general regulations existing in Sweden shall be conformed to; treating always the subjects of His Britannic Majesty upon the footing of the most favoured nations.

VII.—From the day of the signature of the present Treaty, His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and his Majesty the King of Sweden, reciprocally promise not to separate their mutual interests, and particularly those of Sweden which are referred to in the present Treaty, in any negotiation whatever with their common enemies.

VIII.—The ratifications of the present Treaty shall be exchanged at Stockholm within four weeks, or sooner, if possible.

In faith of which, we the undersigned, in virtue of our full powers, have signed the present Treaty, and have affixed thereto the seals of our arms.
Done at Stockholm, the third March, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and thirteen.

ALEXANDER HOPE. (L. S.)

EDW. THORNTON. (L. S.)

LE COMTE D'ENGESTROM. (L. S.)

G. BARON DE WETTERSTEDT. (L. S.)

SEPARATE ARTICLE.

As a consequence of the cession made by His Britannic Majesty, in the fifth article of the Treaty signed this day, of the Island of Guadaloupe, His Majesty the King of Sweden engages—

1. Faithfully to fulfil and observe the stipulations of the capitulation of the said Island, under date the 5th of February, 1810, so that all the privileges, rights, benefices, and prerogatives, confirmed by that act to the inhabitants of the colony, shall be preserved and maintained.

2. To take for this purpose, previous to

the cession before-mentioned, every engagement which may be judged necessary with His Britannic Majesty, and to execute all acts conformable thereto.

3. To grant to the inhabitants of Guadaloupe the same protection and the same advantages which the other subjects of His Majesty the King of Sweden enjoy, conformably always to the laws and stipulations actually existing in Sweden.

4. To forbid and prohibit, at the period of the cession, the introduction of slaves from Africa into the said island, and the other possessions in the West Indies of His Swedish Majesty, and not to permit Swedish subjects to engage in the slave trade, an engagement which His Swedish Majesty is the more willing to contract, as this traffic has never been authorized by him.

5. To exclude, during the continuance of the present war, all armed vessels and privateers belonging to States at war with Great Britain, from the ports and harbours of Guadaloupe; and not to permit in any future wars in which Great Britain may be engaged and Sweden remain neutral, the entrance into the ports of the said colony of the privateers belonging to any of the Belligerent States.

6. Not to alienate the said island without the consent of His Britannic Majesty; and,

7. To grant every protection and security to British subjects and to their property, whether they may choose to quit the colony, or to remain there.

This separate article shall have the same force and effect as if it were inserted, word for word, in the Treaty signed this day, and shall be ratified at the same time.

In faith of which, we the undersigned, in virtue of our full powers, have signed the present separate article, and have affixed thereto the seals of our arms.

Done at Stockholm, the third March,
in the year of our Lord one thou-
sand eight hundred and thirteen.

ALEXANDER HOPE. (L. S.)

EDW. THORNTON. (L. S.)

LE COMTE D'ENGESTROM. (L. S.)

G. BARON DE WETTERSTEDT. (L. S.)

Now, most thinking People, you see, that this treaty is made "in the name of 'the Most Holy and Undivided Trinity,'" that is to say, in the name of God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost, who are not three Gods, but one God; and, you will observe, that this takes place too, while there is a Bill before Parliament, the object of which is, in fact, to enable you with impunity, to speak and write against all belief in this same Trinity. Well; but here is the Holy Trinity invoked to witness the good faith of the parties to this treaty; and, as we shall presently see, this treaty recognizes the right of succession to the Swedish Crown and territory to be in "His Royal Highness," the present Crown Prince, who is a Frenchman, who was a French revolutionary soldier and general, who was promoted and ennobled by Buonaparte, and who is, in fact, now our Ally.

Most thinking People, you were told, that the French Democrats were *Atheists*; that is to say, that they believed in no God at all; that they were wholly without religion; and, that, unless you, by the means of your purses, enabled the government to make war against them, they would destroy your religion too. This was what Old George Rose told you in a pamphlet, written for the purpose of encouraging you to go on with the war; or, rather, to back the government in carrying it on. He, in his winding up, put the thing to you in this way: that you had your choice, either to part with your money for what he called the support of government, or, to "exchange the blessed comforts of religion for the gloomy despair of Atheism." He did not, indeed, stop to show you how the French Atheists could possibly force you to become *Atheists*; he did not point out to you how they could go to work to deprive you of your belief in the Trinity, or in any other article of faith; but he did assert, that you would be so deprived, if you did not freely and largely contribute your money; and, really, as far as my discernment can reach, you appear to have believed him.

But, now, behold, we find, that the French, so far from being *Atheists*, are a most devout people; that, upon every occasion of triumph, they flock to their churches (of which, I assure you, they have not a few) to sing praises to God, and to ascribe their victories to Him; that they go to Mass as regularly as we go to Church, and, I believe, a little more regularly than the greater part of us; that the Emperor Napoleon himself is remarkably pious, never writing a letter without thrusting into it some religious sentiment; that he has made a sort of bargain with the Duke of Friuli to meet him in heaven, but that the Duke, though full of confidence in the meeting, was generous enough, for the good of Europe, to express his readiness to wait in heaven thirty years before the meeting should take place; and lastly, that the Crown Prince of Sweden, whom we have now acknowledged to be a most worthy Gentleman, but who was a revolutionist in France, is now actually in the field, at the head of an army, on our side, in virtue of a treaty made "in the name of the Most Holy and Undivided Trinity."

Where, then, my dear Countrymen, and Most Thinking People; where was the ground of Old George Rose's alarm, that the French *Atheists* would come and take from you "the blessed comforts of religion?" We now find that the French are full as religious as you are; and, therefore, I do hope, that neither John Bowles nor George Rose, nor any body else, will again call upon us to subscribe voluntarily for the carrying on of the war in order to preserve "our Holy religion."

In the opening of the Treaty we find, that COUNT D'ENGESTROM, one of the Swedish Plenipotentiaries, has, amongst his other titles, that of "*Great Eagle of the Legion of Honour of France*," which, as you know, is an order of Knighthood emanating from the Emperor Napoleon, whom, however, our stupid-casting news-papers have the folly as well as the audacity to call an Usurper and all manner of vile names. If he be an usurper, and if our government viewed him as such, they ought to resist this title of Mr. D'Engestrom; for, to suffer it to be inserted in a treaty, made "in the name of the Most Holy and Undivided Trinity," does, it seems to me, amount to something very nearly approaching to an acknowledgment of the legitimacy of the source whence it has proceeded.

The FIRST ARTICLE of the Treaty stipulates, that Sweden shall send 30,000 men

to join the Russians and Prussians against their common enemies who are also the enemies of England. It is said, that Swedes to the number of 18,000 men are now at *Stralsund* (a sea-port on the borders of the Baltic), from whence they date not move. But, it is fair to suppose, that more are intended to follow, that the 30,000 men will be sent, and that they will join the allies. What if they do? What is 30,000 men! "Oh! but, you do not consider, that it is 30,000 men under the *Crown Prince*; under one of *Buonaparté's own favourite generals*!" Yes, thou poor, wretched creature; thou poor, mean, despicable supporter of corruption and all sorts of rottenness, I do consider this; but, if thou, after having affected so long to condemn these men, whom thou calledst *upstarts*, art so base, so utterly devoid of shame, as openly to confess, that your chief hope of success against Napoleon is founded on the circumstance of his being now opposed by a *Frenchman*, a *revolutionist*, a man of *his own promoting and exalting*; if thou art so detestably base, I am not foolish enough to believe, that the Crown Prince is, with any army but a French army, able to face his former master, patron and friend.

According to some persons Napoleon never yet won a battle. Berthier forms all his plans of attack and some other generals fight the battles. Even the success of the battle of Marengo, which, in its single self, surpassed that of all the battles ever won by the Old Generals of France, was ascribed to another. Buonaparté had no hand in it! What a clever fellow must he be then to persuade the French people, including all these gainers of the victories, to ascribe the victories to him! The man must be a wizard, or something worse. Under him Bernadotte, at the head of *French troops*, would again, I dare say, carry victory on his standard; but, of Bernadotte, though now become "*His Royal Highness*," we may be well assured Napoleon entertains no fear. Success in war, as in all other great undertakings, depends chiefly upon a wise combination of the means to be employed, together with great foresight, and, then, when the time for execution comes, a scrupulous attention to every part of the duty to be performed. What can Bernadotte do in this way with his handful of men, *to him* *Frenchman*, and with his Swedish officers? I fear, the best luck should justify his

return to Stockholm without having looked his old master's army in the face. But, what baseness, what shocking baseness is it in the Aristocrats to confess, that they ground their hopes on the prowess of Bernadotte! What! Are they, at last, come to a confession, that they have more reliance upon a man, who was one of the revolutionists of France and one of the generals of Buonaparté, than upon all the noble commanders of Russia and Prussia? All the Emperors, kings, and princes of the Royal Blood who are now in the field against Napoleon? All! All the numerous host, through whose veins the rich blood of antiquity is still running?

By the SECOND ARTICLE of this Treaty we stipulate to assist Sweden to annex to its territory, in *perpetuity*, that part of the Danish territories, called Norway; but, that *force* is not to be used for this purpose, unless Denmark refuse to join the coalition against Napoleon. I see nothing *unlawful* in this. Any nation, at war with another, has a right to enter into an agreement to give its territories to a third party. But, what is worthy of remark here is, that Norway is to pass, in *perpetuity* to the *Crown Prince and his heirs*; for he is the heir to the Swedish Crown and dominions.

The THIRD and FOURTH ARTICLES give the king of Sweden ONE MILLION of your, the most Thinking People's money, as the price of his military co-operation in the general cause during this present campaign! Bravo! So, here we are, at last, subsidizing an army, under the command of a man, whom our news-papers have abused as a creature of Napoleon! Here we are, sending a million of money to that very Bernadotte, of whom such atrocious things were said less than two years ago! John Bowles! Come forth, John Bowles; forget, for a while, your Dutch Commission, and come and tell us what you really think of all this.

The FIFTH ARTICLE cedes to Sweden, in perpetuity, the *Island of Guadeloupe*. The Morning Chronicle quarrels with this cession, says that it is contrary to the *law of nations*, that we have no right to cede that which has not been ceded to us. This is strange doctrine. I never heard of it before; and whoever has heard of it, it appears to me to be downright nonsense. Conquest gives a perfect right. The conquered soil is the dominion of the conqueror, while he holds it. He makes what laws he pleases for it; he collects its revenues and applies them as he pleases; and, in



short, the country is his. He is completely the sovereign of it, and may, of course, cede it whenever he chooses. But, the curious thing here is, that we cede this French island to the king of Sweden and his successors, ACCORDING TO THE "ORDER OF SUGGESTION ESTABLISHED IN SWEDEN UNDER DATE OF THE 26TH OF SEPTEMBER, 1810." That is to say, we cede it, this French island, which poor Louis XVIII. yet claims, to the Crown Prince, Bernadotte, who was, a few years ago, a revolutionist in France, and who has since been promoted and exalted by Buonaparté! Come forth, John Bowles! Come, I say, and tell us what you have to say to this. Far be it from me to find fault with this recognition, this full and ample recognition, of the rights of Bernadotte to the Swedish Crown. He was chosen by the people of Sweden, who liked him better than they did our old *friend and ally*, the king of Sweden, who paid us a visit, and who is now somewhere upon the Continent. Far be it from me to disapprove of this recognition of our new friend CHARLES JEAN, this Frenchman, in whom we now see the legitimate heir to the Swedish Crown and dominions. I, for my part, like to see our ministers ceding a part of the old French dominions to this man, who so ably assisted in the affairs of Republican France. I like to see them thus bestow the former territories of the House of Bourbon. I say, that I think the Swedes acted wisely in choosing this worthy man as the successor to their Crown; I say, he is an able, an excellent man, and that I am charmed at the close connexion which we are forming with him. His success in the world cannot fail to prove a powerful stimulus to other enterprising young men. Our ministers act wisely and justly in yielding reward to such distinguished merit; and I, for one, most entirely approve of this article of the treaty.

But, what will now be said, by those impudent and corrupt creatures, who wrote against Bernadotte, in 1810, when he was chosen Crown Prince of Sweden? And who, though we were then at peace with Sweden, abused the worthy old king like a common thief? What will they NOW SAY? Say what they will *now*, the public shall hear what they said *then*; for, it is necessary, for example sake, that such men should be exposed. To this end I shall insert a few extracts from the MORN-

ING POST and the COURIER; and shall then call upon the reader for his execration of their authors. To the several extracts I shall give my own observations, made at the time; and, then, the reader, with present events before him, will be enabled to judge between me and these prostituted writers; and, which is of more importance, he will be put upon his guard against the future abusive language of these foolish and wicked men.

Article from the MORNING POST of the 3d of September, 1810, and my observations thereon.

"General Bernadotte has been elected Crown Prince of Sweden. This has obviously been the effect of the deepest and most infamous intrigue. The *Arch Tyrant* was in the first instance disposed to support the pretensions of the King of Denmark; but having ascertained that there was an understanding upon the subject between his Danish Majesty and the Emperor of Russia, he suddenly withdrew his patronage, changed his system, and, instead of the King of Denmark, put forward his General, Bernadotte, as the most proper person to succeed to the throne of Sweden. This *infamous sale*—*lite* of the *common tyrant* of the Continent, has in consequence of the *baseful influence* thus exercised, carried his election; but can it be possible that the once noble and proudly independent Swedes will permit so *base and unprincipled* an *upstart* to ascend the throne formerly occupied by the great and illustrious Gustavus Vasa, and the other heroes who have so gloriously and legitimately filled the throne of Sweden? If so, then, indeed, will the Swedish nation prove itself unworthy of any sentiment of compassion or respect, and be justly consigned to the contempt and execration of mankind. But, notwithstanding the temporary success of this artful expedient of the Corsican to promote his own ambitious and *infamous views*, it is scarce to be imagined that the noble and intrepid Swedes, who look with reverence to the valiant and patriotic deeds of their ancestors, can submit to such a degradation as to yield obedience to a *miscreant* who has devoted himself from obscurity by his devotion only to the most *infamous and detestable tyrant* that ever *curst* the earth. Our high opinion of the hardy and spirited character of the Swedes, induces

"us most fondly to hope that a more worthy line of conduct will, in the present crisis of their fate, be pursued by them. Though some of the Nobles have been cajoled by arts, or seduced by bribery, the people, we trust, will not submit to the horrible and insufferable degradation of having their legitimate race of Sovereigns entirely set aside, and replaced by the most base upstart dynasty that ever disgraced the meanest and most abject nations of the universe. Besides, it is so evidently the interest of Russia to prevent Sweden from falling into such a state of degradation, that abject as the Emperor ALEXANDER seems to have become, it is hardly possible for him not to rouse from his disgraceful torpor, now that his enemy, who has deceived him so long, is approaching his very threshold. If he be not wholly besotted by the artifices of the subtle tyrant, or terrified by his menaces, he will at once shake off the degrading yoke, and bid defiance to the perfidious Corsican. The fate of Spain and Holland is now before the Russians and the Swedes, and presents an awful and lamentable warning to both. The infuriated ALEXANDER may learn from the treatment which the Royal Family of Spain suffered, after all the sacrifices which had been made to BONAPARTE, what treachery he has to expect from so vile and perfidious a tyrant; while this new proof of the unprincipled ambition of the Corsican may be hoped to operate alike forcibly on Sweden and Russia, and convince them that THEIR ONLY SECURITY IS IN A SINCERE AND CLOSE ALLIANCE WITH GREAT BRITAIN, UNDER WHOSE PROTECTING WINGS THEY ARE SURE TO EXPERIENCE A PROMPT AND EFFECTUAL SHELTER."—Now, reader, first look at the language of this article; look at the terms and the epithets, which I have distinguished by *italic characters*, and say, if, as an Englishman, you do not feel shame, that such language as this, such abuse as this, such self-degrading abuse, should appear in an English print. This print is, too, called "the Morning Post and Fashionable World:" a pretty specimen, truly, of the taste of those who are called *people of fashion* in England.—Is there any man of sense, who does not perceive, that every article of this; every such publication that appears in this country, must do the country harm, if it has

any effect at all? The way to have written, upon such an occasion, having the author's sentiments (if, indeed, a madman can be said to have any sentiments); the way to have proceeded, in such a case; was, to show, by *fair statement and reason*, that it was a great degradation for the Swedes to submit to Bernadotte, and that his becoming their king would be injurious to them. To have shown this; to have proved this, *might* have done good; but, to heap upon Bernadotte and his master loads of sheer abuse, could not possibly do any good, and *might* do harm. Put all those furious phrases together: the *infamous intriguer*, the *arch tyrant*, the *infamous satellite*, the *base upstart*, the *subtle, unprincipled, vile, perfidious, base, detestable, infamous miscreant*: put them all together, and what do they weigh with any man who reads for the sake of obtaining information; for the sake of acquiring the means of forming a right judgment upon political occurrences? With such a man they weigh not as a feather; nor is it possible for them to answer any other purpose, than that of feeding the passions, of gratifying the vindictive appetite, of those who live but to hate and to injure, and who would fain kill with words those whom their stilettos cannot reach; no other purpose than this, and the one other purpose of flattering, by imitation, the taste of the rabble in high life as well as in low, and, if possible, of keeping that rabble a rabble still; diverting their minds from the objects, on which they ought to be fixed, namely, the causes and the consequences of this great event; of filling their mouths with imprecations upon Napoleon, instead of pointing out for their timely reflection, what new dangers may, from this event, arise to their country.—This, however, is what I shall endeavour to do, after I have made some remarks on what this shamefully abusive writer says about the conduct of the Swedes, upon this occasion. The Swedes are flattered with laudatory descriptions of the noble conduct of their fore-fathers, and great hope is expressed that they will not now submit to what is called the horrible and insufferable degradation of having the race of their Sovereigns changed; but, if they should so submit, they are plainly told, that they will be unworthy of respect or compassion, and will be justly consigned to the execration of mankind. Verily, there is nothing original in this, for it has been said of every nation that the French have

subdued, from the year 1703 to the present day. It is quite useless, however, to abuse the Swedes; and I dare say, that if the Swedes were to hear this abuse, they would not find it very difficult to discover that it arose from causes, very different indeed from that of a regard for either their honour or their happiness. Indeed this pretended anxiety for the welfare of the Swedes has in it something full as shameful perhaps even as the abuse which has been just noticed.

Articles from the COURIER of the 28th September, and the MORNING POST of the 12th of October, 1810, followed by my Observations, to which I beg the reader's attention, as applicable to present circumstances.

"It was reported this morning that the King of Sweden is no more.—It is a matter of indifference whether the report be true or not. The moment of his elevation to the throne of the monarch who was to him 'in double trust' as sovereign and as kinsman, was the moment of his disgrace—the moment that gave him Bernadotte as successor, was the moment of his dethronement.—A march more criminal, with less motives to be so—more sillily ambitious, without any of those incitements and objects that render ambition, if not less guilty, at least more alluring, is not to be found in the annals of history.—What deeper misery could Sweden have experienced by the most disastrous warfare, than she has experienced by the peace, that has given her a French General for her sovereign? Under the gallant Gustavus she would have had the consolation, under all her misfortunes, of knowing that she was fighting in a good cause, that defeat was without disgrace, and misfortune without dishonour.—But she has made peace to have none of the stability and repose of peace—she has made peace without experiencing any diminution of the burdens and privations of war.—She has surrendered her lawful Monarch into the hands of Buonaparte, not to procure forbearance, but to invite dishonour—not to escape his power, but to fix his foot more firmly on her yielding and suppliant neck.—What a picture of national degradation does Sweden present! It is but a short time ago we beheld her engaged in an honourable contest with the invaders of her soil; with Russia, whose iniquitous

attack upon Sweden is about to be justly punished by the same power who instigated her to forget all that was due to honour and justice. The struggle in Finland was for a time glorious, and it must have been successful if the population of Sweden had exhibited any thing of their ancient spirit. But they unhappily listened to those drivellers who, under the pretence of being advocates of peace and humanity, covered the cowardice of their hearts or the baseness of their intentions. To obtain this peace they relinquished the sword, which alone could have obtained it on honourable grounds, and they entered into a compromise with their enemies. For peace they gave not their territory only; but their loyalty, their oaths, and their morals. They expelled their Sovereign, they gave their fealty to an usurper—a puppet at the beck of foreigners. But with their character they lost the freedom of commerce, and their independence; and as it happens with individuals, who, when they have once overstepped the line of rectitude, are carried onward to the commission of crimes of which they once thought themselves incapable, so it has proved with Sweden. The Crown Prince being removed by disease or murder, a petty General of Buonaparte's is proposed to them. A base fear on the one hand, and bribes on the other, prevail, and Sweden sinks into a province of France. Now begin her miseries. Her commerce with this country, where her principal commercial market lies, will be at the mercy of her enemy; contributions and exactions will succeed one another in dreadful succession; her laws, her crown, her trade, are now in the hands of a capricious tyrant, and may be altered at his will, and transferred at his pleasure; and the people who refused to fight for themselves under the standard of their lawful Prince, must now fight for the aggrandizement of a foreign power, under the direction of a foreign General. Thus it has proved with every other power, and Sweden now only adds her testimony to what was before sufficiently apparent—that those who cringe at danger shall bow to degradation.—Thus far the COURIER, and now for his fellow-labourer, of this day, who does not seem to notice the manner with the Old King of Sweden much more than with Napoleon.—"We are gravely told, in some of the articles from

“Sweden, that the deputies sent to Paris to announce the election of Bernadotte as Crown Prince were *graciously* received, as well by Buonaparté as by that General, both of whom have written complimentary letters on the occasion to the **TRAITOROUS KING**, and in which doubtless they wish *his wretched Majesty* health and long life!—These answers gave so much satisfaction to the King, that all possible honours were immediately conferred on the elected Crown Prince. Was ever *farce* so *impudently performed*, was ever *common sense* more *grossly insulted*, than in this *pretended free election* of Bernadotte?—This instrument of Buonaparté is shortly to set out for Sweden; and we doubt not that very shortly after his arrival, we shall hear of the increasing years and infirmities of the old King, and the illustrious Bernadotte will kindly free him from all his Royal cares!—I do not feel myself at liberty to join the Courier in calling the present king of Sweden a “*criminal, a silly man, an usurper, a puppet*,” and still less do I feel myself at liberty to join the Morning Post in calling him a *traitor*, and who, on the 9th instant, accused him of being the *principal in the assassination* of GUSTAVUS, Ankerström being rather his agent than any thing else.—These are hardish names, and pretty round charges; and they cut, as we shall see, more ways than one. The assassination of GUSTAVUS was, as the reader will bear in mind, attributed to the *Republicans of France*; not to the *French*, generally, but to the French Republicans, or Jacobins, as they were called; and, on this assertion was founded an argument, made great use of, in England, at the time, against all those persons who were called Republicans or Jacobins, whether in France or in England, who were all accused, in a lump, of a desire at least, to commit assassination, as far as related to kings and their families.—This is well worthy of particular attention; for the assassination of the king of Sweden, which took place just at the breaking out of the ANTI-JACOBIN war, was one of the great grounds of *alarm* in England; it was one of the principal means, by which the people of England were terrified out of all their former notions of liberty, and induced to approve of what their forefathers would have startled with horror but to think of.—It is, therefore, of importance to attend to what is now said, upon the subject of GUSTAVUS’s assassination, by

the very persons, who have all along been, and who still are, loudest in their accusations against the Jacobins. It is of importance to note, that these same persons now tell us, that it was no low vagabond Republican or Jacobin crew that murdered GUSTAVUS, but that the *principal* in the crime was his own brother, then a *Royal Duke*, and now a *King*.—This is of great importance to the cause of *truth*; and I should like very much to see the fact verified, on one side or the other, so that there might be no more question upon that subject.—Hitherto we have been told to look for *traitors* amongst Jacobins and Levellers; but, now, behold! the Morning Post tells us, that here is a *king*, who is a *traitor*, thereby recognizing the validity of the doctrine of those, who arraigned CHARLES the First for treason, upon the ground of the *sovereignty* residing in the *nation*.—Observe, however, it is not I who call the king of Sweden a *traitor*. I merely repeat what is asserted by the Morning Post newspaper, and I repeat it with a *disbelief* of its truth. I do it with a view of pointing it out to observation, and with a desire of seeing the *truth* ascertained. If what is here asserted be true; if the present king of Sweden be a *traitor* and an *assassin*, it should be known to the people of England, to whom it has been asserted; the facts should be *proved* to them by those who have made the assertions. If, on the contrary, the accusations be false, they should be retracted, or their falsehood exposed; for, it is, I believe, something quite new, for sovereigns, who are at peace and amity with us, to be called in our public prints, *traitors* and *assassins*. This is, I believe, quite new. Lord GEORGE GORDON was put into prison for a libel on the late good *Queen of France*. A printer was prosecuted for a libel upon the good Emperor or good Empress of Russia. And, it is fresh in every one’s memory, that Mr. PELTIER (whose trial I shall notice more at large one of these days) was tried, and was convicted without the jury’s going out of court, and without scarcely a moment’s hesitation, for having made a publication against BUONAPARTE, when First Consul of France.—How it happens, then, that the Morning Post and the Courier venture to call the present king of Sweden a *traitor* and an *assassin*, I should be very glad to know. It may be said, as to Napoleon, that we are at *war* with him; and therefore, may say of him *just what we please*; but, without examin-

ing into this doctrine, we may observe, that it cannot apply to the case before us, as we are *not at war* with the present king of Sweden; though, it must be confessed, that if such publications go on, it is impossible that war should not take place. The king of Sweden must have his feelings as well as other men; he cannot fail to be informed of these attacks upon him; he has seen how our law seizes hold of the assailants of other sovereigns; and, if he sees himself thus attacked with impunity to the assailants, it is, I should suppose, next to impossible for him to refrain from using the only means, which, in such a case, he has of shewing his resentment.—It may be said, that these publications can do *no harm*, because Sweden will do every thing she can do to injure us, the moment that the new Crown Prince arrives in the country.—This latter may be; but, may not these terrible accusations against the king of Sweden make him *hasten* hostile measures against us? May they not *add some little matter* to the injuries which BERNADOTTE is supposed to have in store for us? May they not cause the ruin of some few merchants and their families? And, one thing is quite certain, that they can *do no good*. It is *possible* that they may do no harm but that of disgracing the English press in the eyes of other nations; but, it is *impossible* that they should, in any way whatever, do any *good*; except, indeed, in the way above-mentioned, that is to say, in clearing the *Jacobins* of the charge of having plotted the assassination of GUSTAVUS, and placing that charge upon the head of a *Royal Duke*, who is now become a king.—But, let us now see a little of what is said about the *consequences* of Bernadotte's election.—We are told, by these writers, that they will be fatal to Sweden. “Now begin HER miseries!” exclaims the COWRIER. “Her connexion with *this country*, where her *principal commercial market* lies, will “be at the mercy of HER enemy.” He does not perceive, or affects not to perceive, that WE shall share in the injury; and that, in some degree, at any rate, OUR miseries are beginning; and that if the connexion of Sweden with England will now be at the mercy of France, so will the connexion of England with Sweden. Strange perversity! This writer can see that Sweden will feel an injury, but he cannot see any injury that we shall receive from the same cause.—It is very true, that Eng-

land is the principal commercial market of Sweden; but, then what we get from Sweden is of use to us, and, indeed, is indispensable to us. From Sweden and the rest of the Baltic we get our *naval stores* and part of our *bread-corn*; and, if this source is stopped up, as to the former at least, must it not injure us full as much as it will injure Sweden? Yet these flaming writers can see no injury likely to arise to us. It is all injury to Sweden, and, which is not a little singular, they keep saying this all the while that they are menacing Russia with the restoration, which BERNADOTTE will, as they say, compel her to make of the dominions which she took from Sweden!—They rail against BERNADOTTE, call him a *plunderer*, a *swindler*, a *base satellite* of Napoleon. They tell the Swedes that their miseries are beginning, and that they *merit* these miseries for their *cowardice*. Then, in the very same article (it is inserted above) they turn short round to the Emperor of Russia, whom they accuse of the “*iniquitous attack*” in which Finland was taken from the Swedes, and tell him, that he “is about to be *justly punished*” for that “*iniquitous attack*;” and, observe, this act of *justice* is to be performed by the “*plunderer and swindler*,” BERNADOTTE; this act of *justice* is to be inflicted upon the enemy of Sweden, for an offence committed against Sweden; this act is to make Sweden triumph over her long-settled enemy; and this act is to be the dawn of Sweden's miseries.

Now, most Thinking People, do you not think, that it would have been full as well if these writers had followed my advice and my example? Yet, at the time, I was, and even by very good friends, reproached, even reproached for what I said in defence of the king of Sweden and of the Crown Prince. I was reproached for speaking respectfully of the King and the Prince; I was reproached for saying that the election of the latter was an act of wisdom, and perfectly constitutional; I was reproached for calling that right legitimate, which now, has been, by our own government, acknowledged to be legitimate. What will these prostituted writers say *now*? What will they say for themselves, when they hear the man whom they so reviled, on whom they poured out such torrents of infamous abuse, styled “HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS” by our own government, and

that, too, "in the name of the *Most Holy and Undivided Trinity*?" What will they now say? Why, they will say just the contrary to what they said before. They do say, and give no reason, and can give no reason, for their change of tone.

Thus, then, most Thinking People, I have, it seems to me, shewn you, that there is danger in listening to these vile writers. I, for my part, always approved of the choice of the Swedes; and, I am now delighted that we have consolidated our connexion with Bernadotte, who is a fit man, the sort of man, to be a king. This excellent measure, too, prepares the way for peace; it puts an end to all silly scruples about recognizing men as legitimate sovereigns, whom our stupid writers call usurpers. There is now an end of all that; the road to peace is so far open; and, though it afford us but a glimpse, for that glimpse I heartily thank the ministers.

W. COBBETT.

DUKE OF SUSSEX'S SPEECH.

The Speech of the Duke of Sussex at the Meeting of the Friends of Civil and Religious Liberty, has been commented upon with such malignity, and at the same time, such misrepresentation, that we feel it a duty to give a faithful statement of it, that the Public may fairly judge between His Royal Highness and his traducers.

The health of the Duke of Sussex was given by the Chairman.

The Duke of Sussex, in returning thanks, observed, that the good opinion of any society must ever be most grateful to his heart; that must not then be his sensations on the present occasion, when he experienced the affectionate regard so kindly bestowed upon him by an assembly, which comprised so considerable a part of the transcendent talent, as well as of the most solid wealth and representation of the country.—It was an honour that he should ever consider as one of the proudest laurels that could deck his brow—it was impossible for him not to feel the highest satisfaction in having the honour to attend a meeting composed of such individuals as those whom he saw around him, and to know his name enrolled as the second Steward on this great and important day. He rejoiced to see the chair so ably filled by the Noble Duke, so honestly supported, as he was confident it was, on his right and left, and so gloriously

surrounded, as must be apparent to all:—After the able speech of his illustrious and dear relative, who he was always happy to hear on such occasions; because he was convinced that those generous sentiments ever emanated directly from his heart, little remained for him to say.—It certainly was with painful concern that he, on the one hand, viewed the momentary failure of a plan, which had been so honestly framed, so considerably altered, as to suit the most scrupulous minds, and so admirably argued, as to throw a general light on the characters of those amiable and conciliating patriots and statesmen who had contrived and brought it forwards; but, on the other hand, when he considered the event, he could not refrain congratulating the noble visitors on the prospect, as it now lay open to their view. He conceived, indeed, that the cause of religious liberty had decidedly gained ground, and, in fact, had triumphed; for he never could admit a question of this magnitude as lost, the opposition to which had been carried by a strained majority of four votes: besides, the principle, justice, and expediency of the measure had been generally admitted; nay, the House of Commons had proceeded to take the subject into consideration in a committee of the whole House, and even the bill had been read the first time.—If they looked at the time, when the penal laws against the Roman Catholics were enacted, the cruelties which led to them, and the individuals by whom they were brought forward, what a gratifying contrast was presented by a sight of the late address from the General Assembly in Scotland, which he might safely state, from the nature of its composition, represented the general sentiments of the people of that country; which he reflected upon the result of that meeting, he agreed entirely with the honourable mover, who stated, that we were not to judge of events merely by our own personal or private feelings, but by the sentiments, which we may conceive the framers of these laws would now hold under the present existing circumstances and different changes in the political and moral sentiments of the world.—The late decision, though for a time it disappointed the Roman Catholics, gave them to know their true friends, and taught them to look around with a consciousness, that the sense of the majority of the country was in their favour. As to himself, he stood pledged to them in his opinion of the merits of their cause, upon conscientious motives, from which he could never wish

to swerve in the smallest degree.—He knew the principles, and was well aware of the political causes which placed that branch of the Family to whom he had the honour to belong on the throne of these realms; and if the change of political events, both interior and exterior, were taken into consideration, could any one doubt how different would be the conduct and system adopted and advised by those very illustrious individuals, this day?—He felt most grateful to His Majesty, for the pension conferred upon him, as he well knew, that without his paternal recommendation he could never have obtained it; but he also was sensible, that he was equally indebted to the generosity of the people, for enabling His Royal Father to make him that grant; and he therefore, both from duty and gratitude, felt himself alive and bound to attend to their interests as a servant of the public; a part of which he conceived himself now faithfully executing, coming forward, as he did, on the present occasion, and candidly stating his opinion of this great cause of religious liberty.—Standing as he did then, within those walls, where not long ago, he had been elected, by the generous and unanimous vote of a body of men, their head (Grand Master of Free and Accepted Masons), a body no less conspicuous for their tried loyalty, consisting in their allegiance to their sovereign, and their dutiful submission to the laws of their country, than known for the liberality and conciliation of their sentiments, whose first principle ever was, and is, the acknowledgment and maintenance of the inherent right of man, to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience; at whose meetings all topics of polemic controversy are therefore strictly excluded, as well as those of any political tendency, it was impossible for him to pass unnoticed a report which had gone abroad, and which he trusted might prove unfounded, of the establishment of Orange Lodges in this metropolis.

He did not mean to inflame the public mind, nor to pass a personal censure on any individual; but he wished merely to caution gentlemen from hastily entering into a society, or from unthinkingly joining an association, which, if once formed, would prove as dangerous to the country and constitution as any that could exist, not to denigrate it by a severer epithet.

No one felt more than he did, the importance and advantage of public meetings,

but he would not hesitate to say, that numerous assemblies of men, bound by oaths of secrecy to certain political points, as also enjoined to a conditional allegiance towards their Sovereign, were highly unconstitutional, and decidedly treasonable.

He hoped, therefore, that this rumour would prove incorrect; for if he were certain of the existence of such an evil, he should feel it his duty to notice the event more seriously in another place, and to hold up projectors and abettors of such a tragedy to the execration of the public; nay, more, as objects fit to be exposed for public example.

Little more remained for him to comment upon, except to express to the Noble Visitors his cordial acquiescence, with that advice which had been so kindly, so ably, and so energetically, urged to them by the Noble Chairman, and so emphatically, warmly, and conspicuously, seconded by his illustrious relative. Here he could not resist complimenting the English Roman Catholics on the firm, temperate, and manly manner in which they had conducted themselves upon a recent occasion. This would ever reflect immortal honour upon that body, while it would tend to convince, satisfy, and, consequently, to tranquillize, the reflecting part of the community at large, as to the sincerity, liberality, and independence of their professions, more than the eloquence or arguments of their most enlightened orators in the cause: he, therefore, hoped that the Irish Catholics would follow so bright an example, as by firmness, calmness, temperance, good humour, patience, and perseverance, they must rest assured of their ultimate and triumphant success.

His Royal Highness then concluded with thanking them for their patient hearing, and drank all their healths.

OFFICIAL PAPERS.

HELGOLAND MAIL.

(Continued from page 364.)

and punished.—The Director General of Police,

“D'AUBIGNOSE.

“*Hamburg, May 31.*”

Hamburg Papers to the 30th of May have been received. They contain the following accounts of the battles of the 19th, 20th, and 21st.

Berlin, May 22.—This moment (11 in the forenoon) we have received the following intelligence from our grand army:

Wurchau, near Bautzen, May 20.—The accounts respecting the enemy have for some days past coincided in the following reports, that Gen. Lauriston's corps, about 12,000 strong, is in motion against our right flank, by making a large circle, by the Luckow and Hoverswerda road, and that it is followed at a day's march by Marshal Ney, with a force of eighteen thousand men. It was accordingly resolved to march against General Lauriston, engage, and defeat him before supports could reach him; General Barclay de Tolly received directions for this purpose, and he accordingly, in the afternoon of the 19th, made a brisk movement forward to Königswerder, whilst Gen. Von Yorck marched through Weissig to join Gen. Tolly's corps. The Russians fell in with the enemy at Königswertha, and after a strong dispute forced the town with irresistible force by the bayonet, took 10 cannons, and put the enemy totally to the rout. Meanwhile Gen. Von Yorck had fallen in with a strong detachment of the enemy not far from Weissig. The battle was here extremely obstinate, and it soon appeared that we had to do with three divisions of Marshal Ney's corps, being the very same that were supposed to be still at some leagues distance. The Prussian troops, though much inferior in numbers, sustained this glorious combat against such superior force until night, and kept possession of the field of battle. It was this courageous resistance only that rendered it possible of fully attaining the proposed end of driving Gen. Lauriston's corps entirely out of the field.—This morning, as the enemy had retreated during the night, the corps of Generals Barclay and Von Yorck have again moved nearer to the army. The result of this day, exclusive of the 10 pieces of cannon taken, is 1,500 prisoners, besides a General of Division and a General of Brigade, and the total destruction of an enemy's column of 9,000 men, as likewise the annihilation of the enemy's long-famed plan with which his other movements stood in connexion.—The courier who brings us this intelligence states, that on the day before yesterday it came to a general battle near Bautzen, and that at his departure from thence, which was at half past four o'clock in the afternoon, every thing was going on as well as we could wish. Our troops fought like lions, and we hope, with God's assistance, very soon to lay before

the public the particulars of a new great victory for the sacred cause.

The Royal Military General for the Country between the Elbe and the Oder.

(Signed) L'Estocq.

Berlin, May 22.

Berlin, May 22.—An official report from Gibersdorf, between Golzen and Dahme, dated the 23d inst. at eleven o'clock at night, states as follows:—That the enemy had taken his position between Luckau and Dahme, and pushed his patrols to Dahmsdorf. The corps was strong, and was intended to push forward into the Mark of Brandenburg, but the arrival of the Russian corps, and the approach of Bulow and Birstal's corps, have prevented their designs.—Two days ago the Russians captured 100 of the enemy near Dahme, and to-day he suddenly broke up, directing his march towards Upper Lusatia. At this moment he is four German miles from us, the single patrols being already returned from that distance. It is supposed that the sudden retreat of the enemy proceeds from his design of joining the grand army. The corps of Generals Bulow, Borstel, and the Russian General Harpe, which are collected near to Bareuth, will march early to-morrow, partly in pursuit of the enemy, and partly to take a position near Wittenberg.—Every attempt of the enemy to approach the capital has been frustrated; and, indeed, it was rather a demonstration than an attempt. Thus the French corps which had passed the Elbe, and by which it was at first dreaded that a diversion would be made on Berlin, has so suddenly again withdrawn towards the Elbe, is in a great measure to be attributed to the speedy assembling of the Landstrum of the Circle of Beskow and Storkow, who are animated by the best spirit, and who to him appear so formidable.

Allona, May 24.—Last night and this present day have passed very quietly.

Berlin, May 25.—The following letter from an eye-witness of the battle of the 20th and 21st instant, has been officially imparted to us:—

“On the 20th, at noon, the enemy attacked the combined army in its position at Bautzen; but his efforts, although they were directed against single points, and with a great superiority of force, were of no effect, and the united army remained in their position during the night from the 20th to the 21st. On that day, at 4 a.m. the

battle commenced on our left wing with great spirit. But the attack made by the enemy on this side, as it afterwards appeared, was merely a feint. Gen. Miloradovitch, under whom Gen. ——— commanded the light troops, had the command of the left wing, under the Duke of Württemberg.—Some time afterwards the battle was renewed with still greater impetuosity towards the centre, where the artillery in particular had great effect, and all the enemy's attacks were repulsed. General Lauriston's corps now appeared, and endeavoured to surround our right wing, but was detained. As General Barclay de Tolly was posted at Cottamelde to observe the enemy, till General Kleist's corps, and Klux and Roeder's brigade fell on the rear of the enemy, and by a close cartridge fire caused great destruction, and forced him to retreat; but by detaching these brigades, Gen. Von Blücher's position on the heights of Kirchwitz was weakened, and the moment was seized by the enemy to attack this corps with a great superiority, before it could receive any support.—General Von Blücher, therefore, found himself obliged to fall back to a position at a small distance in his rear, in order to join General Yorck, who formed his reserve.—Meanwhile, to counteract this disadvantage, our left wing moved considerably forward, and took some cannon and provisions from the enemy. The intended purpose was thereby attained, the enemy being deterred from pressing any further on our right wing. Night put an end to this battle, which had lasted two days, and the enemy so much blood. The allied army drew up again in the greatest order, and ready for battle, near Weissenberg, at a small distance from the field of battle.—We have lost neither artillery nor prisoners, excepting a few who were severely wounded. On the other hand, we have taken both artillery and prisoners from the enemy, and many of his cannon were dismounted. A battalion of Württembergers, who were to have stormed a battery at Krickurtz, came over to us, as likewise did a part of the Saxon troops.—We cannot state the number of the loss on our side or that of the enemy, but the enemy has lost in the proportion of three to one more than us, as the ground, the superiority of our artillery, and the valour of our troops, gave us the advantage over him in all his attacks. Our reserves of the centre and the left wing, among which were the flower of the Russian troops, and their artillery, did not come into the battle,

and their strength must be reserved for more important purposes.

NORTHERN WAR.

Paris, June 8. On the 1st of June General Lauriston was at Breslau. His Majesty the Emperor was at Newmark. The army is abundantly supplied, preserves an exact discipline, and all the corps are animated with the best spirit. It was thought, with reason, that measures so extravagant as that of the *Landsturm*, could not be executed in a civilized country, and that the proprietors themselves would oppose it. This has happened. There have been no excesses in this part of Germany, but those which have been committed by the Russians. They have left in that country, traces of their *friendship*, which the inhabitants would willingly have dispensed with.—Letters from Hamburg of the 1st of June inform us, that since the entrance of the French into the city it has enjoyed perfect tranquillity. The inhabitants who had fled to the neighbouring towns were eager to return home. Tettgenborn and the Russians had retired across the Elbe, and dared not wait the arrival of our troops.—Letters of the 2d, announce the arrival of the Prince Christian, in Norway. His journey had been kept so secret, that the official journal stated Holstein to be his destination. We hear, that since his arrival, the army and the country have been placed under his immediate orders.

Paris, June 9. Her Majesty the Empress Queen and Regent has received the following news from the army, dated May 30.

A convoy of artillery of 50 carriages, which left Augsburg, quitted the route of the army, and proceeded from Augsburg to Bareuth. The enemy's partisans attacked the convoy between Zwickau and Chemnitz, which occasioned the loss of 200 men, and of 300 horses taken, 7 or 8 pieces of cannon, and of several carriages, which were destroyed. The pieces have been retaken. His Majesty has ordered an inquiry to be made, to know who took upon himself to change the route of the convoy. Be he a General or a Commissary of War, he ought to be punished with the rigour of military law—the route of the army having been ordered from Augsburg by Würzburg and Fulda.—General Poinot, coming from Brunswick with a regiment of cavalry, 400 strong, was attacked by 7 or 800 men of the enemy's cavalry, near

Halle. He was made prisoner, with 100 of the men: 200 are returned to Leipsic. —The Duke of Padua is arrived at Leipsic, where he is collecting his cavalry to clear all the left bank of the Elbe.

Her Majesty the Empress Queen and Regent has received the following intelligence of the situation of the armies on the 31st of May, at night. —The Duke of Vicenza, the Count Schouvaloff, and General Kleist, had a conference of eighteen hours, at the convent of Wahlstadt, near Liegnitz. They separated yesterday, the 30th, at five in the afternoon. The result is not yet known. It is said, that the principle of an Armistice is agreed upon, but it appears that they are not agreed upon the limits that are to form the line of demarcation. On the 31st, at six in the evening, the conferences recommenced on the side of Striegau. —The head-quarters of the Emperor were at Neumarkt. Those of the Prince of Moskwa, having General Lauriston and General Regnier under his orders, at Lissa. The Duke of Tarentum and Count Bertrand were between Jauer and Striegau. The Duke of Ragusa was between Moys and Neumarkt. The Duke of Belluno was at Steidau, on the Oder. Glogau was entirely relieved from the blockade. The garrison has been constantly successful in its sorties. The place has still seven months provisions left. —On the 28th the Duke of Ragusa having taken a position at Hoyerswerda, was attacked by the corps of Gen. Bulow, from 15 to 18,000 strong. The battle began; the enemy was repulsed at all points, and pursued for the space of two leagues. The report of this affair is subjoined. —On the 12th May Lieut. Gen. Vandamme got possession of Wilhelmsburg before Hamburg. —On the 24th, the head-quarters of the Prince of Eckmühl were at Harbourg. Several bombs had fallen in Harbourg, and the Russian troops appearing to evacuate the city, negotiations were opened for the surrender of the place. The Danish troops made common cause with the French. —There was to be on the 25th a conference with the Danish Generals to arrange the plan of operations. —Count de Kaas, Minister of the Interior to the King of Denmark, and charged with a mission to the Emperor, had set off to repair to head-quarters.

Report to His Highness the Prince of Neuchâtel, Major-General of the Army.

Monseigneur, —I arrived about six in the evening, with my 13th division, at Hoyerswerda. All the information of the peasants assured me, that the enemy were in the town, and I marched with precaution. My advanced guard not perceiving any *vidette*, entered the town during a violent storm of rain. The first detachment of light horse, commanded by one of my officers, had already galloped through different streets, without meeting any one, when on reaching the square, the squadron of Bavarian light horse which followed, perceived and fell upon two squadrons of Cossacks, occupied in loading bread. Several of those who were on horseback made their escape; but all the rest were sabred or cut to pieces. I derived from this affair, 7 officers, a Major, a Captain, 5 Lieutenants, and three Prussian officers (not one escaped), 61 Cossacks, and upwards of 90 horses.

(Signed) Marshal Duke of Ragusa.
Hoyerswerda, May 27.

Report to His Highness the Prince of Neuchâtel, &c.

Monseigneur, —The enemy came to attack me in the position of Hoyerswerda, where I am, and where I am detained, expecting the division of Gen. Cruyere. —The enemy arrived from Senftenberg by the two banks of the Schwarz-Elster. His first attack took place about eight o'clock, by Bergen and Neutwies, where his cavalry drove back my advanced posts; and about the same time I was attacked on my left on the line of Narditz, where the enemy deployed 20 pieces of cannon. —I was ignorant of the side on which the principal attack would be, and I was obliged to divide my men between these two points. —The 14th division formed its squares on the plain of Narditz under a very warm fire of artillery, to which mine replied with effect. —The enemy perceiving the unsuccess of his efforts on this side, carried his force to the right bank; he debauched columns of infantry, cavalry, and cannon. My artillery, very advantageously placed, then put these columns to the rout, and, bearing the *pas de charge*, General Fackel drove back this Prussian corps a good way beyond Eas.

(To be continued.)

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

TREATY WITH SWEDEN.—At the conclusion of my article upon this subject, in the last number of my Register, I expressed my extreme delight at that part of this treaty, which, in so ample a manner acknowledges His Royal Highness, Bernadotte, to be the legitimate heir to the Swedish Crown and Dominions. If any thing could have added to this delight, it would have been a passage in the speech of Lord Castlereagh, made in the House of Commons on the 18th instant, touching the character of His Royal Highness. The subject of debate was the treaty with Sweden, of which treaty, it being the act of the Ministers, the Whigs, of course, disapproved. His Lordship, in the passage above alluded to, is reported to have said, that, certain jealousies appeared to exist with respect to the Royal Personage, commanding the Swedish army; that, however, his Lordship was perfectly convinced, that the greatest reliance might be placed on the honour of that Royal Personage; that the Crown Prince had acted a most honourable part towards both France and Sweden; that, as far as he could go without injury to the honour and interests of Sweden, he had gone, in showing his attachment to his native country, and to his former patron; but that, the moment the real interests of Sweden were assailed by France, he proved, by his conduct, that, in his breast, fidelity towards the people who had chosen him to govern them, triumphed over every other feeling; that, as to his former conduct, his Lordship had never heard any thing to his disadvantage, but, on the contrary, that, while he commanded in the armies of France, his conduct was perfectly laudable. —Now, reader, I beseech you to observe, that these are the sentiments of the Prime Minister in the House of Commons, and that they are, in fact, the sentiments of the English Ministry, and the English Government. What, then, ought to be said and done to the vile wretches, those pestiferous scribblers, who calumniated His Royal Highness in the manner exhibit-

ed in my last number? Not only were we at peace with Sweden when those odious calumnies were circulated through this country; not only, according to our law of libel, were those calumnies libellous; not only were the publications, if true, libellous in the eyes of our law of libel; but, as we now find, as we now have it stated from the lips of Lord Castlereagh himself, those publications were *false*, describing as being every thing that was infamous, a Personage whom we now find to possess almost every princely virtue in the highest degree. —Why, then, were not these atrocious calumniators called to account, and punished? It surely must have been owing to some oversight in the Attorney General, or, it is impossible that libels of such unparalleled atrocity could have wholly escaped without notice. —Men have been punished for what were deemed libels against the Emperor of Russia, the late Queen of France, and other Sovereigns; nay, Mr. Peltier was tried and convicted, under the Attorney-Generalship of Mr. Perceval himself, of a libel on Buonaparté, and he escaped a jail only by the breaking out of the present war. Well, then, we were at peace with the King and with the Crown Prince of Sweden, when those atrocious calumnies were published against them, and, therefore, I again must express my surprise, that the calumniators should have wholly escaped the animadversion of the law. —The escape, however, of these contemptible wretches, these time-serving slaves, is a very trifling consequence, when compared with the above cited manly and most interesting declaration of Lord Castlereagh, upon which I cannot refrain from making a few short remarks. —His Lordship clears His Royal Highness the Crown Prince of all imputation of ingratitude towards France and Buonaparté. This is a point which I shall not much dwell upon, not professing to be so well acquainted with the facts as his Lordship appears to be. But, with respect to His Royal Highness's lively sensibility to the honour and interests of Sweden, this declaration of his Lordship cannot fail to convince all men of sense, that

it was a very wise act in the people of Sweden to call in this brave and skilful Frenchman to assume, in due time, the government of their country.—I do not say, that this declaration of his Lordship goes fully to justify the expectation that the people of Spain, Naples, Italy, and Westphalia, will derive advantage from having Frenchmen placed over them in lieu of their old rulers. I do not say, that this declaration of his Lordship fully justifies such an expectation; but, do you not think with me, reader, that a declaration such as this is, and coming from the lips of our own Government, ought to make men hesitate before they pronounce the people of Naples, some of the people of Spain, the people of the states of Italy, and the people of a great part of Germany; do you not think that this declaration ought to make us hesitate before we pronounce all those nations to be base and stupid, merely because they peaceably and contentedly submit to the sway of Frenchmen? My Lord Castlereagh, the official organ of our Government, has distinctly declared, in the House of Commons, that the Crown Prince of Sweden, though a Frenchman, though raised from the ranks in the French revolutionary army, though a commander under Buonaparté, though promoted and ennobled by Buonaparté, has, nevertheless, upon becoming Crown Prince of Sweden, preferred the honour and the interests of Sweden to all other earthly considerations. If this be so, and I do not entertain the least doubt of the truth of it; if this be so, and so it is, as our Government asserts, at any rate; if this be so, why are we to suppose that the Frenchmen who have been made sovereigns in Spain, Naples, and Germany, will not prefer the honour and interests of those several countries to all earthly considerations, in like manner with His Royal Highness the Crown Prince of Sweden? Joseph, Joachim, Jerome, Eugene, have all been generals in the French service, as well as the Crown Prince of Sweden, and Joachim, the present King of Naples, was a private soldier in the ranks of that army, being, as it is said, 'the son of what we call in England, an ale-house keeper. Aye, the son of a man in exactly a similar situation to Tom Davies who sells beer by the pot at the sign of the Bugle at Botley. Now, if His Royal Highness the Crown Prince of Sweden does so very well for the Swedes, as my Lord Castlereagh says he does, why should not Joachim do as well for the people of Naples?—And why

should not Joseph and Jerome and Eugene do equally well for the people committed to their care; unless, indeed, it may be the opinion of some persons, that the circumstance of the three latter, not having been raised from the ranks, makes, in some degree, against them?—You will please to observe, reader, that I am not making assertions here; and that I am not even delivering opinions. I am reasoning, or at least, endeavouring to reason; and, if I am not greatly deceived, the declaration of my Lord Castlereagh, with regard to the excellent use which His Royal Highness the Crown Prince of Sweden makes of his power, ought to make us hesitate a long while before we stigmatize as being base and foolish, the people who quietly submit to newly created sovereigns, reared up in the same school and under the same master with His Royal Highness. I do not say, nor do I wish to have it taken for granted, that the other Frenchmen who have been made sovereigns, act in the same brave and wise manner as His Royal Highness the Crown Prince acts towards the Swedes. I have no information upon the subject. I do not know how they treat their people. And, therefore, in the absence of such information, all I can say is, that the declaration of Lord Castlereagh, relative to the honourable, faithful, and truly princely conduct of the Crown Prince of Sweden, ought to make us refrain from vilifying and anathematizing any people whom we see contentedly submitting to the sway of a person educated in the same school, and elevated by the same patron with that worthy personage, His Royal Highness the Crown Prince of Sweden.—It is well known, that, all those who are particular in their horses, dogs, fowls, sheep, or live-stock of any kind, place much reliance upon the person by whom they are reared. A dog from one breeder is thought, merely on account of that circumstance, to be worth ten times as much as a dog from another breeder, though of the same race, of the same age and size, and of the same outward appearance. It is, in some degree, the same with young men coming into the world, who seldom fail to derive considerable benefit from having been reared up under the care of a person celebrated for the rearing of clever young men.—Now, though I do not pretend to say, that the great virtues, possessed by His Royal Highness the Crown Prince, are possessed by all the other young men reared up by Buonaparté, and by him recommended to

sovereignties; yet, in the absence of all information with regard to the character and conduct of those other young men, I humbly conceive, that we ought not to pronounce the people who live contentedly under them to be base, corrupt, infamous cowards, as our prostituted press describes them to be; for, who can tell, that the day may not yet come, when our government will give us information relative to those young men, similar to that which it has now, to the great satisfaction of all the true friends of freedom, been pleased to give us, with regard to His Royal Highness the Crown Prince of Sweden?—Another part of Lord Castlereagh's manly avowal relative to the character and conduct of the Crown Prince, reflects equal honour on the object and on the giver of the praise bestowed in that avowal.—There is a proverb in Latin to this amount: *to praise you is to praise myself.* That is to say, the act of praising you is so very laudable, that it reflects great praise on the actor.—This proverb applies, in its fullest extent, to the conduct of my Lord Castlereagh upon this occasion; especially where he speaks of the *former* conduct of His Royal Highness the Crown Prince. His Lordship said, that while His Royal Highness commanded in the French armies his character and conduct were good. This part of his Lordship's speech is the more worthy of notice and of commendation, as it, in fact, contains a most handsome and delicate compliment to the great enemy against whom we are contending, and shows, that, in the mind of his Lordship, generosity of sentiment is not extinguished by hostility in arms.—If the conduct and the character of His Royal Highness the Crown Prince were so excellent as his Lordship says they were, while he commanded in the French armies, it was, we are fairly to presume, for that good conduct and that good character, that Buonaparté promoted and ennobled him. And thus, we find that His Royal Highness the Crown Prince, who was a most virtuous man while commanding under Buonaparté, was exalted by the latter to the rank of a prince, though Sir Robert Wilson and others have described that same Buonaparté, as the envier of all talent, as the hater of every virtue, as the enemy of the human race, as a scourge sent by God to inflict sufferings on the world.—Now, if these writers and the *Times* (the *vile Times*), and the *Courier* and the *Post* and the *Herald*; if all these speak truth when they abuse Buonaparté; when they

call him tyrant and despot and monster and fiend. If they speak truth when they so describe Buonaparté, let me put it to you, reader, whether it be not something very wonderful, that a man who is a tyrant, a monster, a fiend, who envies all talent in others, who hates all virtue wherever he finds it, and whose object it is to be a curse to Europe and mankind; let me ask you, reader; let me put it to your sense and to your sincerity, whether it be not passing wonderful, that such a man should select, as an object of promotion, as an object of exaltation; that he should choose as a favourite; that he should elevate to the rank of a prince, and, finally, to the rank of a sovereign in perpetuity, a person of acknowledged great talents, and who, for a series of years, had, by his constant practice, proved himself to be possessed of virtues worthy of a prince? Again, reader, I put it to your sense and your sincerity, whether this be not passing wonderful?—This is a *new era*, in many respects; but in no way has the novelty of it been more strongly marked than in this open avowal on the part of our government of the transcendent virtues of a person, who had served under Buonaparté. Our base and foolish press fills its columns with abuse of those who distinguish themselves in the army of Napoleon. The Duke of Friuli, for instance, who, the other day was killed in battle, was represented by this prostituted press, as having owed his exaltation to his base subserviency to his master. But, now we learn from the mouth of the minister of England, that one man, at least, has been exalted by Napoleon, who was not only worthy of being made a Marshal, a Duke, and an Italian Prince, but, who was also worthy of being made the heir to the Crown and Dominions of one of the ancient states of Europe. And, what is more, if any thing can go beyond the open and public declaration of the minister made in the House of Commons, we have, before us, a treaty, made under an invocation of the Holy Trinity, by which treaty, we make a cession in perpetuity of part of the old French Dominions to a man, whose heirship to a crown we acknowledge by the same treaty, and which man, after having long served under Buonaparté, was, by that same Buonaparté, first promoted, next ennobled, and, lastly, recommended, at least, to the rank, which, as we are now assured, from the lips of our government, he fills with so much advantage to the nation who

have had the wisdom to adopt him, to the exclusion of the ancient family.—This, then, I say, is a striking feature in the new era, for we have here, a man who long served under, and who was promoted and exalted by Buonaparté himself. Moreau, Pichegru, Dumourier, and others, we have, indeed, found to be very virtuous men, and worthy of great confidence, though, for a long while, there were people to call them rebels, robbers, cut-throats, and atheists. When we came to be better acquainted with these gentlemen, we found them all to be very worthy persons, and as good christians as were going. We did not make the discovery, indeed, till they had shewn their hostility to Buonaparté, which, to some people, appeared to be rather unfortunate; and, indeed, the open avowal of the great virtues of the Crown Prince of Sweden has been reserved for the moment of his appearing in arms against that same Buonaparté; but there is this difference between the case of His Royal Highness the Crown Prince and the case of Moreau, Pichegru, and others, that the latter were not the creatures of Buonaparté; they did not owe their exaltation to him; they derived from him neither rank nor emolument; whereas the Crown Prince was promoted by him, ennobled by him, and, finally, was, by him recommended, at least, to that sovereign power of which we have now, by solemn treaty, acknowledged him to be the rightful and indisputable heir.—What, then, reader, are we to gather from all this? To say what the sentiments now promulgated, the principles now set afloat; to say how they will work in the minds of men, and to what they will finally lead, is beyond the reach of human capacity. But, I think, it requires no great capacity of mind to discover, and indeed, that it requires but a very moderate portion of common sense to teach us that we ought to be very cautious how we give in to that strain of abuse, that strain of boundless calumny, which the vile press of this country indulges itself in, with regard to all those, who have obtained rank and power through the influence of Napoleon. I think that we must be stupid indeed, if the excellent speech of my Lord Castlereagh fails to teach us this much of caution. When we hear the unmannerly slaves of the press calling Buonaparté a monster, a fiend, an usurper, a scourge, and the like, I hope we shall bear in mind the treaty with Sweden, and the eulogium pronounced upon the Crown Prince by the

minister of England, and that we shall always recollect, that this most excellent and illustrious personage was promoted and exalted by the man whom our corrupt press represents as the most odious and most detestable of beings.—Hence, too, it might not unreasonably be hoped, that the furious royalists would take a lesson. They here have the proof, that a revolutionist may be a mighty good sort of a man. They had, indeed, this proof before, in the instances of Dumourier, Pichegru, and others; but they now have it in a still stronger instance, namely, that of a person raised up by Buonaparté himself. They ought, therefore, one would think, to be a little cautious how they revile persons engaged in revolutionary pursuits.—The war, in which we are now engaged, and which, in reality, began more than twenty years ago, had, for its object, the preservation of the established order of things. Whether it be the established order of things in Sweden to make a Frenchman heir to the Crown, to the exclusion of the banished king and his family, is a question which I shall leave John Bowles to answer. John, I dare say, might, with the assistance of his comrade and brother reviewer, Mr. Green, find out, somehow or other, that this is the *established order of things*; and, in that case, we shall only have to congratulate these worthies upon so grand a discovery. For once, at any rate, we shall agree as to the substance. These dregs, these offal, of anti-jacobinism, will now say, that His Royal Highness the Crown Prince is a worthy gentleman, and that our Government did very right in forming an alliance with him; in acknowledging him as the lawful heir to the Swedish Throne; and, in ceding to him in perpetuity part of the old French dominions. *They will say this; and I say the same.*—They will not now dare to say, that His Royal Highness the Crown Prince is an *usurper*. They will now take care, I hope, to whom they give that title; or, before the word be well out of their lips, they may be compelled to eat it with all convenient dispatch.—As I said before, this treaty with Sweden has opened the way to events, which the malignant anti-jacobin never before dreamed of, and of which, perhaps, he does not yet dream. He has nothing in his eye but the immediate annoyance of Buonaparté; but the man who is under the guidance of his reason, and not of his passions; the man who has no selfish motive at bottom, and who can view the matter with an impartial

eye, must perceive, and will perceive, that this recognition of the Crown Prince of Sweden has most important consequences in its train; and, for my part, as I am convinced that those consequences will be favourable to the freedom and happiness of mankind, and hostile to every system supported by corruption and hypocrisy, I cannot refrain from repeating an expression of my delight with the treaty that has been the subject of so much cavil on the part of the Whigs, who, by no accident, ever find fault with any thing that is really injurious to the country.

HONOURABLE HOUSE.—It is seldom that I take much notice in my Register of what passes in the Honourable House. There has, however, a transaction occurred now, which is well worthy of notice.—After the last election for the borough of Hellestone, a petition was presented against the sitting members, and the committee, who examined into the matter, made a special Report to the House, charging the Duke of Leeds with having violated the law, and the privileges of the House.—On Monday last this report was taken into consideration by the Honourable House. A Mr. Swan made a motion for prosecuting the Duke of Leeds, and the Honourable House determined THAT THEY WOULD NOT PROSECUTE THE DUKE OF LEEDS.—The name of Thomas Crogan was mentioned during the debate; and, it may be useful for the reader to know that a somewhat similar report was made against Thomas Crogan, to the Honourable House, for misconduct at the election at Tregony; and that the Honourable House sent the said Thomas Crogan to Newgate, where he is now confined by the authority of the Honourable House.—I shall make no comments upon this transaction, but I will do my best to spread the knowledge of it through the world. I wish it to be made known to every creature that is able to read, in every country upon earth. It is a thing that will do good wherever it shall go: I will put it in larger print, that old people and that children may read it. It is one of those things which produce impression at a great distance from the spot. One of those things which enable people to form an unerring judgment. I will, another time, publish the report itself, or part of it, which will afford an infinite deal of information to other countries as well as our own. In the mean while I shall give the debate word for word, as I find it reported

in the Morning Chronicle, leaving the reader to stop as he goes along, and to make such remarks as occur to him. He will perceive, that Mr. Swan's motion was lost, at last, by a majority of three.

Debate in the Honourable House, on Monday the 21st of June, 1813, relative to the conduct of the Duke of Leeds at Hellestone.

Mr. Swan moved that the Special Report of the Hellestone Election Committee be now read.

The Report, which charged the Duke of Leeds with having violated the law and the privileges of the House, having been accordingly read,

Mr. Swan said, in bringing forward the motion which he was about to submit to the House, he had no political interest to answer, and no resentments to gratify. The Chairman of the Committee had declined to submit any motion to the House on the Report, although the majority in the Committee was 11 to 3. The House ought to be informed of the proceedings of the Committee. The Committee were unanimously of opinion, that those voters who had benefited by the corrupt influence which had been proved had disfranchised themselves. He should be sorry to say any thing against the Noble Duke alluded to in the Report, or against the Honourable Members returned, but he conceived it incumbent on him in this case to lay before the House the nature of the transactions which had taken place, and to state the nature of the Constitution of the Borough of Hellestone.—The Learned Gentleman proceeded to observe, that three of the Aldermen, who had got the majority

of influence into their own hands, managed that influence for the Godolphin family, which family had in return paid the parish rates of Hellestone from the reign of Queen Elizabeth to the year 1804, when, in consequence of some disagreement, the Duke of Leeds lost the patronage of the borough. Then a Baronet, who was understood to think that the best plan for making his way to the House was (as others were supposed to have done) by the possession of borough patronage, became patron of the borough in lieu of the Duke of Leeds. Subsequent, as well as before that period, it was notorious that the seats were sold for 5,000 guineas each, and such practices took place as, to adopt the language of the Right Hon. Gentleman in the Chair, our ancestors would have shuddered at the very mention of. But the new patron (Sir C. Hawkins we presume) having soon ceased to retain his influence, in consequence of a resolution of that House, the Duke of Leeds was again invited to resume the patronage, which invitation his Grace accepted, upon the terms of an agreement, by which his Grace became pledged to pay the town rates in return for the power of nominating the representatives. This fact was proved before the Committee, and the result of the agreement was to afford the Duke of Leeds an opportunity of deriving a profit of 800*l.* a year from the patronage of the borough, while each of the voters being relieved from the payment of town rates, was insomuch bribed to vote for the Members recommended. The man-

ner of managing the patronage of this Borough he thought it not amiss to describe to the House, because it was pretty generally the system in the Cornish Boroughs, the patron was not allowed to have any direct connexion with the voters.—All the patronage was distributed by the leading Members of the Corporation, in such a way as to preserve their own consequence in the Borough, and to render the voters dependent on themselves alone. With this view the personal interposition of the Patron was studiously excluded, while the business of the Borough was managed by those upon whom he was to depend for the retention of his influence, every favour he grants being so conveyed, that the obligation shall be felt rather towards the Agent than towards the principal or Patron. And by whom was this system of cunning and corruption arranged and conducted? Why, chiefly by Clergymen.—Yes, wherever bribery, corruption, treating, intimidation, or political persecution, or any species of undue influence or dirty work was to be managed, the Clergy, who ought to shrink from and reprobate such practices, were the most active and prominent agents. In the case of Penryn, which had so justly provoked the indignation of that House, it would be remembered that the Rev. Mr. Dillon was a principal agent; in the case of Tregony, also, a Clergyman was among the foremost in delinquency, and in the case under consideration, he found the Reverend Messrs. Trevelyan and Grills among the most active in



the works at Hellestone. Indeed the Duke of Leeds lost ground considerably in the Borough, as it appeared, from his neglect or incapacity to procure a living for the son of a clergyman. But no patron could in fact retain his influence in a Cornish Borough, who had it not in his power to make a return of Church patronage. A Patron was also called upon to take a mortgage by the Corporation, who, when they wished to get rid of him, were always ready to adopt another Mortgagee. Another part of the system respecting the management of Hellestone, and some other of the Cornish Boroughs, referred to the Poors' rates. Instead of selecting respectable men for overseers of the poor, the Corporation took care, especially on the approach of an election, to have some low dependent persons appointed, in order to have swept off the rates the names of such men as were likely to give an independent vote. Then when complaint was made, the parties complaining were spurned at, desired in a tone of defiance to do their best, being tauntingly told, that the Overseers would be supported by the Corporation, and the Corporation by the Patron. This language, indeed, was generally so decisive, that no proceedings were taken, the affair was usually compromised after the election, and the names of the disfranchised voters were again put on the rates. Here the Learned Gentleman detailed the particulars of some unfair treatment which he experienced prior to the last election at Penryn from the party connected with the Ho-

nourable Gentleman on the bench below him (Mr. D. Giddy), that party improperly refusing to let him have in due time a view of the rate-book, so that he was at a loss to know whom to canvass. But the practices pursued in these Cornish Boroughs formed a tissue of trick and low artifice, as he knew from his own experience; and if there was a borough among them more corrupt than another, that indisputably was Hellestone. It required more favours from its patron, and exacted more from its representatives, than any other borough he had heard of. In saying this, however, he begged to be understood that he did not mean to bring any charge against its present Representatives. But from the Report of the Committee it was evident that the borough of Hellestone had most scandalously abused its privileges, by violating the law of the land; and it was for that House to adopt the means most likely to be effectual in preventing the repetition of such malpractices. In the year 1806, an individual was prosecuted for certain transactions at Penryn, and chiefly at the instance of a Noble Lord, who was himself guilty of the same practices. But these practices were repeated too general in Cornwall. In fact, the only borough in the county which had even the semblance of independence, was that which he had the honour to represent [loud laughing]. For this reception of his statement, he was, he said, fully prepared. The borough alluded to (Penryn) had been no doubt corrupt; but then it had only about 100 voters, to each of

whom the patron was generally in the habit of presenting twenty guineas at each election; but now the voters amounted to nearly 400, and the patron could not prudently be so liberal; or, perhaps, he was ashamed or afraid to make such a distribution, lest he should be brought before the bar of that House to answer for the delinquency. The Learned Member, adverting to the case of Crogan, now a prisoner in Newgate, for merely offering to sell a seat, put it to the House to consider whether the distinct agreement of the Duke of Leeds, stated in the Report before the House, could be consistently overlooked, or rather whether it was not deserving of exemplary punishment? In consequence of this agreement, the Noble Duke introduced Mr. Hammersley the banker, and Mr. Home the barrister, at the last election, by a letter under his Grace's own hand, addressed to the Mayor of the Borough. With Crogan's example then in view, he asked, whether the House could, with due regard to consistency of character and duty, grant impunity to the Duke of Leeds? In fact, if it were not meant that rank should give protection, and that poverty alone should expose a criminal to the prosecution of that House, it was impossible to let the conduct of the Duke of Leeds, in this case, escape the visitation of the law he had so seriously offended. The Learned Gentleman expressed his regret that the Solicitor-General was not a Member of that House, in order that it might have the advantage of that Learned Gentle-

man's opinion, which he knew to be decidedly in favour of the view which he felt it his duty to take of the subject. He concluded with moving, that the Attorney-General be instructed to prosecute the said George Frederick, Duke of Leeds, for the said offence.—The Learned Gentleman added, that he meant also to propose the prosecution of four of the Aldermen concerned in the agreement with the Duke of Leeds. There were some shades of difference in favour of the Mayor, who was implicated only to a certain extent; from that consideration he thought it more advantageous for justice rather to have him brought forward as a witness, than prosecuted as a delinquent.

The motion for the prosecution of the Duke of Leeds being put,

Mr. Giddy thought that the speech of the Honourable Gentleman was one of the most extraordinary he had ever heard, though in substance he did not differ from the Report of the Committee. Had he been a Member of the Committee he should have concurred in the Report, agreeing, as he did, that the transaction alluded to was a breach of the privileges of the House, and contrary to the law of the land. Knowing, as he had done from his youth, the gentlemen who were implicated in the transaction in question, and highly as their general character was entitled to respect, he could not in that House, after what had appeared, stand up as their champion on the present occasion. At the same time he did not

think this a case in which the House was called on to interfere in the manner proposed. If the Hon. Gentleman (Mr. Swan), or any other person, chose to file an information in the nature of a *quo warranto*, against the parties concerned, or otherwise to proceed against them at law, he saw no reason to doubt that the penalties must be incurred. But still he saw no incumbent duty imposed on the House to interfere in such a case as this. It was incumbent on the House in such a case to ascertain, *quo animo*, the offence had been committed. That the Godolphin family had conferred the highest obligations on the borough of Hellestone, from the earliest times, could not be disputed. That family had built for the inhabitants a market and market-place, and had for a series of years been in the use of paying for them their *poors' rates*. This latter was the offence now complained of, and though he did not pretend to vindicate this as an act justifiable in itself, as connected with the right of Election, still he submitted that the five Aldermen now complained of had not stipulated for this, on the present occasion, with a view to their own private interest alone, but for the relief of the mass of the inhabitants, who might have reproached them had they subjected them to a payment to which they were unaccustomed, to the amount of 1,600*l.* or 1,700*l.* a-year. He did not urge this, however, as a justification, but merely in mitigation. That the family of the Godolphins would not have recommended unworthy persons to

the inhabitants of this Borough the House had abundant proof, from looking back to the names of those who had been Members for that Borough, among whom they would find some of the first characters in the Kingdom. There was here, he submitted, no *malus animus*, and therefore, that it was not necessary for the House to interfere, to the effect of marking the Noble Family in question, and the other parties to the transaction, with a stigma more distressing to their posterity than any penalty which could be inflicted. Independently of the prosecution proposed, the House had in their power, a measure to which he could have no objection, but which he should be rather prepared to recommend, namely, to open the right of voting in the Borough in question. Of a motion to this effect early in the next Session, he had no objection to give notice, provided the present motion should be negatived. The parties who had here offended had, as appeared from a paper which he held in his hand, already done every thing in their power to atone for their improper conduct, by opening the freedom of the Borough to about eighty persons, being all the inhabitants above the situation of journey-men. As to the two Clergymen who had been named, he bore testimony to their characters and merits.

Mr. C. W. Wynne was happy to see the question at length before the House. A great part of what he should have felt it necessary to state, he now thought was completely uncalled for, after the Re-

solution which the House had already adopted. That the parties had been guilty of a breach of the Standing Orders of the House, and a violation of the Law of the Land, and of the Freedom of Election. He was never more astonished in his life than that after such a Resolution had been come to without debate, the Honourable Member (Giddy) should have opposed the motion for a prosecution. In doing so, he should think the Honourable Gentleman little consulted the dignity of the House. If they were to agree to negative the present motion, it would have been infinitely better that when the preceding Resolution was moved, they had at once got the better of it, by agreeing that it should be taken into consideration that day three months, than that they should, after entering the notice of such an offence on their Journals, suffer it to pass with impunity. The Resolution they had already agreed to was a verdict of guilty, and were they to suffer this to pass without punishment? He confessed that he felt for the Noble Duke, knowing as he did, that though his family had bought the borough, they had not sold it again, and that the Members returned for it hitherto had come in uninfluenced. The Honourable Gentleman seemed to think it an extenuation, amounting even to an absolution from punishment, that the parties complained of had not all the advantage to themselves, but had only participated in it. In the case of Oxford, however, it had not been so decided by that House, and the whole persons implicated, ten in

number, had been sent to Newgate. To negative the present motion, he thought, would be most dangerous to the dignity of the House. The mode now proposed was the ordinary mode of proceeding. Not an instance could be pointed out of a case of corruption, voted to be so on the face of their journals, in which they had not proceeded in this manner. Such a Resolution as that which they had now passed, could not be allowed to remain on their journals *a brutum fulmen*.

Mr. Tremayne bore testimony to the conduct and character of the clergy in Cornwall. He thought that in such a case as the present the punishment ought to fall on the borough itself, which had generally sinned. The paper produced by the Honourable Member (Giddy), as containing the names of all the inhabitants of the borough, who, it was said, were now admitted to the right of voting, he thought, however, made the case infinitely worse. He would much rather have Members nominated by the noble family alluded to, than by the lowest classes in the borough of Hellestone. He should rather propose, that the right of voting for that borough should be thrown open to the whole freeholders of the hundred, which was a widely extended district.

Mr. Brand argued strongly in favour of the motion. What had been disclosed in the course of it only strengthened his conviction, that inquiry into the state of our representative system must take place sooner or later. He regretted that no favourable opportunity had occurred to him for

bringing before the House this session the great question of Parliamentary Reform; and yet his regret was somewhat diminished when he considered that the present question, though so long deferred, and of which such repeated notices had been given, could command only so thin an attendance. He anticipated with pleasure the Bill to be brought in by an honourable Member (Mr. D. Giddy), and he could wish its operation to be to throw open the borough of Hellestone into the surrounding hundreds. We should then, as he was informed by those who knew the population of those districts, at least have a pure return from that particular place. For himself he was resolved, in any future case of similar corruptions coming before the House, to move that such borough should be thrown into some populous hundreds, he did not care where, as far as Yorkshire, if necessary, for it might be hoped that thus gradually would be accomplished that which the House refused to entertain in a general, comprehensive, and statesman-like view. With regard to the noble Duke more immediately concerned, he regretted the distressing situation in which he stood, convinced as he was that he had acted from no corrupt motive, but only according to an hereditary practice in his family.

Mr. Tremayne explained.

Mr. Bankes doubted whether, if the motion were carried, and the prosecution instituted, there would be any probability of its success from the nature of the evidence upon which it must be founded: and if it were unsuc-

cessful, he considered that its failure would do more injury to the cause of reform in general than the practical success of the present motion could do good. On that ground he should oppose the motion, and not because he was indifferent to such practices as had been disclosed, or did not wish to provide a remedy against their repetition. He hoped, however, that the Honourable Member would move for leave to bring in a Bill which should check such illegal actions, and which might convince the country they were watchful over the interests of the public and of their own rights and privileges.

Mr. Preston took the same view of the question as the Honourable Member who preceded him. He doubted whether the prosecution could succeed. He should therefore move, as an amendment, "That that House, early next Session, would take into its consideration the state of the Borough of Hellestone, with a view of extending the right of election there." The amendment being seconded,

Mr. Astell, who was Chairman of the Committee that had reported upon the Hellestone Election, stated, that in the Committee he had urged what he considered as reasons against their reporting to the House in the way they had. His reasons were, that he did not think any success could attend upon the proceedings that were likely to be had upon it in that House. Those reasons were now strengthened, and he should therefore certainly vote against the motion, and in support of the amendment.

Mr. S. Wortley contended, that there was nothing to prove any corrupt motive in the parties whose conduct was before them. Illegally they certainly had acted, in reference to a late Act of Parliament; though previously to the passing of that Act, perhaps not even that epithet could have been applied to the transaction. He had pressed this upon the Committee, and they were decidedly of opinion that there was no evidence of any *malus animi*, and therefore the word *corrupt* had been left out of the Report. He thought that House peculiarly ill qualified to act in a judicial capacity, yet something it must do, and he should willingly vote for throwing the borough open to the surrounding hundreds. The noble Duke, whose name so unfortunately appeared in the transaction, had acted more upon an hereditary practice, which had subsisted from the time of Elizabeth, and on that ground he should certainly vote against the motion.

Mr. Barham contended, that the House was not bound to adopt the motion, by its own invariable practice. He cited a case in which corruption was proved, and in which the House had not ordered to prosecute.

Mr. P. Carew observed, that if they should order to prosecute, and fail, that they could not then proceed to disfranchise the Borough.

Lord Castlereagh said, that in one view of the question there could be but one feeling in the House, and that was, that nothing personally attached to the character of the noble Duke. (*Hear,*

hear!) He had acted merely upon the long established practice of the Borough, and it was utterly impossible to impute corruption to him. (*Hear, hear!*) At the same time the House was in a dilemma, in having agreed to the Resolution of their Committee. In reference to an objection that had been started by an Honourable Member (*Mr. Banks*), he owned it had some weight with him; but if he were thoroughly convinced that a prosecution could not be successful, he should feel that the House was not called upon to proceed any further. He could not, however, come to any decisive opinion from his own knowledge, and he should wish, therefore, to be assisted by the legal declaration of some professional Gentleman, whose opinion might be entitled to more authority than that of his Honourable Friend, upon a question involving purely a point of law. It would be more satisfactory to his mind than coming to a vote without such assistance: for he should certainly support the motion if he learned that it was likely to be successful: and he could wish that the Attorney General——

Mr. W. Wynne rose to order. [*Hear, hear!*] He utterly objected to the principle of appealing to the opinion of the Law Officers of the Crown in that House. If once admitted, a similar call might be made in every case; and what would be the consequence? that the Attorney-General would be made the arbiter of the proceedings of that House on all occasions similar to the present one.

Lord Castlereagh contended

that there were many occasions in which the House had referred to the opinions of the Law Officers among them, and they had found the benefit of such a practice in assisting their judgments upon questions of a judicial nature.

Mr. Barham and *Mr. Astell* explained.

Lord A. Hamilton moved that the Resolution of the House upon the Tregony election, and upon the commitment of Crogan, should be read by the Clerk, which was done accordingly. The Noble Lord then proceeded to comment upon the difference of their proceedings upon that occasion, and upon what they were likely to be on the present. He contended that the cases were precisely similar, except in what related to the condition of the parties offending. With respect to the Noble Duke, no one would bear more willing testimony to the excellence of his character, than he himself; and, in voting the motion, he should do so with more pain than he had ever felt in giving a vote in that House. Pain, not only as affecting himself, but arising from the reflection that any person of his rank should, without being actuated by any corrupt motive, have been so unfortunate as to be called before that House on such an occasion. He lamented the event most sincerely, and yet, much as he lamented it, no option was left to him as to what vote he should give, for there was nothing before that House but prosecution or impunity. He did not see the force of the objection made by an Honourable Member (*Mr. Banks*); he thought there was

as much probability of success as there could be in any call; he meant, upon the *illegality* of the transaction; and corruption was disbelieved by all. The Noble Lord opposite had expressed a wish for the opinion of the Attorney-General; would he vote for the motion, if that opinion was favourable as to the probability of success? He did not think he would. ["He said he would," repeated from several parts of the House.] He stood corrected; he was very happy to find himself wrong; he believed it was the first time that Noble Lord had ever been accessary to a vote, that went to prosecute for practices of that kind. At the same time he (*Lord A. H.*) had no doubt, the Noble Lord was well aware, that the Attorney-General's opinion was one, which would not reduce him to the necessity of so unpleasant a duty.

The *Attorney-General* said, it was not his intention to offer any remarks upon the question before them, nor should he now present himself to their notice, but for some expressions that had fallen from a Noble Lord. If he understood him rightly, and he really hoped he did not understand him—he said that his Noble Friend (*Castlereagh*) had secured to himself a refuge in making any pledge, because he knew that his (the Attorney-General's) opinion, if called for, would prevent him from acting upon his own declaration, by being in favour of his view of the question. He was compelled to state, therefore, that though he did confer in private upon the evidence, in order that if called upon, he might give

such an opinion as would not disgrace his professional character, yet neither his Noble Friend, nor any other person, except those with whom he had confidentially consulted upon the case, knew what his opinion might be; and he had cautiously abstained from disclosing it because he thought it possible, though not probable, that he might be required to state it in that House. Such was the fact, and he could impute, therefore, what had fallen from the Noble Lord only to the hurry of expression, which left him no time to reflect upon what he was saying.

Lord A. Hamilton—I did not mean to insinuate that the Noble Lord was apprized of what opinion the Attorney-General would give if called upon; what I intended to say was, that probably the Noble Lord was aware that his own opinion was the same as what the Attorney-General's must be.

Lord Castlereagh—I must say I never witnessed any thing more unwarranted and more injurious in this House than what has fallen from the Noble Lord. I can account for it only by supposing that the Noble Lord did not hear distinctly what fell from me: but then, it might have been expected he would not throw out insinuations, or put illiberal constructions, without being sure of what I had said.

Lord A. Hamilton—I do not think I said any thing injurious to the Noble Lord.

Lord Castlereagh—I think the Noble Lord did me injustice, in first attributing to me what I did

not say, and then in drawing harsh inferences from it.

Mr. Canning expressed his satisfaction that the Attorney-General had delivered no opinion upon the question. The Noble Lord (A. Hamilton) had argued the matter as if the single point to be considered was, whether they should vote for the motion, or whether they should do nothing. But it was not so.—They were called upon to adopt an alternative, whether they should concur in the motion, or apply another remedy by altering the condition of the Borough, so that the same practices should not again occur. They ought to be guided altogether by the character of the transaction. If it were grossly corrupt, it should be severely animadverted upon; but if illegality was all that belonged to it, they should look rather to that remedy which would visit the offence where the criminality chiefly lay, and take away that franchise which had been so much abused. No person could read the evidence without being satisfied that no soil or stain of pecuniary corruption could attach to the character of the Noble Duke: therefore, so far as that Noble Personage was individually concerned, the motion seemed unnecessary, and they might safely pass it by as one that, at best, was vindictive, and not remedial. Upon that short ground he should vote for the Amendment, which went to the root of the evil.

Lord A. Hamilton and *Mr. Canning* mutually explained.

Mr. B. Bathurst thought the Committee right in their opinion of the illegality of the contract,

and he should think this a fair case to go before a Jury. If the prosecution should fail, the Borough might still be disfranchised.

Sir Wm. Lemon supported the Amendment.

Mr. Davies Giddy thought there would not be time in the present Session for carrying through the Bill. He pledged himself to bring one in early next Session.

Mr. Serjeant Onslow thought the character of the House implicated in following up the Resolution.

Mr. W. Wynne explained.

Mr. Swan intimated his intention of following the Aylesbury case on the Bill to be brought in. The Amendment, he conceived, was introduced with a view of getting rid of the question by a side wind.—The House divided.

On the question that the words proposed to be left out stand part of the motion—

For the amendment 55

Against it . . . 52

Majority . . . 3

So that *Mr. Swan's* motion was lost, and the Duke of Leeds was not to be prosecuted.—*No comment.* No, no. That would be wholly useless. Any reader who stands in need of a comment here may as well never read again.

NORTHERN WAR.—Now I would go into some remarks upon the Armistice, which Napoleon has agreed to with his enemies, but I have not room. Our news-writers seem dreadfully alarmed, lest the said Armistice should lead to some settlement injurious "to the LIBERTIES OF EUROPE!" Oh! the scandalous hypocrites! However, their hypocrisy will not serve their turn. It will not, finally, answer the end they expect from it. It may cheat a part, and the greater part, of

a frightened people; but, it will not cheat Europe, the people of which are too well acquainted with the state of prostitution of the English press. If I were a writer upon the Continent, what an answer I would give the cheating crew. But, perhaps, it would, in that case, be best to let them alone, and let them cheat others, who like to be cheated. That would, probably, be the best way.

W. COBBETT.

Bolley, 23d June, 1813.

OFFICIAL PAPERS.

NORTHERN WAR.

(Continued from page 896.)

gen, doing it much injury. From that moment his retreat was quickened at all points, and I remained master of the field, where he left many dead. I cannot praise too highly the conduct of Gen. Pacthod, as well as of Gen. Poorailly, who, with his brigade, carried two villages with the bayonet in the neatest manner.—We are still following the enemy at five in the evening.

(Signed) Marshal Duke of Reggio.

Hoyerswerda, May 28th, 1813.

Paris, June 9.—Her Majesty the Empress Queen and Regent has received the following intelligence respecting the situation of the armies on the 2d June:—The head-quarters of the Emperor were still at Neumarkt; those of Prince of Moskwa at Lissa. The Duke of Tarente and Count Bertrand were between Janer and Striegau; the Duke of Ragusa at the village of Eisendorf; the 3d corps at the village of Tetersdorf; the Duke of Bellune between Glagau and Leignitz.—Count Bubna had arrived at Leignitz, and had had conferences with the Duke of Bassano.—General Lauriston entered Breslau at six o'clock in the morning of the 1st June. A Prussian corps, from 6 to 7,000 men, which covered that town by defending the passage of the Lobe, were driven to the village of New Kerehez.—The Burgo-master, and four Deputies from the town of Breslau, were presented to the Emperor at Neumarkt the 1st June, at two o'clock in the afternoon.—His Majesty told them that they might assure the inhabitants he pardoned every thing they might have done to second the spirit of anarchy which the Steins and the Scharnhorsts wished to excite.—The town is perfectly tranquil,

and all the inhabitants remained in it.—The Breslau offers very great resources.—The Duke of Vienne, and the Russian and Prussian Plenipotentiaries, Count Schouvaloff and General Kleist, exchanged their full powers and neutralized the village of Peicherwitz; 40 infantry and 20 cavalry furnished by the French army, and the same number of men furnished by the Allied Army, respectively occupy the two entrances of the village.—On the 2d in the morning, the Plenipotentiaries had a conference to fix the line, which, during the Armistice should determine the position of the two armies. In the mean time orders have been given from both headquarters that no hostilities should take place. Thus since the 1st June at two in the afternoon, there has been no hostilities committed on either side.

Paris, June 10.—Her Majesty the Empress and Queen has received the following intelligence respecting the situation of the Armies on the 3d June:—The suspension of arms still continues. The respective Plenipotentiaries continue their negotiations for the Armistice. General Lauriston has seized upon the Oder more than sixty vessels laden with meal, wine and warlike ammunition destined for the army, which besieged Glogau; all these provisions have been forwarded to that fortress.—Our advanced posts are half way to Brieg.—General Hogendorf has been named Governor of Breslau. The greatest order reigns in that town. The inhabitants appear very much discontented, and even indignant at the dispositions made relative to the Landsrum; they attribute these dispositions to General Scharnhorst, who passes for an Anarchial Jacobin. He was wounded at the Battle of Lutzen.—The Prussian Princesses who hastily withdrew from Berlin to take refuge at Breslau, have left the latter town to seek safety still further.—The Duke of Bassano has gone to Dresden, where he will receive Count de Kap, Minister from Denmark.

The Empress Queen and Regent has received the following intelligence of the situation of the Army on the evening of the 4th:—

The Armistice was signed on the 4th, at two in the afternoon; the following are the Articles.—His Majesty the Emperor set

out on the 5th, at break of day, to proceed to Leignitz. It is thought, that whilst the Armistice lasts, his Majesty will spend part of his time at Glogau, and the greater part at Dresden, in order to be nearer his states. Glogau is provisioned for a year.

ARMISTICE.

To day, 4th June (23d May), the Plenipotentiaries named by the Belligerent Powers—

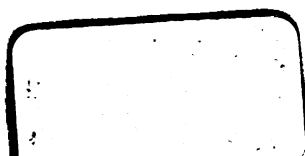
The Duke of Vienne, Grand Ecuyer of France, General of Division, &c. &c. &c. appointed Minister Plenipotentiary by his Majesty the Emperor of the French, &c. &c. &c. furnished with full Powers by his Highness the Prince of Neuchatel, &c. &c.—Count Schouvaloff, Lieutenant General and Aid-de-Camp to the Emperor of all the Russias, &c. &c. and Lieutenant General Kleist, in the service of his Majesty the King of Prussia, &c. &c. furnished with full powers by his Excellency the General of Infantry Barclay de Tolly, General in Chief of the Combined Armies.—After having exchanged their full powers, at Gersdorff, the 1st June (20th May), and signed a Suspension of Arms for thirty-six hours, at the village of Peicherwitz, neutralized for that purpose, between the advanced posts of the respective armies, to continue the negotiations for an Armistice proper to suspend hostilities between all the Belligerent troops, no matter on what point they are, have agreed upon the Articles following:—

ART. I.—Hostilities shall cease upon all points, upon the notification of the present Armistice.

II. The Armistice shall last to the 8th (20th) July inclusive. Hostilities not to commence without giving six days' notice.

III.—Hostilities shall not consequently recommence till six days after the denunciation of the Armistice at the respective headquarters.

IV.—The line of demarcation between the Belligerent armies is fixed as follows: in Silesia; the line of demarcation of the combined army, setting out from the frontiers of Bohemia, shall pass through Detersbach, Saffendorf, Landshut, follow the Beber to Rudelsdorf, pass from thence through Bolkenhaya, Striegau, follow the
(To be continued.)



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